

**HAKLVTVS POSTHVMVS**  
OR  
**PVRCHAS HIS PILGRIMES.**  
Contayning a His tory of the  
World, in Sea voyages, & lande-  
Trauells, by Englishmen &  
others.  
Wherein  
Gods Wonders in Nature & Pro-  
vidence, The Actes, Arts, Varieties,  
& Vanities of Men, w<sup>th</sup> a world of  
the Worlds Rarities, are by a world  
of Eynwitnesse-Authors, Re-  
lated to the World.  
Some left written by M. Hakluyt at his  
death More since added. His also perused,  
& perfected. All examined, abreviated,  
Illustrated w<sup>th</sup> Notes. Enlarged w<sup>th</sup> Dis-  
courses. Adorned w<sup>th</sup> pictures, and  
Expressed in Mapps. In fower  
Bookes.  
By **SAMVEL PVRCHAS B.D.**







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# PVRCHAS

HIS

## PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The first, Contayning the Voyages and Peregrinations made  
by *ancient Kings, Patriarkes, Apostles, Philosophers, and*  
others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne World:

*Enquiries also of Languages and Religions, especially of the*  
moderne diuersified Professions of  
CHRISTIANITIE.

The second, *A Description of all the Circum-Nauigations*  
of the GLOBE.

The third, Nauigations and Voyages of *English-men*, alongst the Coasts  
of Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to the Red Sea,  
the Abassine, Arabian, Persian, Indian, Shoares,  
Continents, and Ilands.

The fourth, English Voyages beyond the East Indies, to the Ilands of Japan,  
China, Cauchinchina, the Philippine with others, and the Indian Nauigations  
further prosecuted: Their iust Commerce, nobly vindicated against *Turkish*  
Treacherie; victoriously defended against *Portugall* Hostilitie;  
*gloriously aduanced against Moorish and Ethniike Perfidie*;  
hopefully recouering from *Dutch* Malignitie; iustly maintayned  
against ignorant and malicious Calumnie.

The fifth, Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, Discoueries, of the *English* Nation  
in the Easterne parts of the World: continuing the English-Indian occurrents,  
and contayning the *English* Affaires with the Great Samorine, in the Persian  
and Arabian Gulfes, and in other places of the Continent, and Ilands of and  
beyond the Indies: the *Portugall* Attempts, and *Dutch* Disasters,  
diuers Sea-fights with both; and many other remarkable  
RELATIONS.

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The First Part.

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*Unus Deus, Una Veritas.*

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LONDON

Printed by *William Stansby* for *Henrie Fetherstone*, and are to be sold at his shop in  
*Pauls Church-yard* at the signe of the Rose.

1625.



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PILGRIMS

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TO THE MOST  
HIGH AND EX  
CELLENT  
PRINCE,  
CHARLES,  
PRINCE OF  
WALES.

Most Excellent Prince,



*As a poore Pilgrime salute Your High-  
nesse in the words of a better SAMUEL 1. Sam. 9. 26.  
and SEER, On whom is the desire of  
all Israel: is it not on Thee and all thy  
Fathers House? In this House we ad-  
mire the innumerable Royall Ancestrie,  
wee triumph in His Maiesties present  
light, wee praise God and pray for the two hopesfull Columnes,  
that they may be Pillars of Stabilitie and Strength in the 1. Kin. 7. 21.  
Lords House, firmer then SALOMONS IACHIN and Apoc. 3. 12.  
BOAZ.*

*SIR, hauing out of a Chaos of confused intelligences fra-  
med this Historicall World, by a New way of Eye-evidence;  
Your Princely pietie, innate clemency, and the Time it selfe  
(festiuall both in the ordinarie season and extraordinarie pre-  
paration) emboldned my obtrusion on Your Highnesse. The  
Magnificence of Your Princely Court hath entertayned Men of*



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THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

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many Nations, yea bath admitted (in Parkes and Places fitting) Beasts, Fowles, Plants of remoter Regions: and now much more, in a World of acclamations to Your ioyfull designes, a world of Pilgrimes seemed sutable; each of which presents one or other Countrey; and all, the rarities and varieties of all. Here also Your Highnesse may refresh Your wearinesse from State-affaires (if any of these Lines may at any time be ambitious of such lustre) in seeing at leisure and pleasure Your English Inheritance dispersed thorow the World, whereof these Twentie Bookes are the Euidence and Records: the English Martialist euery where following armes, whiles his Countrey is blessed at home with BEATI PACIFICI; the Merchant coasting more Shoares and Flands for commerce, then his Progenitors haue heard off, or himselfe can number; the Mariner making other Seas a Ferry, and the widest Ocean a Strait, to his discovering attempts; wherein wee ioy to see Your Highnesse to succeed Your Heroike Brother, in making the furthest Indies by a New Passage neerer to Great Britaine. Englands out of England are here presented, yea Royall Scotland, Ireland, and Princely Wales, multiplying new Scepters to His Maiestie and His Heires in a New World. In all, the glorie of His Maiesties happy Raigne, and thereby of the English Name and Nation, by a poore Zelote of both, is truly and amply related, beyond the coniectures of the passed Ages, to the admiration of the present, and amusing (if not amazing) of the future. In which so long a Worke humbly craveth pardon for other errors, for this presumption.

Your Highnesse

most humbly

deuoted

SAMVEL PURCHAS.





## To the Reader.



**W**HERE is said to be the *Science of things Divine and humane*. Divine things are either naturall or supernaturall: these such as the *naturall machines* not, nor can know, because they are spirakally (with a spirituall Eye) discerned; called *inspiration to salvation*, the proper subiect of Theologie; and not the peculiar argument of this Worke; which notwithstanding being the labour of a professed Divine, doth not abhorre from the same; but occasionally every where by Annotations, and in some parts professedly by speciall Discourses, insinuateth both the Historie

and Mystery of Godlinesse, the right vse of History, and all other Learning. *Naturall things* are the more proper Obiect, namely the ordinary Workes of God in the Creatures, preserving and, disposing by Providence that which his Goodnesse and Power had created, and dispersed in the diuers parts of the World, as so many members of this great Bodie. Such is the History of Men in their diuersified hewes and colours, quantities and proportions; of Beasts, Fishes, Bowles, Trees, Shrubs, Herbs, Minerals, Seas, Lands, Meteors, Heauens, Starres, with their naturall affections: in which many both of the Antient and Moderne haue done worthily; but if heere-nesse of the Obiect deceiue me not, this surmounteth them all in two Priuiledges, the veritie and varietie, especially of things in this kind remotest and rarest.

It is true, that as euery member of the bodie hath somewhat eminent, whereby it is seruiceable to the whole; so euery Region excelleth all others in some peculiar Raritie, which may be termed extraordinary respectiue, though otherwise most common and ordinary in its owne place. So Our *England* in the naturall temper, accidentall want of Wolues, artificiall Rings of Bels, Sheepe not at all or seldome drinking, Lands and Waters turning Wood in some parts to Stone, Wonders of the *Pike* and other parts, doth not degenerate from nature, but hath a peculiar nature, almost miraculous to other Countries, as the naturall Wonders of their Regions are to vs: so also *Ireland* want of venome in Creatures, fulnesse of it, and barbarousnesse in many of her wilder Natiues, after so long trayning in Ciuitie, and so ancient Renowme for Sanctitie: and so each part is to other part in some or other part, and particular respect admirable.

What a World of Trauellers haue by their owne eyes obserued in this kinde, is here (for the most part in their owne words transcribed or translated) deliuered, not by one professing Methodically to deliuer the Historie of Nature according to rules of Art, nor Philosophically to discusse and dispute; but as in way of Discourse, by each Traueller relating what in that kind he hath seene. And as *Dauid* prepared materials for *Salomons* Temple; or (if that be too arrogant) as *Alex.* furnished *Aristotle* with Huntsmen and Obseruers of Creatures, to acquaint him with their diuersified kinds and natures; or (if that also seeme too ambitious) as Sense by Induction of particulars yeeldeth the premisses to Reasons Syllogisticall arguing; or if we shall be yet more homely, as Pioners are employed by Enginers, and Labourers serue Masons, and Bricklayers, and these the best Surueyers and Architects: so here *Purshas* and

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The profit to be reaped by this Worke.  
1. Cor. 2. 14.  
2. Tim. 3. 15.

See of the Wonders of England Harrison's Description of Brit. l. 2. c. 18. before Hol. Chron.



## T O T H E R E A D E R.

his Pilgrimes minister indiuiduall and sensible materials (as it were with Stones, Bricks and Mortar) to those vniuersall Speculators for their Theoricall structures. And well may the Author be ranked with such *Labourers* (howsoever here a Master-builder also) for that he hath bene forced as much to the Hod, Barrow and Trowel, as to contemplatiue suruaying: neither in so many Labyrinthian Perambulations thorow, and Circumnaugations about the World in this and his other Workes, was euer enabled to maintaine a Vicarian or Subordinate Scribe, but his own hands to worke, as well as his head to contriue these voluminous Buildings, except in some few Transcriptions or Translations, the most also of them by his sonne S. P. that one and the same name might both father and further the whole.

As for Master *Hakluyts* many yeeres Collections, and what stocke I receiued from him in written Papers, in the Table of Authours you shall find: whom I will thus farre honour, that though it be but Materials, and that many Bookes haue not one Chapter in that kind) yet that stocke encouraged me to vse my endeouours in and for the rest. I was therein a *Labourer* also, both to get them (not without hard conditions) and to forme and frame those Materials to their due place and order in this *Aedifice*, the whole Artifice (such as it is) being mine owne. Traduce mee not, nor let any impute to boasting what I haue said of my sole working (I know there is a *ua soli*) but I am compelled to doe it to preuent an Obiection of my promised *Europaean* supply to my *Pilgrimage*. I confesse, I was too forward to promise, because others haue bene so backward to assist: which I haue in former Editions signified, but to blind Eyes and deafe Eares. Whose Librarie, whose Purse hath bene opened to me, let his mouth be opened against me also: *Europe* otherwise could not, nor now vpon any price (it is too late) can be *Purchased*. I would not be misconstrued to vngratitude. Many haue applauded my endeouours, but *probitas laudatur & alget*. If I had not liued in great part vpon Exhibition of charitable friends, and on extraordinary labours of Lecturing (as the terme is) the Pilgrime had bene a more agreeing name to me, then *Purchas*. Yet let my name be for euer forgotten, if I remember not his, which the Aduersaries haue (seeking to steale him from vs after his death) by their calumnie made more memorable; I meane, my decessed Patron Doctor *King*, late Lord Bishop of *London*, to whose bountie vnder God, I willingly ascribe my life, deliuered from a sickly Habitation, and consequently (as also by opportunities of a *London* Benefice) whatsoeuer additions in my later Editions of my *Pilgrimage*; these present *Pilgrimes* also with their peregrinations. Yet such is ordinarily the *greatnesse of the Ephra*, and *smalnesse of the Shekel*, in *London* Cures (especially within the wals) that wee are inabled thereby to disablings for workes of that kinde, whiles we must preach in season and out of season, (I say not out of reason) that wee may liue.

One wing that Reuerend and bountifull hand gaue in hope that some blessed hand would adde the other, to fit me for an *Europaean* flight, wherein not finding his hopes seconded, he promised to *right me himselfe* (these were his syllables) but death righted him, and I am forced to wrong the World. I speake not to accuse any, for of whom, to whom can I complaine, but to plaine and excuse my selfe, and withall to dedicate my thankfulnesse with the continuance of this Monument to that worthy Name.

*Acts 17.21.*

But to returne to our Philosopher; I also haue bene an *Athenian* with these *Athenians*, one delighting to tell, the others to beare some new thing. I haue therefore either wholly omitted or passed dry foot things neere and common; *Far fetched and deare bought are the Lettice sutable to our lips*. Common and ordinarie plants I remit to the Herbarists. *Europaean* Rarities (except in the remoter Regions both from our habitation and knowledge, as *Island*, *Norway*, *Sueden*, *Constantinople*, the *Mediterranean* Ilands, &c.) to the Historians peculiar to each Countrey therein. My *Genius* delights rather in by-ways then high-ways, and hath therein by Tracts and Tractates of Trauellers made Causes and High-ways, euery where disposing these Pilgrime-Guides, that men without feare may trauell to and ouer the most vncouth Countries of the World: and there be shewed with others Eyes, the Rarities of Nature, and of such things also as are not against Nature, but either about it, as Miracles,



## TO THE READER.

cles, or beside the ordinarie course of it, in the extraordinary Wonders, which Gods Prouidence hath therein effected according to his good and iust pleasure. And thus much for the workes of God.

*Things humane*, are such as Men are, or haue, or haue done or suffered in the World. Here therefore the various Nations, Persons, Shapes, Colours, Habits, Rites, Religions, Complexions, Conditions, Politike and Oeconomike Customes, Languages, Letters, Arts, Merchandises, Wares, and other remarkable Varieties of Men and humane Affaires are by Eye-witnesses related more amply and certainly then any Collector euer hath done, or perhaps without these helps could doe. And thus we haue shewed the scope of the Author, and profitable vse of the Worke: which could not but be voluminous; hauing a World for the subiect, and a World of Witnesses for the Euidence: and yet (except where the Author or Worke it selfe permitted not) these vast Volumes are contracted, and Epitomised, that the nicer Reader might not be cloyed. Here also both Elephants may swimme in deepe voluminous Seas, and such as want either lust or leisure, may single out, as in a Library of Bookes, what Author or Voyage shall best fit to his profit or pleasure. I might adde that such a Worke may seeme necessarie to these times, wherein not many Scholers are so studious of Geographic, and of Naturall and Vniuersall knowledge in the diuersified varieties which the various Seas and Lands in the World produce, seeming as exceptions to Generall Rules, which *Aristotle* the best Scholer in Natures Schoole and her principall Secretarie could not so punctually and indiuidually see in the Ocean, the Remoter Lands and *New Worlds*, none of which he euer saw, nor till this last Age were knowne. And for the most part, those which are studious know not either to get, or to read the Authors of this kinde, of which so few speake *Latine*.

As for Gentlemen, Trauell is accounted an excellent Ornament to them; and therefore many of them comming to their Lands sooner then to their Wits, aduventure themselues to see the Fashions of other Countries, where their soules and bodies find temptations to a twofold Whoredom, whence they see the World as *Adam* had knowledge of good and euill, with the losse or lessening of their estate in this *English* (and perhaps also in the heavenly Paradise) & bring home a few smattering termes, flattering garbes, Apish crings, foppish fancies, foolish guises and disguises, the vanities of Neighbour Nations (I name not *Naples*) without furthering of their knowledge of God, the World, or themselues. I speake not against Trauell, so vsefull to vsefull men, I honour the industrious of the liberall and ingenuous in arts, bloud, education: and to preuent exorbitancies of the other, which cannot trauell farre, or are in danger to trauell from God and themselues, at no great charge I offer a World of Trauellers to their domestike entertainment, easie to be spared from their Smoke, Cup, or Butter-flie vanities and superfluities, and fit mutually to entertaine them in a better Schoole to better purposes. And for the price, as I cannot set it, so I must acknowledge the aduenturous courage of the Stationer Master *Henry Fetherstone* (like *Hercules* helping *Atlas*) so long to beare this my heauy World at such expenses.

NOW for the METHOD, I confesse, I could not be therein exact: first because I had such a confused Chaos of printed and written Bookes, which could not easily be ordered: partly because this Method by way of Voyages often repeates the same Countries and (though I haue often pruned repetitions) yet, sometimes admitted for more full testimonie) the same things, by diuers of our Authors trauelling the same parts, obserued, in which my Method brings in ordinarily the Authours whole Voyage there, where that part or Countrey, in which and for which we entertaine him, principally occasioneth his memorie; and partly because in this long space of imprinting (from August 1621.) many things haue comne to my hand by diligent enquiry, which were not enrolled, nor in possession to be mustered in their due file and ranke; yea, diuers things haue beene done since our other passages of like nature were printed off: And thus diuers *Dutch* quarrels are related, which yet since the Impression of that part haue beene composed. Yet are we not altogether without Order.

The Method  
and order of  
this Worke.

First,



## TO THE READER.

The first Part.

First, we haue diuided the World in our Method into the *Old* and *New*, allotting to each his owne *Tome*, the first Ten Books to the former, the later to the other. But the Worke growing more voluminous then was expected, we are forced to cut each of them asunder in the midst, the figures in the top and Alphabets in the bottome, and some marginall references and annotations intimating but two *Tomes*, which only the quantitie hath made *Foure*. Againe in the Elder World, that is, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, we obserue Antiquities and Generalities in the *First Booke*, one of the last printed, though first placed: vniuersall Circumnauigations (all knowne in that kind) in the *Second*; which though they containe many things of *America* and the South Continent, yet being from and for *Europe*, and spending most of their time on the *Asian* and *African* Coasts, are thither referred: in the *Third*, *Fourth*, and *Fifth*, are *Indian* Voyages and Affaires of the *English*, with *Portugall* and *Dutch* intercourse; in which is obserued a tolerable order of time from *Queene Elizabeths* Times to the present.

The Second Part.

In the *Second Part* you haue first *Africa* in *Two Bookes* (the *East Indie* ships but touched on the Coasts) the *Sixth Booke* handling the Northerne parts, whatsoever of *Africa* is not termed *Ethiopia*, and the *Seuenth* the *Ethiopian* part. The *Eighth Booke* enters into the Continent of *Asia*; in the first Chapters relating the History of the *Franks* (as all *Asia* since calls the Western Christians) in the *Holy Land* Wars; in the later, some Pilgrimages thither and the parts adioyning, with diuers *Turkish* Obseruations. The *Ninth* proceedeth thorow the mayne Land of *Asia* into *Persia*, *Arabia*, *India*, taking large view of those and other *Asian* Regions, returning by *Africa* with later and larger intelligence of the Easterne, Western and Northerne shores thereof; New view of the *Turkish* Dominion and *Seraglio*, as also of the *Maldine* Ilands: which and the whole *Tenth Booke* came later to hand, and therefore is rather a Supply to all, then any well ordered part of the Worke, being therefore printed after the rest.

Now for the *New World*, we begin it at *China*, which the Ancients knew not, and take all the East and North parts of *Asia* from the *Caspian* Sea, the *Arctoan* Regions, all *America* and *Terra Australis*, comprehending all in that *New Title*. The *First* of those Bookes beginning our *Third Part*, deliuereth especially the Authors of *Tartaria* in the succession of about three hundred yeeres, wherein the *Second* succeedeth, adding also *Iapan*, *Corea* and *China*, with the first Discoueries of the Northerne and *Caspian* Seas by the *English*. This *Arctoan* Region containning *Russia*, *Noua Zembla*, the *Samoyeds*, *Siberia*, *Island*, *Frisland*, *Norway*, with the Neighbour Regions, *Cherry Island*, *Greenland*, *Groenland*, &c. the *Third Booke* relateth; continued in the *Fourth* with further Discoueries intended for a North or North-west Passage. The *Fifth Booke* giueth generall Relations of *America*, in her *Mexican* or Northerly, and *Peruan* or Southerly Moyties (with what we could find of the South Continent) their Antiquities and state before, and since the *Spanish* Conquest. The *Sixth* (which begins the *Fourth Part*) containeth *English* Voyages to *America*, the *Great Bay* especially and the Southerne Moytie to the *Magellan* Straits; which in the *Seuenth Booke* are more amplified, and further enlarged with the Creatures, and Countries within Land, the *Peruan* Antiquities related by one of the *Inca* Linage, the *Spanish* Conquest, and other occurrents of the *Peruan America*, and *Terra Australis*. The *Eighth Booke* comes homeward thorow the *Mexican America* and *Florida* vnto *Canada*, relating the *French* Acts and *English* beginnings in those parts, touching in the way homeward at the *Azores*. *Virginia* is the Argument of the *Ninth Booke*, in the succession and successe thereof from the Plantation 1606. to 1624. whereto *Summers Islands* are added. The *English* Plantations in *New England* and *New-foundland* follow in the *Tenth*, with diuers Fleets set forth by *Queene Elizabeth* of famous memory, with whose blessing continued and confirmed by His Maiestie, wee commit you to God, and giue you leaue to rest at home in peace, under the shadow of your owne *Vine* and *Fig-tree*, which God for his Christs sake continue and confirme to vs and our posteritie. Amen.

You haue here a long Preface to a long Work, and yet you haue a longer touching the



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## TO THE READER.

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the vtilitie thereof in the first Paragraphs of *Salomons Ophir*. It had not beene possible for me in *London* distractions to haue accomplished so great a Designe, but for the opportunities of His Maiesties Colledge at *Chelsie*, where these foure last Summers I haue retired my selfe (without Pulpit Non-residence) to this Worke: which as it one way furthered, so another way it occasioned many *Errata*, by my absence from the Presse, as in the Bodie of the Worke, so especially in the Titles ouer each page; halfe of which I thinke, are mine owne, the other such as pleased the Corrector, needing correction enough, and sometimes not giuing sufficient direction to the Reader; whom I intreat to accept of his Day and Night, Summer and Winter together, pardoning the one for the others sake. A Table had beene necessary, if Time and assistance to a wearie hand had permitted; I adde, if some had not committed contrary to promise. It is time to make an end of Prefacing. The Authors follow; such as haue no letter annexed are Mine; such as haue *H.* added, I borrowed from Master *Hakluyts* papers, and such as haue *H.* and *P.* pertaine to both, beeing otherwise printed or in my possession written, wherein yet I made vse of some labour of his. Let the name and glory be to any other, so as aboue all and in all it bee to God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ (who hath enabled my weake bodie beyond hopes; to so great a Worke) and the profit to Thee Reader, whom in the Lord, I bid farewell.

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### *A Note touching the Dutch.*

THE necessitie of a Historie is, as of a sworne Witnesse, to say the truth, all the truth (in iust discretion) and nothing but the truth. This I haue indeuoured in the whole Worke. But, *veritas odium parit*. Some perhaps will blame me for relating some Truths, specially the *Dutch Zelots*, in that I haue related such abuses of some of that Nation in the *East Indies* and *Greenland* to the *English* there, as if I sought like an vnseasonable and vncharitable Tale-bearer to raise discord betwixt Neighbours. I answer that no Nation is in this World so pure, but hath both officious members, and some bad members also as Diseases thereof, which to impute to the whole, were as if a man should kill himselfe for a felon in his Thumbe, or Corne in his Toe: or as if he should therefore find fault with his own body because it hath not only a head, heart and hands, but excrements also, & a fundament, and other parts for euacuation; with a Palace for houses of Office, with a Crie for common Sewers, with the World which hath Devils and Hell in it. I question not, but that the *English* haue also such, and such wee haue occasionally noted, Fugitiues, Apostataes, Theeues, Murtherers, &c. which yet are not Nationall faults, but personall, except the Nation doth iustifie such vniustice, as *Troie*, the Rape of *Helena*, and the *Beniamites* those Beasts of *Gibeah*, either by impunitie or defence. Nor needed wee good Lawes, but for bad Subiects. If the *Dutch* haue such also, in the History of both I must mention both, and yet protest before God (to whom I shall answer it with the burning of bodie and soule, not these Bookes alone, if I bee perfidious) that I am not guiltie to my selfe of hatred to that Nation, yea in these Discourses I haue honoured it with and before others, following them round about the World to that purpose. And for this cause I haue omitted some odious *Greenland* Relations, haue altered and reprinted some more offensive generall speeches disgorged by the passionate loosers, with Titles on the tops of pages, intended to Offenders, but in such vnwarie termes as might by ill willers be extended to the whole Nation: yea, I had purposed to omit many things printed alreadie, rather leauing a *χάος*, then causing a Chaos, but that since the sore hath broken out by that terrible Tragedie at *Amboyna*. I could haue wished that such things had neuer beene told in *Gath*, nor published in the streets of *Askalon*, lest any enemy of our State and Religion should reioyce. But seeing the



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TO THE READER.

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the necessities of the *English East Indian Societie* haue forced such a publication, my sparing purpose had beene in vaine to conceale the Shilling where the Pound was made manifest. I might also haue beene accounted partiall against mine owne Nation. This I haue done; I for the most part, doe but publish others Relations, (and Losers perhaps will speake the most) and by Annotations dispersed intimate that these are personall faults of that *East Indie Company*, or some Commanders there, not of the whole Nation; and if any Marginall Notes with *Dutch* Epithetes seeme to speake more, yet are they but directions to the Reader to shew what in that page or place is handled without further intent; so with my Prayers for Peace on both sides I commend both to the God of Peace.

A M E N.

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Maps and Records of the  
District of Columbia

1870

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THE VOYAGES  
AND PEREGRINATIONS  
MADE BY ANTIENT KINGS,  
PATRIARKES, APOSTLES, PHILOSO-  
PHERS, AND OTHERS, TO AND  
THOROW THE REMOTER PARTS  
of the knowne World:

*Enquiries also of Languages and Religions, especially  
of the moderne diuersified Professions of  
CHRISTIANITIE.*

THE FIRST BOOKE.

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Diuine, Ecclesiasticall and Humane Testimonies:  
Intended as an historicall Preface to the  
Histories following.*



Intending to present the World to the World in the most  
certaine view, I thought a world of Authors fitter for that  
purpose, then any One Author writing of the World: whose  
discourse might haply bee more euen, facile, methodicall,  
and contracted to a more compendious forme; but could  
not auoid to be dispendious (if I may so speake) in the mat-  
ter, and to suspend the Readers iudgement for the authori-  
tie. *Oculus testis unus præstat auritis decem.* I had *Plaut.*  
rather heare the meanest of Vlysses his followers relating  
his wanderings, then wander from the certaintie with Ho-  
mer after all his readings and coniectures. Lo here then  
60 (after my Pilgrimage of the former Nature, for such as better like that course) in open  
Theatre presented a Shew of Discoveries on an English Stage, wherein the World is  
both the Spectacle and Spectator; the Actors are the Authors themselves, each presen-  
sing



Terent.

ting his owne actions and passions in that kind, kindly (in generous and genuine History) acting their acts; not affectedly straining, or scenic-all-ly playing their part; the Arts indeed of the Poet, Maker, or Composer, aiming at delight more then truth (Populo vt placerent, quas fecisset Fabulas) seeking to please the vulgar with fabulous wonders, and wonder-foole fables.

And for a Prologue, behold Salomons Ophirian Nauigation, that Worthy of Men, being most worthy to bee Our Choragus, whose ayme is in this long Worke to fetch from Ophir Materialls for the Temples structure, and to edifie Christs Church, with more full and euident knowledge of Gods Workes in the World, both of Creati- 10 on and Providence, then any one Naturall or Humane Historian, yea (absit inuidia verbo) then all hitherto in this (perhaps in any) course haue done. I compare not with Aristotle, Plinie, and others in philosophicall and learned speculation of Reason, but in euident demonstration of Sense, and herein (not to vs Lord, not to vs, but to thy Name be giuen the glory) it exceedeth not modesty to speake thus much in behalfe of this cloud of witnesses which we bring, testifying what they haue seen, that these exceed the former in certainty (relating what they haue scene) and in fulnesse (by aduantage of New Worlds found in, and besides the World knowne to them) no lesse then they are exceeded in Anti-quitie and learning.

Prov. 30. 1.  
2. King. 6. 5.

Gen. 24. 2.  
Gen. 30. 11.

\* See M. Sel'en  
Synag. 1. De D.  
Syrus.

For mee, I say with Agur, surely I am more foolish then any man, and haue not the vnderstanding of a man in mee; Alas Master (I may proclaime to each Reader) all is borrowed: I neuer trauelled out of this Kingdome (ingenuously I confesse, it is the totall summe of all my Trauell-readings) the Centre of the Worlds good things, and Heart of her happinesse; and yet (yea thereby) haue, as thou seest, conceiued (where Dinahs gadding gained onely losse) and trauelled of a Gad, a Troup of Trauellers; So said Leah, A troupe commeth, and shee called his name Gad. And seeing we haue stumbled on that Word, let it be ominous, so others read it Foelicitur, Bagad, being by the Hebrewes resolved into \* Ba Mazal tob, that is; Good fortune commeth. I am not Leah, I take no such authority 30 on mee, but when shee hath left bearing (when better leisures, quicker wits, sounder health, profounder learning, and all abler meanes looke on) let not Jacobs Bed, for the propagation and edification of the Church, be enuid to Zilpah, Leahs mayd; And let this my Seruice in conceiuing and nursing up this Gad be accepted of all Jacobs Friends. And that it might bee accepted, I haue begun (Dimidium facti qui bene cepit habet) with the most acceptable Voyages mentioned in the Old and New Testaments; the one a Type of the other; those of Solomon to Ophir, and of the Apostles about the World.

Matth. 6. 29.

Apoc. 3.

Apoc. 21. 30, 31,  
18, 22, 23.

Ac. 27.

Salomon was first in time, and shall bee first here; the first in all things which vsual- 40 ly are accounted first, Royaltie, Sanctitie, Wisdome, Wealth, Magnificence, Munificence, Politie, Exploits, Renowme: Salomon in all his glory, is prouerbiall, and He first in these by the first and greatest of testimonies; the particulars of Salomons voyage are recorded in the first, best, and more then humane Histories; Yea the things recorded, are first indeed, before other things, yea before and greater then themselves, and that which the First and Last hath said, is true of them all in typicall relation, A greater then Salomon is here. Let Salomon then, as elsewhere, so here also haue the preeminence; let Salomons name as the Character of peace and happinesse, boad holy, happy, and peaceable successe to this Work; and let Thy Name, O thou Greater then Salomon, grant protection, assistance, & some part of Salomons wisdome and prosperity to our Ophirian voyage, that 50 we may buy of thee Gold tried in the fire to make vs rich in grace, so to prepare vs to that holy Ierusalem, descending out of Heauen from God, having the Glory of God; a Citie of pure Gold like vnto cleere glasse, where the Lord God Almighty and the Lambe are the Temple, and the Glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lambe is the light thereof. Be thou, O Christ, in this our Nauigation both Load-starre and Sunne, for direction of our course, and knowledge of our true height and latitude: Let our Sayles hoisted up in thy Name, be filled with inspiration of thy Spirit, and aspiration of thy fauour, till they arriue in the Fair-hauens of humane Pleasure and Profit, thy Churches seruice and 60 edifying, Diuine acceptance and glory. Amen, O Amen.

O Salomon the holy Scriptures haue thus recorded. 1. Kings 9. 26, 27, 28. And King Solomon made a Name of Ships in Ezion Geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shoare of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the Name his seruants, Shipmen that had knowledge of the Sea with the 60 seruants



servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir and fet from thence Gold 250 Talents, and brought it to King Solomon. And Cap. 10. 11. The Naue also of Hiram, that brought Gold from Ophir brought in from Ophir great plenty of Almug trees and precious stones; 12. And the King made of the Almug trees, Pillars for the house of the Lord, &c. for the Kings House; Harps also and Psalteries for Singers: there came no such Almug Trees, nor were seene vnto this day. 13. Now the weight of Gold that came to Solomon in one yeere was 666. Talents of Gold. 15. Besides that he had of the Merchant-men, and of the trafficke of the Spice-Merchants, and of all the Kings of Arabia, and of the Gouernours of the Countrey. V. 21. And all King Solomons drinking Vessells were of Gold, and all the Vessells of the House of the Forrest of Lebanon were of pure Gold: none were of Siluer, it was nothing accounted of in the dayes of Solomon. For the Kings Ships (the cause is added, 2. Chro. 9. 21.) went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram: euery three yeeres once came the Ships of Tarshish, bringing Gold and Siluer; Iuory, and Apes, and Peacockes. 22. And King Solomon passed all the Kings of the Earth in Riches and Wisdome. 26. And hee reigned ouer all the Kings, from the Riner, euen vnto the Land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt. 27. And the King made Siluer in Ierusalem as Stones, and Cedar Trees made hee as the Sycomore Trees, that are in the Low Plaines in abundance.

§. I.

20 The Allegoricall and Anagogicall sense or application of SOLOMONS Ophirian Navigation.

**H**is is an extract of Solomons Story, so much as concernes our present purpose, the authoritie whereof is Sacred, a Diuine, infallible, inuiolable, and vndenyable veritie; the fitter ground for many high and worthy consequences hereafter to be deliuered. I shall here leaue to the Diuinitie Schooles, in more leisurely contemplation to behold the Allegoricall sense (shall I say, or application?) wherein Solomon seemes to signifie Christ, his Nauy the Church, (long before liuely represented in that first of Ships, the Ark of Noah) which in the Sea of this variable World seekes for the golden Treasures of Wildome and Knowledge, with (that plentiful riches) the rich plentie of good Workes. The Seruants of Hiram, the Doctors  
30 chosen out of the Gentiles, with the learned Christian Iewes (the seruants of Solomon) imployed ioyntly in this Ophirian Discouery, thence bring the rich materials (as the Israelites the Egyptian spoyle for the Tabernacle, so these) for building and adorning the Temple (the true sense of Scripture) after long absence by a troublesome Nauigation (in the search of Authors Diuine, Ecclesiasticall and Humane, an Ocean of toyle) from their homes. For the naturall man, that abides at home in himselfe, and hath not trauelled from his owne Wisdome and Selfe-conceit, knowes not the things of God, nor the great Mysteries of Godlinesse; he must leaue the Land, his Earthly Wisdome (Terraq; vrbesq; recedant) and launch into the deepe, there hauing his sayles filled with the winde, the illumination of that Spirit, which leads into all truth; the Scriptures being their Card, the faithful heart the Load-stone, Christ himselfe the Load-starre and Sunne of Truth, as before is intimated.  
40 Thus shall the Temple, and Church of God be edified, enriched, adorned, after wee haue arrived at Ophir, and haue leene our owne weaknesse, and taken paines in myning Gods Treasures, and vndermining our owne hearts, searching and trying our owne and Gods wayes; casting off, and purging from vs all superfluous Earth, and detaining the Gold and richer Mettall, which wee may carry and present, as the Talents gained by our Talents, in the best improuement of Gods graces, when wee shall returne to our Solomon, the Iudge of quicke and dead, after our Nauigation and earthly Pilgrimage ended. But alas how many make shipwracke of Faith by the way, and either are split on the Rockes of enormous crying Sinnes, or sinke in the smaller innumerable sands of habituall Lusts, couered with the shallowes (meere shadowes) of ciuill Righteousnesse.

Or if you had rather adioyne to the Allegory, the Anagogicall sense and vse; this History  
50 will appeare also a Mystery and Type of Eternitie. Euery Christian man is a ship, a weake vessel, in this Naue of Solomon, and dwelling in a mortall body, is within lesse then foure inches, then one inch of death. From Ierusalem the Word and Law of our Solomon first proceeded, by preaching of Solomons and Hirams seruants; the Pastors and Elect vessels to carry his Name, gathered out of Iewes and Gentiles, which guide these Ships through a stormy Sea, beginning at the Red Sea, Christs bloody Crosse, which yeelded Water and Bloud, till they arrive at Ophir, the communion of Saints in the holy Catholike Church. Thither by the water of Baptisme first, and by the waters of Repentance, drawn out of our hearts and eyes in manifold Mortifications after; (the feare of God beginning this Wisdome, the windy lusts of concupiscence, and vnstable waues of the world in vaine assailing) they attaine in the certaintie of Faith and assurance: where seeking  
60 for Knowledge as for Siluer, and searching for her as for hidden Treasures, they doe as it were labour in the Mynes for Gold, which they further purifie by experimentall practise and studie of good Workes: yet not in such perfection, but that to this foundation, Gold, Siluer, precious Stones, some Almug trees are added for the Temples Pillars, oftentimes also of our owne, Hay and Stubble, as worle and more combustible matter ioyned; the Iuory, being a dead Bone may serue for a

Whitak. descrip. 9.5.

Hieron. Ep. 84. August. de doc. Christi. l. 1. c. 40. Basil. hom. 24. de legend. lib. Gen. til. Greg. Nyssens in vit. Moys. 1. Co. 2. 14. 1. T. 3. 16.

Col. 2. Prou. 2.

1. Co. 3. 12.



secular Throne and worldly wife; but here death is dead; the *Apes* and *Peacocks* lively expresse Hypocrisie and worldly pompe, which in the best of Saints vially leaue some tincture in their voyage for Heauen. In the returne to *Solomon*, these shall be burnt (as those were by *Nabuzardan*) but he himselfe shall be saved; and the former admitted by that Prince of Peace, the Heauenly *Solomon* to the building of that Temple in the new *Ierusalem*, for charitie neuer falleth away. This is that holy Citie figured by that of *Palestina*, where all is brought to *Solomon*, that God may bee all in all, as the *Alpha* which set them forth, so the *Omega*, who hath made all things for himselfe, for whose will and glories sake, all things are and were created: And the Kings of the Earth bring their glory and honour vnto this Citie. Not that hee needs any thing, but that wee need the same, who in seeing him as hee is, doe all partake of his glory. Happy are thy men (may more truly be said of this *Solomons* seruants) happy are these thy seruants which may stand in thy presence and heare thy wisdom: which may enioy eternitie, signified by Gold, which alone of mettalls neither fire, nor rust, nor age consumeth (and this Citie is pure Gold) and that Inheritance of the Saints in light, figured by Silver, the most lightsome and delightfome of mettalls to the eye. As for precious Stones, the foundations of the Wall of the Citie are garnished with all manner of them. And touching the Almuggim Trees, whereof *Solomon* made Pillars for the Temple and Psalteries, euery Tree which here beareth good fruit, and euery one that ouercometh, will this *Solomon* there make a Pillar in the Temple of his God, and hee shall goe no more out. And they shall serue him Day and Night in his Temple, and hee that sitteth on the Throne shall dwell among them. These haue also the Harps of God, And they sing the Song of Moses, and the Song of the Lamb, nay these are the Psalteries and Harpes, which filled with all fulnesse of God, alway resound praises & thanks vnto the King of Saints, and with euerlasting harmony in that Angellicall Quire, are tuned with *Alleluiah*, and *Te Deum*, and *Holy, holy, holy*, in fulnesse of ioy at his right hand, and pleasures for euermore. Thus in diuers respects are they both the Citie, and Temple, and Kings and Priests, and Instruments, and all these, and none of these: For I saw no Temple therein, saith that Seer, for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lambe are the Temple of it. Euen God himselfe shall bee with them, and God shall bee all in all: and as hee is incomprehensible, so Eye hath not scene, nor eare hath heard, nor can the heart of man conceiue what God hath prepared for them that loue him: *Cœli cœlorum Domino, terram dedit Filijs Hominem*. And vnmeet is it for me to attempt so high climbing.

Not so the Tropologie or Morall vse, not so the History, for our learning wherein the same is written. And although the History in Nature should precede, yet because wee intend the Tropologicall sense or application of this History, as a kind of Preface or preamble to the many Histories ensuing, wee haue here giuen it the first place.

## Q. II.

### The Tropologicall vse of the Story; and of the lawfulnessse of Discoveries and Negotiation by Sea.



Philo de vita  
Mol. l. i. Aug.  
quest. 39. in Ex-  
od deo iubenti  
ministerium  
præbuerunt.  
Tho. 2. 2. q. 104.  
ar. 4.

\* Aug. de Ciu.  
D. l. 4. c. 4.  
\* Cyp. Ep. ad  
Donat. l. 2. Ep. 2.  
Ac. 17. 26.

Herein therefore *Solomon* may become a wise guide vnto vs, and first by his example teach vs the lawfulnessse of Nauigation to remote Regions. His particular Dominion is *Palestina*, his subiect Prouinces added, extend not beyond *Egypt* and the Riuer *Euphrates*, as is before deliuered. But God which had enlarged *Solomons* heart with Wisdom, did not enlarge it to iniustice by an ouerlarge conscience: and hee which renounced the price of a Dog and a Whore in his offerings, would not permit the Temple, which sanctifieth the offerings, to bee built and adorned with robbery and spoyle. It remains then that *Solomon* had a right, not extraordinary as the *Israelites* to spoyle the *Egyptians*, by Diuine especiall Precept; but such a right wherein *Hiram* was interested also. The *Ebreaues* might both at Gods command, who is Lord of all, and in Equitie demand wages of the *Egyptians* for so long and tedious seruice; which had not Diuine Precept and power interposed, the same tyranny which had imposed the one, would haue denied the other. But what had the *Ophirians* wronged *Solomon*, of whom and whose Countrey they had not heard, that thus by a numerous and strong Fleet hee should enter on their Coasts? We must not thinke godly *Solomon* to be *Alexanders* predecessor, whom the Poet calls *Terrarum fatale malum & fidus iniquum Gentibus*: whom the Pirat accused as the greater, finding no other difference betwixt them, but a smal Ship and a great Fleet. *Remota iustitia, quid sunt regna* saith *Augustine*, nisi magna latrocinia, quia & ipsa latrocinia quid sunt, nisi parua regna? And before him *Cyprian*, \* *Homicidium cum admittunt singuli, crimen est, vritus vocatur cum publice geritur. Impunitatem acquirit sauitia magnitudo*. Surely *Solomons* right was his being a Man, which as a wise & a mightie King of Men, hee might the better exercise and execute. For howsoeuer God hath giuen to euery man & to euery Nation, a kind of proprietie in their peculiar possessions; yet there is an vniuersall tenure in the Vniuerse, by the Lawes of God and Nature, still remaining to each man as hee is a Man, and κοινωτομία, as the common or Royall right of the King or State is neither confounded nor taken away by the priuate proprietie of the Subiect.

True



True it is that God, which hath made of one blood all Nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times appointed, hath also determined the bounds of their habitation. But not so straitly of Negotiation. In Habitation proprietie is requisite, that every man may sit under his owne Vine, and under his owne Fig-tree, and drinke the waters out of his owne Cisterne and running waters out of his owne Well, and that they bee onely his owne, and not the strangers with him. But hee that hath made all Nations of one blood, would still they should bee as fellow members one of another; (a shadow of which was in the Law, permitting to eat in the neighbours Vineyard, but not to carry forth;) and that there should still remaine mutuall Necessitie, the Mother of mutuall Commerce, that one should not bee hungry, and another drunken, but the superfluitie of one Countrey, should supply the necessities of another, in exchange for such things, which are here also necessary, and there abound; that thus the whole World might bee as one Body of mankind, the Nations as so many members, the superabundance in each, concocted, distributed, retained or expelled by merchandising (as by the Naturall bodily Offices and Faculties in nourishment) whereby not without mutuall gaine One may releue others Wants. *Non omnia possumus omnes* may bee said of Arts; *Nec vero terra ferre omnes omnia possunt*, may bee added of Regions, each Countrey hauing her owne, both Artificiall and Naturall Commodities, whereby to enrich themselves with enriching of others. Thus in old times, *Tyrus* chief Staple of the worlds Merchandise, and consequently chiefe Store-houle of the worlds Treasures; (see the same elegantly & particularly disciphered by the holy Ghost) as it receiued from all parts, so when her wares went forth out of the Seas, shee filled many people, and did enrich the Kings of the Earth, with the multitude of her riches and merchandise.

Prou. 5. 15, 17.

Deut. 23.

Virg.

Ex. 27. &amp; 28.

Ex. 27. 33.

And because no one National Law could prescribe in that wherein all are interestted, God himself is the Law giuer, and hath written by the stile of Nature this Law in the hearts of men, called in regard of the efficient, the *Law of Nature*, in respect of the object, the *Law of Nations*, whereto all Men, Nations, Commonwealths, Kingdomes and Kings are subiect. And as he hath written this Equity in mans heart by Nature, so hath he therfore encompassed the Earth with the Sea, adding so many inlets, bayes, hauens and other naturall inducements and opportunities to inuite men to this mutuall commerce. Therefore hath he also diuersified the Windes, which in their shifting quarrels conspire to humane trafficke. Therefore hath hee diuided the Earth with so many Riuer, and made the shoares conspicuous by Capes and promontories; yea, hath admitted the Sunne and Starres in their direction and assistance vnto this Generall Councell, wherein Nature within vs and without vs, by euerlasting Canons hath decreed Communitie of Trade the world thorow. And thus hath she taught them who had no other instructor, with dislike and disdain to admire at such immanity & inhumanity; *Quod genus hoc hominum, quene hunc tam barbaram morem, Permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur arena!* yea whereas by Nature the Earth was common Mother, and in equall community to be enioyed of all hers.

Virg. En.

Sunt autem priuata nulla natura. Cic.

Horat.

*Nam propria telluris herum Natura nec illum,*

*Nec me, nec quenquam statuit:* and howsoeuer this case is since altered in this element, lest the idle should liue on the sweate of others browes: yet the other and nobler elements still remaine in greatest part in their originall communitie, and cannot so fully bee appropriated to priuate possession, since the supposed Golden age is vanished, and this Iron (or golden in another sense) hath succeeded. Yea, then also the house, wife, children, and such things as are wasted or growne worse in the vse, as meate, drinke, apparell, were appropriate and priuate chattels to the possessor, howsoeuer things immoueable continued the freehold of euery man in the common tenure of common humanity, as still in the life of *Brasilians* and other Sauages in the following relations is to be seene. By humane consent and diuine dispensation the Earth was diuided among the Sonnes of Noah.

Auenus.

Omnia verum vsurpantur erant Auenus.

*Communemque prius cœlum lumina solis & aura.**Cautus humum longo signauit limite messor.*

Ov. Met. l. 1.

Ov. Met. l. 6.

Thus some things became publike, that is, proper to the Kingdome, State, or Nation: other things priuate, as each mans possession, and that also in differing degrees, as the Commons, and Champaine Countries with vs in their differing tenure from grounds inclosed, doe manifestly enough argue. But since that diuision of Languages and Lands; the Poet still proclaimes Natures right,

*Quid prohibetis aquas? usus communis aquarum est.**Nec solem proprium Natura nec Aera fecit,**Nec tennes undas. In publica munera veni.* and another:*Cunctis undamque antramque patentem.*

Virg. En. 7.

These so farre as they haue not by possession of other men before, or otherwise by their own Nature cannot be appropriated, are Natures Commons, which both Free-holders as Men, and Coppie-holders, as other liuing creatures, Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, and creeping things according to their seuerall kinds do communicate in. If any quarrell this poeticall Proofoe; I answer that they were Natures Secretaries in the cases of Reason, and the Common Law of Humanitie, which hauing not the Law, were a Law to themselves, and in like cases therefore produced as good euidence

Rom. 2.



Rom. 2.  
Acts 17.  
1. Cor. 15.  
Tit. 2.

by the Planter of the Gospel, and Doctor of the *Gentiles*. And if we will surmount Reason, and appeale to diuine censure, what need we other testimonie then this of *Salomon* in his best times; and for his best act, imitated herein (though with vnlike successe) by godly *Iehoshaphat*? These things are also written for our learning to the ends of the World, that wise, magnanimous, fortunate, peaceable and godly Kings might propound this patterne to their industries. Yea, more then in *Salomons* time is this lawfull to Christian Kings, in regard that the *Iewish Pale* is downe, and the Church is Catholike, not appropriated to One people, or circumscribed in a circumscribed corner, or swaddled in a small Cradle, as in that infancie of the Circumcision; but open and common to the Communitie of Mankind, to which in this last Age no better meane is left then Nauigation and commerce; wherein though the most aime at gaine, yet God that can raise of stones children to *Abraham*, and made *Dauids* Conquests and *Salomons* Discoveries seruiceable to the Temple, can no lesse conuay the Gospel then other Wares into those parts, to whome hee hath giuen such rich attractiues in the East and West, perhaps that this negotiation might further another, in barter and exchange of richer treasures for their temporall.

He which brought the Northerne people being then *Pagans*, into the *Roman* Empire, to make them Lords of it and Subiects to him, can of Merchants allured with Gold, make, or at least send with them, Preachers of his Sonne. And if the Deuill hath sent the *Moors* with damnable *Mahumetisme* in their merchandizing quite thorow the East, to peruert so many Nations with thraldome of their states and persons, out of the frying panne of *Pagani* Rites, into the fire of *Mahumetrie*: Shall not God be good to *Israel*, and gracious to the ends of the earth, so long since giuen in inheritance to his Sonne?

### §. III.

*The Tropologicall or Morall vse enlarged and amplified; and a view taken of Mans diuersified Dominion in Microcosmicall, Cosmopoliticall, and that spirituall or heauenly right, ouer himselfe and all things, which the Christian hath in and by Christ.*



Enerall Rules haue exceptions. *Salomon* was iust and wise, well knowing the difference of *Ezion-Geber* and *Ophir*, and that difference of Dominion which God (that made Man after his Image) hath giuen vs ouer the Creatures, diuersified both in the subiect and obiect. *E Cælo descendit γυνὴ σαυτοῦ*, was written in *Adam* by Creation, in *Salomon* by Reuelation, before Nature suggested that sentence to *Chilo*, or the *Delphian* Deuill (the Ape of Diuinitie) had caused it to be written in Golden Letters on the Frontispice of that Temple. To know a mans selfe aright is annexed to the knowledge of God (in whom wee live, mooue, and are, of whom and for whom are all things) not his essence, but his exprest Image thereof in his workes, of which, Man is in this World the principall; what hee hath receiued, what he hath lost, what he retaineth by Nature, and what he recouereth, and more then recouereth by grace, in and of that diuine resemblance. In the first state all men had a naturall right in common ouer the creatures. But the Deuill (the greatest Incloser) by sinne inclosed these Commons of Humanitie, and altered their tenure from *Fee Simple*, to meere *Villanage*: yet so (God in iustice remembring mercie) that some ruines remaine since the fall, not only in the faculties and substance of bodie and soule, but in the personall rights also ouer torpid, vegetatiue, and all vnreasonable creatures, continued to him by that Charter of Reason, which in so well ordered furniture, and so well furnished order as the name *κοσμος* and *mundus* import, could not but haue beene confounded, if both the immortall and spirituall part in himselfe, should not haue exercised dominion in some kind ouer the mortall and bodily; and if in the greater World, the reasonable should not haue disposed of the vnreasonable. As for the conformitie of mans will and actions to God and right, vsing of that right ouer the creature, to the sole glory of the Creator (to whom man is subordinate, as the creature to him) this was by the cracke of our earthen Vessell in Mans Fall lost, and as a more subtile and spirituall liquor, ranne out. Yet still remaine in this defaced Image some obscure lineaments, and some embers raked vp in the ashes of Mans consumption, which being by naturall diligence quickned, giue liuely expressions of God; and where supernaturall worke recouereth, are more then recouered, internally and inchoatiuely in the state of grace, externally also and eternally in that perfection of glorie.

Hence ariseth to a man a *threesfold tenure*, more and more excellent then any which *Littleton* hath related; a *Microcosmicall* in respect of our selues; a *Cosmopoliticall* in regard of the World; a *Catholike*, *Spirituall*, and *Heauenly* in relation to Christ the Head, his Bodie the Church, and that euerlasting inheritance; besides that (which is the last and least of all) in reference to *Politick*

Law

Man in his fall was robbed of supernaturall, wounded in his naturall gifts. Supernaturall we call those gifts which now are not obtained but by Gods free gift, and called the new man in righteousness & holinesse, Eph. 4. Naturall, those which remaine to and in decayed nature.

Four kinds of right and dominion.



Law and Societie. The first originall of all dominion and right is GOD, who is Lord of all, whole Image as is said is imprinted on and in Man, as otherwise so in this Lordship or right, which he hath first in and on himselfe *Microcosmically* in the members of his bodie, as the Regions of this *Selfe-kingdome*; where the continuall Court of Conscience, the large iurisdiction of Reason (without which a man is, as suspended from the power of himselfe, termed *impos sui*, besides himselfe, as in drunkenness and madness) the freedom of the Will (which is no longer will, then willing and cannot be constrained) the *Naturall*, and *Vitall* actions wrought within vs, (and yet without vs, without our owne knowledge or direction, and much lesse subiect to the correction of others) the *Animall* also in externall and internall senses, which cannot but exercise their faculties vpon their due objects: these all proclaime that the poorest Slaue is Lord by diuine grant, euen since the fall, of no lesse then this little-World; yea, while he obeyeth others, he commands himselfe to that obedience, in which selfe-commands is the true exercise of vertue or vice. This Inheritance and Dominion is so naturall that it cannot be alienated, without confiscation of the whole to the eternall giuer of whom he holds it. For euen in and by his eternall Law, is this made the rule of all righteousness, to doe as we would be done to, to loue our Neighbours as our selues; and if there were no power in and of our selues, there could neither be vertue nor vice in louing or hating our Neighbour: if no freedom of will and affections, no reward with God or man; if no gouernment of mans selfe reserved, Martyrs of all men were the most monstrous, which for obeying God rather then man, are the most honoured and admired. Once; subiection to God is absolute; to Princes as they are called Gods, and yet die like men, with reseruatiō; for conscience of Gods Commandement, where his reuealed will to the contrary frees not; and yet euen then we must by suffering doe the will of Superiours, thereby to shew our fidelitie in keeping Gods Promise, though with losse, of our Wils where we loue, and our liues where wee feare; shewing that we loue & feare him most of all, which yet were neither loue, nor feare, nor vertue, without this liberty of wil and power in our selues. He that ruleth his owne mind is better then hee that winneth a Citie. This is the greatest conquest, the greatest possession to be master of thy selfe. Nor is this power absolute to our selues ouer our selues: Wee are not our owne, wee are Gods who hath created vs; our Parents which haue procreated vs, our Countries which sustayneth vs, our Kings which maintayneth vs; our Neighbours in common humanity: to neglect a Mans fame or life, (much more prodigally to reiect them) is to robbe all these of their due in vs.

See my Microcosme or Pilgrimage.

Pro. 16. 33.

1 Cor. 6. 20. & 7. 23.

Lu. 11.

Ps. 2.

Christian Liberty.

Gal. 5.

1 Cor. 7.

The Pope denies his baptismall name, the other is re-baptised.

\* As is the vse of some Parish churches after Lamas, &c.

Sen Epist. 9.

Ad viuendum multis rebus opus est, ad bene viuendum minimo sane & vix deo & despicere te fortunam.

But in Christians it were a deeper Sacriledge: they are not their owne, they are bought with a price (the greatest of prices, the blood of God) they are gained by conquest, Christ hauing bound the strong man and spoiled his goods; they are given by the Father for the Sonnes Inheritance, and in Baptisme haue by mutuall Covenant, giuen ouer themselves to his seruice. The freedom which Christ hath purchased for vs, doth yeeld Libertie, not Licentiousnesse; frees not from duties, to doe what wee lust, but makes vs haue a lust to doe our duties; sweetly inclining the Wil, and renewing the Minde to esteeme the Service of God, and of men for his sake, the greatest freedom. Hee then that is Christs, is a new Creature, to which, bondage or freedom and other worldly respects, are meere respects and circumstances. For hee that is bond, is the Lords freeman, and hee that is free, is the Lords Seruant. It is the Devils Sophistry, as to separate what hee hath ioyned, so to confound what hee hath distinguished; and it is obseruable, that the Pope and the Anabaptist, which are brethren in this Iniquity, haue first denied their Baptisme, the Seale of their Christianitie. For these many rights doe not subiect vs to many Masters, but subordinate our subiection in the beautie of order. Euen in Politicall or Ciuill right One may be Lord of the Fee; another of the Soile; a third of the way by ingresse, egress, regresse; a fourth, hath right in the same ground, in time of Faire or Market; the whole Vicinity in Commoning times; and others other wayes: all whose Rights, are subiect to the Right Royall, and Soueraigne.

And if in proprietie of strictest Nature, there may bee such communitie of subordinate rights without tumultuous crossing or pernicious confusion, how much more in things more spirituall, and more easily communicable? In which respect, the Philosophers, held themselves of themselves compleate; and (in whatsoever state) *sapientem seipso contentum esse*, not dependant (where he is properly a man) of other men of the World: not contracting him *intra cutem suam* (to vse Senecaes words) in this *Microcosmicall* happinesse, but needing the *Cosmopoliticall* helpe *ad viuendum*, not *ad beate viuendum*; to liue at least, howsoever to liue well, a sound heart and good conscience are sufficient; to the other food and raiment are necessary, to this *ex te nascentia bona*; the best societie is of vertuous thoughts which make men, as Scipio said, *nunquam minus solos quam cum soli, nec minus otiosos quam cum otiosi sint*, but vicious company (as the company of Vices) are the most horrid and desolate Wildernesse. No exile can deprive a man of this Citie, no Prison of this Societie, no Pillage of these Riches, no bondage of this Libertie.

In this fence Socrates said he was *κοινοπολίτης* all places his Countrie, all men his Countermen; in this, Bias, when he had lost all by fortune or warre, carried all his away with him: in this, Zeno,



Laert. in Zen.

Zeno, maruelled at nothing neither in Nature, whose depths cannot be searched, nor in Fortune, whose possibilitie of most licentious effects must be the glaile to view our owne fortune, and to make that light by long premeditation, which others doe by long suffering: in this, Seneca, *Colo tegitur qui non habet urnam*; in this, another Seneca teacherh, *Cum Orientem Occidentemq; illustraueris animo, cum tot animalia, tantam copiam rerum quas Natura beatissime fundit, aspexeris; emitte hanc Dei voce in omnia mea sunt*; in this, Diogenes when Pirats exposed him to sale, professed his art was to *rule men*, and bad them sell him to *Xeniades*, for he needed a Master; from whom when his friends would haue redeemed him, he retuled, saying, *Lions were Masters*, and not seruants of them which fed them; in this, the *Stoicks* called their poorest *Wiseman*, rich, free, a King, in this sense *Socrates* with whom we began, said if his fortune would not sute and sert to him, he would make himselfe sutable to his fortune.

Laert. in Diog.

Tertul.

Ioh. 8.

Tertul. de Pat.  
saith of the  
Philosopher,  
*cæca viuunt.*  
Mat. 4.  
Col. 1.  
1. Thes. 5.

So long as life lasteth and humanitie continueth, they are vniuersall possessors of the Vniuerse, in which kind, *Aristotle* hath left more memorable Monuments of Contemplation, then *Alexander* of Conquest: Natures commons, the Sun, Stars, Heauens, Aire, are common, at least to their mindes in vtmost of miseries, and with internall plentie they supply all externall defects. In this *Miscroscopical* and *Cosmopolitical* Wealth, consisted all the Philosophers estate and reuenue, which they called Vertue and Moralitie: which made them Masters of themselves, and thereby of the World, the iust Circle of the Centre of Humanitie, for which it was created. These things (me thinkes) I see not without pittie, nor can resemble Them more fitly then to Horses of excellent courage; but hood-winked so, that some little transperence of light makes them more importunate to others mischietes, and their owne *precipice* (whence Philosophers haue been called Patriarchs of Heretikes) or elie like Mil-horses to compasse with this Worlds Wheele the immouable Centre of Natures corruption, to which they are subiect, no lesse then others which worke at a Querne, and stand still at their Hand-mill, by a larger circumference alway moouing, *promouendo nihil*, proceeding in true freedome nothing at all. If the Sonne make you free, you shall be free indeed. These, to make the noblest comparison may seeme *starres*, children of the night, which in their *Moralitie* gaue rayes of light that to the World made them eminent Ornaments, and may make many of vs ashamed, which in the *Daies Sun-shine* of the Gospell *lono and liue darknesse*, and like Owles, Bats, and wild Beasts, hide our selues studiously from the Sun, flie abroad and prey in the darke, *fashioning our selues to this World*, haue our cogitations and conuerlations darkened. CHRIST is neuertheless to all that haue eyes to see, the *Sunne of Righteousnesse*, by whome wee are by R-generation translated from the power of darknesse, and made the children of the day; that wee may know what wee worship, and whom we haue beloued, not so much talking as walking, euen in this bodily prison, these liberties of the Gospell, being truly (though yet in the imperfect growth of infancie) restored to our selues, to the World, yea to a more glorious state, whereof Nature could not so much as dreame; that whereas Man had lost both the former by suggestion of Euill, Deuil-Angels, Christ hath exalted farre aboue all Heauens visible, to supply these Thrones of Dominion, which those rebellious Thrones and Dominions lost. The euidence whereof we haue by Faith and Hope, our Head already hauing taken Liuerie and Seisin, and from thence liuing in vs, actuating and moouing vs by his Spirit, preparing vs in this fight of militant grace to that light of triumphant glorie.

Ph. 4. 11, 12, 13.  
Disciplina, Sci-  
entia, Myste-  
rium, Imperium  
est ars ista, Re-  
gina artium,  
quod ex verbis  
Paulinis apparet  
1. Cor. 2. 14.

Ioh. 15.  
1. Cor. 15.

Luk. 22.  
2. Cor. 6. 10.  
1. Cor. 9. 4.  
Verse 19.  
1. Cor. 9. 26, 27.

Euen these first fruits are sweet and solid; *I haue learned* (saith our Apostle) *in what soeuer state I am, therewith to be content. And I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound, euerie where and in all things, I am instructed both to be full and to be hungrie, and to abound and haue need. I am able to all things through Christ strengthening me.* This was the true riches not in the Chist, but in the heart, which therefore neither men nor Deuils could take away. And see his Degrees in this Schoole; first *μαθησιν*, *I haue learned this Discipline*, not in the Schoole of Nature but of Grace, for we are all taught of God: secondly, *ᾤδα* this Science, I know: whereas the wisest of Philosophers professed to know but this one thing that hee knew nothing: thirdly *μεμύημαι*, and without all controuersie this is a great mysterie of godlinesse, in which the naturall man is not initiated, hee knowes not the things of God, nor can know them, for they are foolishnesse to him; but the vntion of the Spirit only enters men in these mysteries (which the word signifieth) after which followes in due order, *Πάρτα ἰσχύω*. *I am able to all things*, to doe, to suffer all things, (and therefore Lord of himselfe and of the World) but *ἐν τῷ ἐσθραμῆντι με χριστῷ* in Christ enabling; without me saith Christ, *ye can doe nothing*; and not I, saith Paul but the grace of God in me: whereas those Philosophers hauing no stocke, but their owne, were poore Pedlers, not Royall Merchants, which would seeme to flie but wanted wings, yea life.

And as for this CHRISTIAN selfe and World, and Heauen-interest, it troubles not, intermeddles not, disturbs not Earthly possessions and powers, for the greatest is a servant of all, and hee is often poore in secular sense which makes many rich, as hauing nothing, euen then when he possesseth all things. Am I not free? haue we not power? saith Paul, *Who when he was free from all, made himselfe the servant of all that he might gaine the more*; not (as they) running quasi in incertum, and fighting quasi aerem verberans, but in this freedome and rule of the Spirit, beating downe and subduing the bodie of flesh and mortifying his earthly members, not seeking his owne but the good of others:

As



# CHAP. I. S. 3. Christians grace and glorie. Vanity of other things compared.

As I please all men in all things (lawfull, for of other things he saith, if it should please men, I should not be the servant of Christ) not seeking mine owne profit, but of many, that they may be saved. The contempt of riches and greatnesse is the most compendious way to bee rich and great (the contempt I meane, which proceeds from content, not that of the vnthankfull prodigall, nor of the desperate begger) and he can neuer be poore that hath Christ, himselfe, and all things in present possession; God and Heauen in reuerſion. This, this is that which lifts vp his thoughts, and so fills them with the fulnesse of God, that he neglects these baser and truly inferior matters; and, that which others are vitiously, hee is (and it is his vertue to bee) courteous, voluptuous, ambitious, but the objects are righteousness, ioy in the Holy Ghost, and the Kingdome of Heauen.

This whole Globe of Earth and Waters, seemes great to them that are little, but to thoughts truly great and like to God, it holds its true place, price, quantitie, that is, the lowest, basest, least. *Quid est potest videri magnum in rebus humanis, cui aternitas omnis, totiusque Mundi nota sit magnitudo?* said the Orator. *Hoc est pauculum, quod in tot gentes ferro & igni diuiditur. O quam ridiculi sunt mortalium termini?* said Seneca. Scipio was ashamed of the Roman Empires point of this point: and another (*hec est materia gloria nostra, hic tumultuatur humanum genus, &c.*) is ashamed of this stirre for earth by foolish man, not considering *quanta terrarum parte gaudeat, vel cum ad mensuram auaritie sua propagauerit, quam tandem portionem eius defunctus obtineat.* Horum agrorum possessione te effers, qui nulla pars sunt terra? said Socrates to Alcibiades bragging of his lands, which yet in an vniuersall Map hee could not shew: whereas the Vniuerse it selfe is not large enough to bee the Mappe of the Christians inheritance, whose are the world, and life, and death, and things present and things to come, all are theirs; the third Heauen and Paradise of God their Patrimonie; the Angels their Gard (are they not all ministering spirits sent forth for their sakes that are heires of saluation?) the Devils, the World, Sinne, Death and Hell their triumph; Paul, Apollo, Cephas, all the Worthies, Elders, Senators & Patres Conscripti of the celestiall Ierusalem, those first-borne, whose names are written in Heauen, their Kindred, Brethren, fellow Citizens, fellow-members; Christ himselfe their head, their life; and God their portion, their exceeding great reward, their owne God amongst them, in a tenure like himselfe, eternall and vnſpeakably glorious. The degrees of this Scala Celi, are mentioned by Paul, *b All are yours, and you Christs and Christ Gods, and this the descent of our right, God, Christ, all things; God gaue all to his Sonne, his Sonne with all to vs. Christ with his bodie is the Centre, and God the Circumference of this mysticall Corporation.*

Rowze vp then thy thoughts, O my Soule, let these worldly Pismires toile about their Hills, and busie Bees about their Hiue; and let them in Courts and Suits, where *Forum c litibus mugit insanum*, contest about the shadow of the Asse. Shadowes; obscure & darke shadowes are Time or Eternitie, Motion of immutabilitie, Earth, or Heauen; and in a vaine shew or shadow walks he, disquieting himselfe in vaine, that heaps vp riches and knows not who shall gather them. All that I see is mine, said the Philosopher: Foolosopher! that I see not is mine, things seen are temporall, things not seen are eternall; my faith is the euidence of things not scene, my hope were not hope if scene, and my Charitie mind the things above, & out of sight, where Christ my loue (so Ignatius called him) sits at the right hand of the God of loue, which is loue. And yet if I affect shadowes, this Sunne yeelds so farre to my yet weaker and grosser bodily affects, and whiles it thus shines on my soule, by grace it makes the shadowes as moouing indices of time attend my bodie, this being the prerogative of Christian godlinesse, to haue the promises of this life, and that which is to come. Sure if I were in the starrie Heauen, with mortall eyes I could not thence in such distance be able to see this small Globe, whence I see so small the greatest starres, whence the light of the World and King of starres (so much neerer in place, greater in quantitie, more visible in qualitie) seemes as little, as the head that viewes it. And should this Earth which cannot there be scene, so Eclipse my lower Moon-like borrowed beames by interposition, that all should be shadow in a double night and twofold darknesse? No, No, I will get vp thither, euen farre above my selfe, farre above all Heauens, (say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into Heauen? that is to bring Christ from above) and thence with a spirituall and heavenly eye looke on earth, and not here and hence with a carnall and sensuall eye looke on Heauen (this makes the heavenly bodies little, the great light of Heauen eclipsed, not in it selfe, but to me by every interposed Moone, and the Heauen of Heauens wholly, inuisible) so shall it not annoy my sense; so shall not my sense of earth annoy my reason; so shall not my reason perplexe my faith, but I shall use it as not using, as not abusing it, to helpe and not to hinder my present Pilgrimage.

And thinke not that we speake impossibilities: of euery Christian it is said, *conuersus est & confedere fecit in celestibus in Christo Iesu*; and we are *συνυμωτοι*, planted together into the similitude of his resurrection by Baptisme, both in regard of the imputation and infusion. If this high Myſterie be hid, yet, as when thou hast viewed the Sunne, it makes thee vncapeable of seeing the earth, either at that time or for a space afterwards: so the soule that often by deuout contemplation is accustomed to view this Sunne, neither can then equally, nor cares much to fixe his eyes on earthly delights after, but hauing drunke of these heavenly waters, is not very thirstie of these muddie Springs, and of troubled Ale after such generous Wines. These things are indeed effected

10:4,33: Gal.1.10.

Ephes.3.

Rom.14.17.

Som.Scip: Plin.1.2.

1.Co.3.22: Heb.12.

Heb.12.

Apoc.21.

b 1.Cor.3: 1.P.39.20.4.vll.

c Cyprian.

Heb.11.1. Rom.8. Col.3.1.

D. Dec in a M.S. d The Sun is, if Art hath rightly measured, above 106. times; the greatest stars, above 100. greater then the earth. Rom.10.

1.Cor.7. Ephes.2.6. Rom.6.5.



effected by degrees, nor can we at once leape from the Cradle to the Saddle, and I suspect the forward *Herculean* hands that can so soone with new-borne gripes strangle old Serpents: yet is not the Christian alway a Dwarf, but still grows up in grace, and is ever growing into him which is the head, CHRIST. He is the *Alpha* and *Omega*, hee is Lord of all as the Son and Heire, of Man, the World and Heauen; and he withall this right is giuen vnto vs, inhabiting, purifying, quickning Mans heart by faith; whence he also is *Microcosmically* Master of himselfe, *Cosmopolitically* of the World, in *Catholike Christianitie* heire of Heauen; All, of, in, by and for Christ, to whom be glory for euer. Amen.

III.

The Christian and Philosopher compared in that challenge to be rich, free, a King, that this hinders not but furthers Politicall subiection: and of the happy combination of wisdom and royaltie in SALOMON, as likewise in our dayes.



L L Arts are but the supply of Natures defects, to patch vp her ragged and worne rents, to couer rather then to cure or recouer Mans fall; euen that King of Arts, the Politicall Art of Kings, is not heire by whole blood; but the gift of God, begotten since the fall, and abundantly argues our vnruinesse otherwise, which must haue Lords and Lawes to rule vs. By like fauour of God, least mans dissolution should bring a desolation, came in Politicall tenure and Ciuill state and Right amongst men. The least possession is this, which wee call *our proper*, as being no part of our selues, and a small part of the smallest part of the Vniuerse: greater is the Vniuerse it selfe, and the greatest right thereto is that which is most vniuersall, whereof the soule is only capable; greater then the greater World is this Little, for whom that was made, yea, for whom the Word, the maker of both was made flesh; and as in it selfe, so also to vs, whom little it aduantageeth to winne the whole world and loose our owne soules: greatest of all and Greatnesse it selfe is God, the lot of the Christians inheritance and the portion of his cup, to whom the Father hath giuen the Sonne, and with him all things. These things may concur and did in *Salomon*, without confusion; that the three last may also be separated from the first, and that subsist without the least knowledge of these last, is a true conclusion. And how many haue much in Politicall and Ciuill possession, which are had and held of the things they haue and hold, as the price of their freedom, not so much as dreaming of any other tenure but propriety, laughing at the Philosopher, and raging at the Christians farther challenge, which yet disturbs not (as not a worldly tenure) *Propriety* but that positue *sicut erat in principio*, (in the fruit of mans incorrupted nature) is now comparatively more certaine, more ample by faith, and shall be in *secula seculorum* a superlatiue of fullest happinesse. Euen still proprietie in strictest sence, is the Subiects state and that with many subdiuisions and diuersifications; a higher and vniuersall right appertaineth in each mans proprietie to the King, as Lord of all. That naked *Cynike*, that neither had house nor dish, not only compared himselfe with *Alexander*, (in emulation of his great Titles, proclayming *I am Diogenes the Dogge*) but euen great *Alexander*, had he not benee *Alexander*, professed hee would wish to bee *Diogenes*. Neither feare nor desire could any whit dazzle him in that Royall lustre, but heeing questioned by *Alexander*, if hee feared him not, asked if hee were good or bad; beeing answered, good; and who (saith he) is afraid of good? being bid den aske, hee desired no-thing but the restitution of the Sunne which his interposition had taken from him; insinuating a greater riches in Natures inheritance, then in the greatest Kings beneficence; and in his owne mind, then in the Others spacious Empire. *Plus erat quod hic nollot accipere*, (saith *Seneca*) *quam quod ille posset dare*. Nor had *Greece* alone such spirits: *Calanus* in *India* was more admired of *Alexander*, then the King of him. *Corpora*, saith he in his Epistle to *Alexander*, *transfere de loco ad locum, animas non coges facere, quod nolunt, non magis quam saxa, & ligna vocem emittere*. I speake not, as approouing these men in all their speeches and actions: but if they could doe so much in that twilight of Nature, how much more may Christians aspire vnto, on whom, as is said before, the Sun of righteousness is risen? These indeed are *Children of the day*, which know how to honour the King, in that feare of God, which is the beginning of wisdom; which the *Cynikes*, *Gymnosophists* and *Stoikes*, not hauing attained, dreamed in their night, and did those things rather as men talking and walking in their sleepe, then as men truly knowing what they said and did. Like these *Ophyrians* wee write of, which possessed much Gold, but *Salomon* alone knew how to bestow it on the Temple, which sanctifieth the Gold. And yet how farre did these Philosophers Dreames exceed the seeming waking and watchfull cares of *Craesus* and *Crassus* (which rather in troubled, fenerous, phrenzie, or *Opium* sleepes were more fatally perplexed) esteeming *Vertue* the truest treasure; and *Riches* rather to consist in needing little, then holding much, and a contented mind to bee a surer *Coffer*, then the

Ephe 4.

2/ah. 16:

Sen. de benef. l. 7  
c. 4. ad reges po-  
testas pertinet,  
ad singulos do-  
minium. Laert.  
αλλως μὲν τῆς  
πόλεως, αλλως  
δὲ τῶν χωρμῶ-  
ν.  
See Laert. in  
vit. Diag. &  
Amb. Ep. 7.  
where you  
may read *Calanus* whole  
Epistle, and in  
the end of this  
Booke.

Cuncta cupit  
Craesus, Dio e-  
nes nihilum.  
Eum maximè  
diuitijs frui qui  
minimè diuitijs  
indiget.  
Animus oportet  
se indicet diui-  
tem, non homi-  
num sermo, &c.  
Cic. Ca'o regitur  
qui non habet  
vitae.



the *bottomlesse* Bags of insatiate Avarice; and *Natures commons* of the Heavens and Elements to be greater possessions, then a few handfuls of inclosed dust; more admiring the Physicians skill, then the Druggists shop full of simples, or the Apothecaries of medicines; more ioying in, more enioying (as the members of the body) the publike then the priuate wealth, more the *contemplation*, whereby the *minde reasonably* vieth all things, even those of others, without further cares; then that *proprietie* whereby the *sense* distinguisheth the *owner*, and addes to this little *owne*, the great cares of getting, keeping, spending, and no lesse feares of loosing, yea (in many a *Tantalus*) of vsing, as if he were the Gaoler rather then Owner of that wealth which hee lades with Irons and strangles in his Iron Chest, for no other fault, but calling such a Miser, Matter. *Quibus hoc for-*  
*dibus emit ut fulgeat? vigilat in pluma; Nec intelligit miser speciosa esse sibi supplicia, & possideri ma-*  
*gis quam possidere diuitias.* The wise man is like *Isaac* in whom *Abraham* seede is called, whom he makes his heire: but these which are called rich, are sometimes like *Ismael*, thrust out of all; at the best, like the *Sonnes of the Concubines*, to whom *Abraham* gaue gifts and sent them away: the Minde, as that which alone is immortall, hath state of perpetuity and inheritance, the Sense in her propriety is capable onely of gifts and mouables.

From this glimpse of reason did those Philosophers the sonnes of Nature (how much more should we the *Sons of the free women*?) attribute libertie and a Kingdome to their Wise man, Saint *Paul* more fully, *Iusto non est lex posita.* Saint *Ambrose* laden with the spoiles of these *Egyptians*, therewith adorne the *Christian Tabernacle*. He is a free man saith he, which doth what he will, and liues as he pleaseth, nor can be forced to any thing: now the wise man wils that which is good, hates the euill; not for feare but for loue, obeieth the commandement; seekes not to please the vncertaine vulgar, but his minde hangs euently in the ballance poized with the shackle of the sanctuary; not forced by Law, but he is *law* to himselfe, and hath the same written *not in tables of stone, but in fleshie tables of the heart*; not fearing the Law, because his debts are acquitted, and can- not therefore be arrested; not seruant to any, yet making himselfe the *seruant of all*, for their good; whose seruice to God doth not consume but consummate his libertie, for Gods seruice is perfect freedome; to whom when *all things are lawfull*, yet nothing is lawfull that is *not expedient*, that *edifies not*; who abides founded and grounded on *Christ the rocke*, and therefore feares not the swelling *waves*, nor raging *windes*, fluctuates not with euery *blast of doctrine*: is not puffed with prof- perity, dejected with aduersity, but like *Ioseph* (which bought those that bought him, euén all the land of *Egypt* besides, for *Pharao*, after himselfe had bin sold for a slave) abides himself in whatsoever changes of fate and state. He hath subordinated his will to Gods will; and if hee will haue him doe or suffer any thing, possesse or loose either himselfe or ought he hath, it shall be his will also. This made *Iob* abide himselfe, when he was shaken, and as it were thunderstricken out of all at once: yea, by a sacred antiperistasis he gathered his spirits together and not onely not blasphemed, but blessed; then and theretore blessed God, who is no lesse good in taking then in giuing, who *bath loued vs and giuen himselfe for vs*, before he takes ought from vs, yea therefore takes this that he might giue that (both himselfe and our selfe) to vs. He that *loseth his life findes it*, and hee that *denieth himselfe and his owne will*, puts off the *chains* of his bondage, the slavery to innumerable tyrants, impious lusts, and is thus a free man in deede, freed from the diuell, the world, himselfe breathing the free ayre of heauen in the lowest and darkest dungeon, yea in the closest of prisons (his owne body) closely by contemplation conueies himselfe forth to fetch often walks in the *Paradise of God*. Once, he *loues Christ*, hee *liues Christ*, and therefore cannot be compelled by another, will not be compelled and mastered by Himselfe, longs to be more and more impelled by that Spirit (which sweetly forceth into the desired haue) and to be *drawne by the Father* that he may be enabled to follow the Sonne, with whom he is vnable to hold pace; and fearing because he loues, thus desires helpe, that (be it by stripes, or threatens, or other tentations) his feete may be made more sure, more swift. He feares God, and therefore feares nothing. And whereas hee that *committeth sinne is the seruant of sinne*, he is thus not onely *set free by Christ*, but more high- ly dignified and made a *King and Priest to God*. He daily *sacrificeth* praiers, praises, good workes, his owne *lining body in reasonable seruice*, not the bodies of dead and vnreasonable beasts; hath al- way the doore of the heavenly pallace, the eare of the heavenly King open to his intercessions. He is also a *King ouer himselfe* (a little world, a great conquest) ouer *Fortune* the magnified Lady of the greater World (which he frames to his owne manners; and if he cannot bend it to his will, knowes how to bend his will to it) ouer the *Diuell, the God of the World*; ouer *Death*, which hee makes (as *Sapores* did the *Roman* tyrant *Valerian*, and *Tamerlane* the *Turkish Basazerb*) his foot- stoole, or stirrop to mount vp to a higher and better life, and like *Dauid* cuts off the head of this Gyant (which hath defied all the armie of Mankinde) with his owne sword: hee is (a King) ouer the world, which he neither loues (for his *heart and treasure* is in heauen) nor feares (for what can it doe at the worst, but further his heavenly happinesse) nor *fashions* himselfe to it, but it to him- selfe, vsing it *as not vsing it*, not *setting his heart on it*, for the *fashion of this world passeth away*, as a *Scene*, where he but acts a while his part; and a strange Country thorow which he trauelleth to his true home; where his King is gone before to prepare a place for him, and leauing the earnest of his spirit with vs, hath taken our earnest, our flesh, there to take possession, to make intercessi-

Omnia eius sunt  
non occupatione  
sed animo: &  
vniuersalitas il-  
li, non hec singu-  
la mancipantur.  
Tuetur hoc ipso  
quod inuictur:  
Vid. Lap. Ma-  
nud. ad Stoic.  
Phil. 1.3. diff. 11.  
& seq.  
Cyp. Ep. ad Do-  
n. 1.1.2. Ep. 2.  
Gen. 25.6.  
Cic. Parad. 5.  
1. Tim. 1.8.  
Amb. Ep. 7. han-  
dies this  
Theme lage-  
ly, learnedly,  
g. dly. Eius  
γὰρ τὴν ἐλευ-  
θερίαν ἐξουσίαν  
αὐτοπραγίας  
τὴν δὲ δούλειαν  
σέρποντι αὐτο-  
πραγίας: La-  
ert. in Zenone.  
a. Epictetus.  
ἐλευθερός ἐστιν  
ὁ ζῶν ὡς βέλεις  
ταὶ δὲ ἄνθρω-  
ποι γὰρ ἀνέστιν,  
ταχέως ἐστιν,  
&c. it may be  
said of a good  
man, and his  
affections as  
Virgil of Augu-  
stus, Vultusque  
volentes, Per po-  
pulos dat iura  
viamque affe-  
ctat Olympo.  
Ep. 6. ἀποσκα-  
τάτιστα χαρὸν  
τὴν ὀφελὴν τῶ  
θεῷ, &c.  
Subducit se cu-  
stodie in quate-  
netur & celo  
rescitur. Sen.  
Iob. 14. 23.  
Gal. 2. 2. 20.  
Iob. 6.  
Cant. 1.  
Bern. in Cant. 21  
Satis est ut me  
trabas ut vim  
qualiter comque  
mibi aut terren-  
do, &c. trabe  
quedammodo in  
vitam ut facias  
voluntariam;  
trabe, torpentem  
ut reddas cur-  
rentem, &c.  
Pro. 16. 32.  
Suis ea cuique  
fingunt moribus  
Cic. par. 5.  
1. Cor. 7. 31.  
P. 62.  
Iob. 14.



Eph. 1. ult.  
Pro. 14. 17.  
Lips. Manduc. 1.  
li. 2. d. 12.  
The βασιλιάς  
ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ἀνυ-  
πεύδωτος. Laert.  
in Zen. regnum  
potestas nulli  
obnoxia.

Senec.

Apoc. 2. & 3.  
Act. 3.

Tim. 6.

How good a  
good and wise  
King.

Sir F. Bacon  
Aduanc. of  
Learn. 1. 1.

on in the presence of God for vs. Our Head is there already which cannot so farre degenerate as to neglect his body, the reall and liuing parts of Himselfe, *the fulnesse of him that fills all in all things*: This Kingdome is not meate and drinke, pompe and splendor, and much lesse intruding into the secrets, obtruding on the scepters of their soueraignes, but *righteousnesse, peace, and joy in the holy Ghost*, which the Philosophers knew not, and whatsoeuer they haue challenged (as à *Ratione Reges*) yet in comparison of true Christians they were but as Kings in a Play (as *Plutarch* said of the Stoickes) which talked, stalked, walked on their Stage, and acted that part which in deede and in spirituall right is our reall part and inheritance. And if a Kingdome be a power *subiect to none*, then euery true Christian is a King (not in Anabaptistickall phrensie to cast off all yokes of loyalty, to cast out all States and Royaltie, and like their *John of Leyden* to make himselfe a licentious Monarch, pressed downe meane while with so many enuies, vices, miseries, but) in this, that *pectore magno, Spemque metumque domat, victo sublimior omni, Exemptus fatis*: in that he obeith his soueraigne not so much of his slauiish feare, as because he loues him, and loues that God which hath giuen him soueraignty, and therefore as to the liuing image of God yeeldes obedience to him, not grudgingly or of necessitie but cheerefully, and with a willing heart, making his superiours will to be his owne (because it is Gods) will. And if he commands that which he findes countermanded by the highest Law, he rebels not, reuiles not, *Rex est qui posuit metus, Et diri mala pectoris*, where he cannot be willing to doe, he will yet be willing to suffer the will of his soueraigne, *Occurritque suo libens Fato, nec queritur mori*. Thus is this man spirituall a King and *Infra se videt omnia*, beholds all things beneath him, by suffering, ouercomming; by obeying, ruling, himselfe if not others. In this sence Christ saith of the Church of *Smyrna*, *I know thy pouerty, but thou art rich*: and of the *Laodiceans* which esteemed themselues rich, *encreased with goods, and needing nothing*, that they were wretched, and miserable, and poore, and blinde, and naked. *Siluer and Gold haue I none*, said that rich Apostle, whose pretended successours, out of a will to be rich, haue fallen into temptation, and a snare, and many foolish and noisome lusts: For the lone of money is the roote of all euill, which while these couet after, they haue erred from the faith: and instead of Apostolical, haue proued Apostaticall, with *Babylonickall* mysteries confounding things spirituall and externall, enclosing all the commons of the Church and the Spirit, to the onely vie of the Vatican; and then with the spoile of all Christians *This spirituall man* must iudge all, and be iudged of none, vsurping the rights of, and right ouer Kings, not considering the diuerstie of these tenures.

But yet (to retorne to our Salomon; if a man by this Christian wisdom becomes free, rich, a King; what shall a King of men be (with addition of this wisdom) but heroicall, and if not more then a man, yet a worthy of men, and neere to God? This appeares in Dauid and Salomon, two learned, no lesse then potent Kings, the one gaining greatnesse at home, the other dispersing those rates beyond their owne Orbe, to remotest Ophir. This we see in Philip and Alexander, in Cæsar and Augustus. Learning is the best iewell in a Kings Crowne, and Christian wisdom like the verticall crosse vpon it; which both in Bookes (by King Alphonfus called his faithfullest Counsellours) and in their bosomes, speakes that without feare or flattery, which seruants cannot or dare not; makes them to see with their owne eyes, and not onely by experience of others; yea with the eyes of the Worthies of former times, and to conuerse with the Auncients of all ages: and searching into the causes of things to penetrate seasonably into affaires which suddenly assault others. But especially in Marine discoveries, we are not so much indebted to the power as the learning of Kings, and both together make a blessed match, and haue produced to the world the best knowledge of it selfe. Salomon is example, who in the writings of Moses, being instructed of Ophyr, attempts the discovery. How little knowledge had the Greekes of Asia till Alexander employed both Aristotle with great costs, and Himselfe also in discovery of the Lands and Seas, besides Nearchus and other his Captaines, Julius and Augustus opened the first lights in manner to the Romans, the one in discovery of the world and the parts adioyning, the other also vnto the Indies. How little of the world hath bene discovered for want of learning by the Turke, Mogoll, Persian, Chinois, and Abassine, howsoeuer called great? how little are most of them all? But what neede I forraime examples? How little in comparison hath our Nation (the Oceans darling, hugged continually in her bosome) discovered and made use of (yea they were the prey of the Easterlings and Lumbards, scarcely knowing their neighbour Seas) before the late eruption of captined learning in the former age, and more especially in the glorious Sunshine of Queene Elizabeth, and (after that Sunset, Sol occubuit nox nulla sequuta est) in the succeeding, that I say not in Ophyrian regions, exceeding times of King Iames? I dare not presume to speake of his Maiesties learning which requires a more learned pen, and where to speake the truth would seeme flattery; nor yet of that learned Queene, who sometime brake in peeces the artlesse pictures made to represent her (for Apelles is onely fit to paint Alexander, Homer to sing Achilles, and Virgil his Augustus.) Thus a more learned witnesse hath said, and I will recite: that to the last yeare of her life duely and daily shee obserued her set houres for reading; that this part of the Island neuer had 45. yeares of better times, and yet not through the calmenesse of the season, but through the wisdom of her regiment: the truth of religion established, the constant peace and security, the good administration of iustice, the temperate vie of the prerogative not slackt nor much strained, the flourishing state of learning, the conuenient state of wealth and meanes both of Cowne and Subiect, the habit of obedience, and moderation of discontents, notwithstanding the differences of Religion,



gion, her single life, Romes alarmes, and the neighbour Countries on fire. Hence that felicity of the State,  
of Religion, and especially of Navigation, now in threescore yeeres continuance, growne, almost out of  
the cradle and swaddling clothes, to the present ripenesse amongst vs. That our Virgin-mother, in her pre-  
paration to the Crowne by the Crosse and in happy exploits, another Dauid; in care of iust Iudges and Lu-  
dice Iehosaphat, in reformation H. zekiah, in restoring the Law that was lost Iosiah, in peace, plenty,  
successe, magnificence, and (the pillar of all this) Navigation, another Salomon, and (with greater hap-  
pinesse then his) leaving her Name without Salomons imputation of falling to Idolatry, to furnishing her per-  
son, and to become her heire and successor in them all: dying in a good age (as is said of Dauid) full  
of daies, riches, and honour. In these times Britaine hath recovered her eyes and spirits, and hath dis-  
covered the Westerne Babylon and her labyrinthian mazes and gyres of superstition, first of all Europæ.  
an Kingdome: and in manerest order casting off that yoke, which ignorance (caused by irruption of  
barbarians into all parts of the Roman Empire had brought in as a myst, whereby that Romish mistery  
of iniquitie might worke vnespied) had put on the neckes and veiled hearts of our forefathers, which by  
the light of learning was now espied and exiled: and this freedome maintained manre all the gates and there was not  
forces of Rome and Hell. Yea, he that commanded Honour thy Mother, made her sexe honorable, and one Priest  
caused that a Woman had the honour ouer that Sifera, that Abimelech, that Holofernes; the sword of  
a woman preuailed, not by close advantages but in the sight of the Sun, in the worlds amphitheatre, all  
Europe looking on and wondring (yea the most still gaddie with that cup, enterpossing against her.) This  
Christian Amazon overthrew those Romish both gladiatores & sicarios (as they write of the Rhino-  
ceros) tossed those Bulls (which had thought to haue pushed her by their hornes of deprivation and inuasi-  
on, and the close fights of treason and insurrection, out of England and Ireland) to the admiration of  
men, the ioy of Angels, and acknowledgement in all of the sword of the Lord and of Gedeon, the pow-  
er of the highest perfected in her weakenesse. And (which more fits our Navigation treatise) this vi-  
rago (not loosing her owne virgin-zone) by her Generall\* first loosed the virgin zone of the earth, and  
like another Sunne twice encircled the Globe. Learning had edged her sword then, but the successor of  
this our Dehora, like Achilles in the Poets, hath a Panoplie, a whole armor of learned deuise; and like  
Apollo in the mids of the Musæ, so haue we seene him in the learned disputations of both Vniuersities;  
such an Apollo whose Oracle discovered the Dinels Master peece and Papall monster peece of powder  
treason, and brought it to poulder, by the light of his wisdom preventing those infernall lightnings and  
sulphurous bellish thunders: whose learned writings as the arrowes of Pythius haue giuen the deepest\* and  
most fatall wounds to this mystic mytticall Python: whose birth hath made him a great King, whose  
great learning hath purchased another Kingdome, and made the Schooles to admire him in Dininitie;  
the Tribunnall in Law, the Senate and Counsell table as the table of Counsaile and Map of humane wise-  
dome: whose armes! but blessed are we that his learning and wisdom keepe vs from their drery noise and  
dissembl experiments; that we in the tragedies of so many Nations are spectators, that the God of peace  
hath with the Gospell of peace giuen vs a Salomon, truest type of the Prince of peace, whose daies are  
daies of peace at home, whose treaties propound wayes of peace abroad, whose sun-like raies haue shined not  
by bare discoveries, but by rich negotiations to this our Salomons Ophir in what part of the world soeuer  
the quarelsome wits of men haue placed it. If you looke neere hand, Scotland is added, and Ireland now  
at last made English, dispersing seares by English Cities, and plantations: If you looke further, with  
those which seeke for Ophir in the West Indies, there may you see English Plantations and Colonies in  
Virginia and other parts of both those supposed Perus, the Northerne and Southerne America: if to So-  
fal on the South of Afrike, or to the East of Asia, there also haue the English fleetes passed, traded (and  
if you thinke nothing compleate without armes) surpassed, the most aduantageous assalants: that euen the  
Indians (which yeelde com nonly in martall, alway in Neptunian affayres to the Moores) haue a proverb,  
three Moores to a Portugall, three Portugals to an Englishman: whose happy times haue exceeded Sa-  
lomon and H. rams discoveries; euen where no writing hath mentioned any name of Noahs Sonnes, where  
none of Noahs Sons euer yet inhabited, where the Sun it selfe seemes affraid of uncouth Seas, horrid lands,  
and marine monsters, hiding himselfe diuers moneths in the yeere together, and but peeping when he doth  
appeare, as it were fearfully prying and compassing about with obliquer beames, there haue the beames of our  
Brittish Sunne descied, named, and exhaled profits from those portentous c Dragons of the  
Sea (lo these the happiest warres against the beasts by Sea and Land, not like Nimrods hunting of  
men) and sought new d discoveries, notwithstanding the Oceans armies of icie llands affronting, till the  
Sea it selfe (fearing totall subiection) hath embayed it selfe and locked vp all passages by unknowne lands.  
And (not to mention the New Wales there discovered) England hath her Virginia, Bermuda, west discovery  
New England; Scotland, a New Daughter of her owne Name; yea, Ireland by the care of the present  
Deputie is now multiplying also in America, and his Maiestie hath sowne the seedes of New Kingdomes  
in that New World.

Let not the seuerer sort censure me of presumption, if I thus embellish my ruder lines with these glori-  
ous names, wherein I communicating in the publike benefit, at once testifie my feare of God the Author,  
with mine honour to these two great lights of heauen to our Britaine-World, as actors, autors, instru-  
ments, mortall images of the immortall. He alone it is qui tempus ab xuo ire iubet, and makes our  
King a defender of the faith by which eternitie flowes from time well husbanded, & to resemble herein also,  
Itaque manens cuncta moueri. In this tranquillitie we may employ our industry in painfull and  
gainfull

c The Saxons expelled the Britains with their learning. The Danes (after learning had blessed the Christian Saxons) drowned all learned men, books, schools, arts, with a flood, that in K. Alfreds time himselfe writes there was not one Priest could vnderstand his Latin Seruices, and till this conquest this mist continued in great part, that Priest then being a wonder that knew his Grammar. Al-  
fredi epist ap. As-  
ser. Men. Mat.  
Paris, An. 1067  
Clerici adeo lit.  
carabant ut ce-  
teris sapori effec-  
tiss.  
\* Sir F. Drake was the first Generall that swam about the Globe, candidly the next.  
\* In the questi-  
on of Anichrist  
in his Maiesties  
Monit. Preface  
\* In the Mogols  
Country (whof  
Seas were the  
stage of this  
war) as I had  
by relation of  
Sir Tho. Roe Em-  
bassador there:  
b King James  
his Newland.  
c The Whale  
fishing.  
d In the North-  
west discovery  
by Hudson, Ent-  
ton, Baffin &c.  
Bat.  
Mari magno, &c  
See Bests voy-  
age.



gainfull labours. I also in this peace, vnder Israels Salomon, can from the shore behold with safety, with delight, & in this glasse let others see, the dangerous Navigations and Ophyrian expeditions of our Countre men, & view their warlike fights in the waterie plaine as from a fortified tower (so the Mogols did the battell of the English and Portugals) not only free from perill, but enioying some the gaines of their paines, others the sweete contemplations of their laborious actions, all of vs the frutes of our labours and negociations at home and abroad, which grow from that Iacobæan tree: whose blossomes are inscribed Beati pacifici. This Worke is the frute of that Peace, and my Song may be, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit, that I may write with Inke at leisure, and (vnder the shadow of this tree) you read with pleasure, what these Pilgrimes haue written with hazard, if not with blond in remote Seas and Lands.

Psa. 144. ult.  
Psa. 118.

Col. 1. & 2.

I flatter not the present, I denote to future posterity, this monument of praise to the Almighty, who hath given vs this Salomon, if not in all dimensions, (newer was there, or shall be such) yet herein like, 10 that wee enioy vnder his wings (in the combustions of neighbour Countries) this our peace, plenty, learning, iustice, religion, the land, the sea voyages to Ophir, the world, new worlds, and (if wee haue new hearts) the communton of Saints, guard of Angels, saluation of Christ, and God himselfe the portion of our Cup, and lot of our inheritance. Blessed are the people that be in such a case, yea blessed are the people that haue the Lord for their God, This is the day that the Lord hath made, let vs reioyce and be glad in it. And if our times yeelde some exceptions also, and the Traducer impute it to flattery that I bring not euils on the stage: I say that blessed and loyall Shem and Iapheth bid from themselves & others that which cursed Cham and Canaan quarrelled: Salomons times yeelded grienances, and we liue on earth, not in heauen; there is the perfection of wisdom, holinesse, happinesse, whereof Salomons times were a compleate type: we haue the truth in part, but all fulnesse is in him, in whom dwelleth all 20 the fulnesse of the Godhead bodily, which to expect here were Epicurisme and state-Puritanisme. Quis me constituit vel iudicem vel indicem? Malecontent, I am no Lord of times, nor Prince of Princes (they are both Gods peculiar) I indenuour to keepe me in the offices of my calling, to choose the good part, and in conscience towards God to acknowledge Gods workes in all, and specially in those of whom he hath said, Yee are Gods: To be an accuser is the Devils office, and they which be euill themselves will onely see euill in others.

¶ V.

30

Of the proprieti which Infidels haue in their Lands and Goods: of proprietic in the Sea, and of Salomons proprietic of the Sea and Shoare at Ezion Geber.

Tit. 1. ult.

1 Tim. 4.

1 Cor. 7.

1 Tim. 6.

Psa. 62.

Mat. 6.

Luk. 12.

Ind. Ep.

2 Pet. 2.

**H**us haue wee discoursed of the prerogatiue of Gods peculiar, the right which the true Children of the Church haue in Christ and by him in all things: but what shall we say of propriety? of propriety of Infidels? Christs Kingdome is not of this world, and properly neither giues nor takes away worldly proprieties, ciuill and politicall interests; but addes to his subiects in these things a more sanctified vse, all things being pure to the pure, 40 pure to the impure; for they are sanctified by the word and prayer, which Infidels know not. In that interior court of conscience (which in the wicked is defiled) the iust haue before God a iuster vse, vsing the world as not abusing it, not being high minded, nor trusting in uncertaine riches: not setting their heart on them, though they increase, nor looting their hearts with them in their decrease or losse: not laying up to themselves treasures on earth where rust and moth and theeft haue power: not singing a requiem, soule take thine ease, thou hast laid up treasure for many yeeres, when this foolles soule it selfe is the worst thing it hath, and may be turned this night out of that secure body and secured state. But in the outward ciuill Court, and before Men, the Gospell alters not, remoues not the land marke of the law, but as well bids Gino to Cesar that which is Casars, as to God that which 50 is Gods. And therefore the rights of men by the royall or common lawes established (all deriued from that, of Nature, and consequently from God, who is Natura naturans, the creator of Nature) are in conscience of Gods commandement to be permitted to them. Neither without Gods speciall command might the Israelites spoile (as they did) the Egyptians, or inuade the Canaanites. It is Saint Iudes note of filthy Sodomites, sleepers, ignorant, beasts, disciples of Cham, Balaam, and Core, rocks, clouds without water, corrupt trees twise dead, raging waues, wandring starres, to despise gouernment: naturall bruite beasts (saith Saint Peter prophesying of his pretended successors) spots and blots, wels without water, clouds carried about with a tempest, to whom the blacke darknesse is reserved for euer: promising to others liberty, and are themselves the seruants of corruption (in this lence the seruants of seruants.) Neither could the Diuell deuise a greater scandall to the Gospell, then 60 that it should rob Kings of their supremacy and preheminece, subiects of their lands and state, as if to conuert to Christ were to euert out of their possessions, and subuert states: which is the cause of so few Iewes conuerted, and so peruerse conuersions in America, as I haue elsewhere shewed. The Gospell is not a sword to take away earth, but to destroy hell, and addes the Keyes of the King-  
dome



dome of beauen, not a hammer to breake in peeces the doores of earthly Kingdomes : and least of all making instead of *Keyes*, *Picklockes* (the note of a theefe, euen though he should enter at the doore and lawfully succede lawfull Bishops) which open and shut all at pleasure ; against which there is but one word of force, and that is, *force* it selfe and power which their faction cannot o- uerthrow, the *Romish* conscience being *Lesbian* and leaden, or Iron and running compasse and va- riation, as the Needle of that See hath touched it to obserue the Pope as the *magneticall Pole*, which Philosophers say is not that of heauen but of the earth. God hath made vs men, his Sonne hath called vs to be Christians, and this opinion doth turne men into Beasts, yea Christian men into wilde Beasts without all propriety, or any thing proper to humanity, which with the rights thereof extends to Infidels.

10 These hold not Christ, nor hold of him, as *ioynt heires* : yet are they not without all right, yea of him also they hold in another tenure, not as sonnes, but as seruants (and the seruant abideth not in the house for euer, but the Sonne abideth euer : but if the Sonne make them free they are free indeede?) These hold, in a tenure of *villenage* not in state of spirituall inheritance, which yet warrants a iust title for the time, *contra omnes gentes*, against all men (as seruants vse their Masters goods) but be- ing called by death to giue accompt to their Lord, are dispossessed of all and themselves also for e- uer : whereas the children here seeme in *wardship*, and to receiue some short allowance in the nonage of this life, but in the day of death (the birth day of true and eternall life) as at full age, enter into full possession of heauen and earth for euer. That tenure yet of godlesse men (which are without hope, 20 without Christ, without God in the world) is a tenure from God, though as is said in a kinde of vil- lenage ; and warrants against all men, as holden of and at the will of the Lord Christ, by whom and for whom all things were created, and hee is before all things, and in him all things consist. And hee is the Head of the Body the Church. This tenure in capite is the Churches ioynture ; that of humane nature, from him whole all things are inre creationis, remains to forreiners, which are strangers from the Common-wealth of Israel, and from the priuiledges of the Holy Citie the New Ierusalem. For af- ter the Image of God, by this Image of the inuisible God were all Men created ; which though it bee in part by sinne defaced, yet through the mercy of God in part remaineth in the worke of men, which still retaines an immortall reasonable spirit indued with vnderstanding, will, and memory (resembling the vnity and Trinity) animating and ruling (how imperfectly soeuer) the organically 30 body, and with it the inferiour creatures : which dominion ouer the creatures is by God him- selfe reckoned to the image of God ; infected with sinne, and infected with a curse ; but God euen in the sentencing that iudgement remembring mercy, added *thornes, and thistles, and sorrow, and sweate*, but tooke not away the vse ; yea he renewed the blessing to all the Sonnes of Noah, and enlarged their commission, indenting in mans heart this naturall right, and in the Beasts this na- turall awe and subiection, by Natures owne hand writing.

Infidels pro- priety. Ich. 8. 35. 36.

Eph. 2. 10. Col. 1. 16. 17. 1

Eph. 2. Col. 1.

Gen. 1. 26. & 30. 17. 18. 19.

Gen. 1. 7. 8. Act. 17. 26.

Deut. 2. 19. 20. 21. 22. 1. 22. 9.

Gen. 47. 20. Dan. 4.

Ioh. 19. 11.

\* Reges preest non a rebus. se l ab iustitia. et Cath. l. de docto- res p. 1. 1. 1. 1.

quoniam a rep. constituitur. non pot. placem sed. iust. in cu- lationem in regem transferre. & c. Fr. a. v. d.

Relect. de par. Ci- uili Omne Do- minium a deo est : domini est terra & plen.

eius Dom. totius creature & om- nis potestas a deo. Rom. 1. 1. of. Angles. Val. nt. part. 1. q. de dam.

R. m. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 13.

Hee that then blessed them with, *Replenish the earth*, did confound their *Babel* building, and scatter them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth, to put it in execution, and hath made of one blond all Nations of men (as is said before) to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath deter- mined the times and bounds of their habitation. Thus hee that gaue Canaan to the Israelites is said 40 (in a proper sense though differing manner) to haue giuen *Ara* unto the children of Lot for a pos- session, the land of the *Emims*, and the land of the *Zamzummims* which hee destroyed be- fore them : as he did that of the *Horims* to the children of *Esau*, that as the former generations entered by the Law of Nature, as first finders, so these by the law of Warre, as confounders of the former, and founders of a second state and succession, both guided by the hand of diuine pro- uidence. *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twenty Cities in recompence of Cedars, and Firre-trees and Gold : and innumerable are the compacts and contracts mentioned in Histories, whereby the rule of Countries and States haue beene made ouer to new Masters, or to the old in a new tenure, as *Ioseph* bought all *Egypt*, their lands and persons to *Pharaoh*. But in all these workes of Men, God is a coworker ; the most high ruleth in the Kingdomes of Men, and giueth it to whomsoeuer hee 50 will, was verified both actiuelly and passiuelly in *Nebuchadnezzar* : *Cyrus* is called his seruant *Pilates* power is acknowledged by the Lord of power to be giuen from above, and to that Ro- man soueraignty (how vniust soener their conquest was) hee submitted himselfe in his birth (oc- cationed at *Bethlehem* by the decree and taxation of *Augustus*) in his life by payment of tribute, and in his death by a *Roman* both kinde and sentence. *Per me reges regnant* is his Proclamation, whether \* by diuine immediate vocation as in *Moses*, or mixed with Lot, or meere, or free choise, or inheritance, or conquest of warre, or exchange, or gift, or cession, or marriage, or pur- chase ; or titles begun in vniust force, or fraud at first, yet afterward acknowledged by those whom it concerned, and approued by time, which in temporall things proscribeth, and prescribeth : by this King of Kings doe Kings reigne, and the powers that be are ordained of God, to which eue- 60 ry soule must be subiect, euen for conscience sake, & propter Deum ; Who soeuer therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordenance of God, and they that resist shall receiue to themselves dam- nation.

This was written whenall Kings were Idolaters and Infidels, nor had the World many Ages after euer heard, that Infidelitie, Heresie, or Idolatry were causes sufficient for rebellion in Sub-



\* Hence came  
the Lawvers  
Fee. vid. S. T.  
Smiths com-  
mon wealth.  
l. 2. c. 10.  
See this questi-  
on handled  
more largely  
in baiting P.  
Alex his bull.  
l. 2. c. 1. Read  
also a Spanish  
diuine Fr. à Vi-  
gloria in his Re-  
lect. de pot. Ec-  
c. de Indis. He  
with many ar-  
guments con-  
futech this pre-  
tended power  
of the Pope.  
Caietan also 2.  
2. q. 65. a. 8.  
T. Aq. 2. 2. q. 10.  
ar. 1. vid. vi. de  
Ind. n. 31. & per  
totam yel. in  
which he prou-  
eth the Popes  
gift, &c. could  
not giue iust  
title to the In-  
dies, and con-  
futech 7 titles  
as vniust.  
1 King. 2. 35.  
Vid. ubi sup. Bar-  
bary sunt veri  
domini & pub-  
licè & priuati.  
Ius autem genti-  
um ut quod in  
nullius bonis est,  
occupanti cedat.  
d. 5. fere best.  
1 Chro. 18. 13.  
2 Cro. 21.  
Rom. 5. & 6 & 7  
Gen. 4.  
Gen. 10.  
Ab. 4. 32. 34.  
& 45.  
Luk. 12. 14.  
\* Thou shalt not  
steale: this some  
borderers are  
reported to  
hold first put  
into the deca-  
logue by King  
Hen. 8. They  
sure are borde-  
vers, that is,  
theeues in di-  
uinitie which  
will take it out  
of the decalogu

ieets or inuasion of Neighbours, as in the many examples of the *Israelitish* and *Jewish* Kings, which neither inuaded others for Infidelitie, nor were at home deprived for Heresie, though all the neighbours were Infidells, and most of those Kings Idolaters. To vs her Religion by the Sword is scarcely approued amongst *Mahumetans*, which permit men liberty of soule, though not of body: but to turne all the World into *Timars*, and Knights or Souldiers fees, is more intolerable. It was barbarous *Latine* to turne *fides* into *feodum*, the title of all free lands of Subiects holden in *fide*, in \* *trust* of performing rents, seruices, and other conditions annexed to the first Donation by the superior Lord: but this more barbarous Diuinitie, to dipossesse *Barbarians* of their Inheri-  
tance, and by their want of Faith to increase our fees of Inheritance, as if all the world were holden of the Pope in Catholike fee, obtruded on vs for Catholike Faith: Christ came not to de-  
stroy the Law but to fulfill it; and therefore did not disanull by the Gospel, that naturall Com-  
mandement of Alleageance and Obedience to Princes, the Honor due to the Parents of our Coun-  
trei. Neither doth Religion make a Father or Mother, but Nature; and it is said, *Honour thy Fa-  
ther and Mother*, without annexion of qualitie good or bad. Nor could *Jonathan* deny filiall ob-  
seruance, or loyall subiection to *Saul* with such excuse; nor could the *Keyes* that came later ex-  
pell Scepters, which were of more ancient foundation; nor heauenly *Keyes* open or shut earthly  
Doores: nor can Infidelitie which concerneth *Diuine Law*, yea in matters supernaturall, take a-  
way that right which *Positive* or *Naturall* Law hath giuen; nor exclude from iust title on Earth,  
which some hold *pœna*, rather then *peccatum*, in such as haue not heard: nor can a pretended *Vi-  
car* challenge iustly, what his Lord neuer claimed, what hee also disclaimed: nor did hee send  
Souldiers but *Preachers*, to conuert the World to the Faith truly Catholike, and therein shewed  
himselfe a true *Salomon*, a Prince of Peace, figured by this our *Salomon* who sent Ships of Merchan-  
dise and not of Warre to *Ophir*. And as for any *High Priests Bull* (whose roaring might coniuere the  
spirits of Princes, within the circle of Pontificall censure) those dayes knew no such brutish  
dialect, yea wise and iust *Salomon* was so farre from fearing or desiring the Bulls of *Abiathar*, that  
hee put him out of the High Priests place for intermeddling with the Crowne-succession, and set  
*Zadok* in his roome. And for *Ophir*, long before inhabited (as appeareth, *Gen. 10.*) he did not for  
the discouery thereof, then new, challenge iurisdiction or Soueraignie, as Lord of that Sea or  
Region by him discouered (no more then the *Ophirians* had beene Lords of *Israel*, if they had then  
discouered it) but left things as hee found them, the Countrey appropriate to the Inhabitants,  
the Sea open to such as would and could in like manner aduenture. Otherwise it was with him  
and his right in *Ezion Geber*, on the shoare of the Red Sea in the land of *Edom*. For this was pecu-  
liar (both the shoare and sea adioyning) vnto *Salomon*, chiefe Lord of *Edom*: which *Dauid* had  
before conquered, and so it continued vnder the Kings of *Juda* till the euill dayes of *Iehoram* the  
sonne of good *Iehoshaphat*, who made like vse of this Hauen, but with vnlike effect.

True it is that if Man had continued in his first integritie, *Meum & Tuum* had neuer proued  
such quarrelling Pronounes, to make warre more then Grammaticall, in setting all the Parts of  
Speech together by the eares. But sinne entring into the world, yea as an inuading tyrant ruling,  
it was necessary that proprietie should preuent rapine of the idler and mightier, and encourage the  
industry of the iust laborer, which for the sweat of his browes might earne and eate his owne bread.  
Thus had *Cain* and *Abel* their proper goods, he the fruits of the earth, this of his cattell, the pro-  
per Obiects of their labour. And when the whole earth was filled with crueltie, God clenfed the  
confusion of those *Fence-breakers* by a generall deluge. After the Floud, *Noahs* Posteritie had the  
earth diuided amongst them. And in that renouation of the world, in the *Golden Age* of the  
Church, when they had all things common; the reason was, as many as were possessours of lands sold  
them and brought the price: so that they had a iust proprietie of those their owne possessions, and  
conferred the same to others, and after it was sold the money was their owne, and remained in their  
owne power. Hee that refused to diuide the inheritance to brethren, would not dissolue and diffi-  
pate it to strangers, and abolish one of the precepts \* of the Decalogue; for stealing in properest  
sense cannot bee, if there be no proprietie. Wickedly therefore doe the Anabaptists in generall,  
the Papists for their owne aduantage; the one by confusion, the other by combustions, depriuati-  
ons, and deprauations of estates, remoue the Land-marke. Nor doe others well to take away all  
Sea-markes and right of Marine proprietie.

The contrary wee see in *Salomons Ezion Geber*. Thorow other Seas hee sailed by vniuersall  
and naturall right, in this as his owne proprietie, he builded his Fleet, prepared, victualled, man-  
ned his Nauie, and altogether vsed the Sea and Shoares, and Port, as is his proper and iust In-  
heritance.



## §. VI.

*The commendations of Nauigation, as an Art worthy the care of the most  
Worthy; the Necessitie, Commoditie, Digni-  
tie thereof.*

10 **M**AN that hath the Earth for his Mother, Nurse, and Graue, cannot find any fitter obie<sup>ct</sup> in this World, to busie and exercise his heavenly and better parts then in the know-  
ledge of this Earthly Globe, except in his God, and that his heavenly good and In-  
heritance; vnto both which this is also subordinate, to the one as a Booke set forth by  
himselfe, and written of his Wisdome, Goodnesse, Power and Mercy; to the other as a way and  
passage, in which Man himselfe is a Pilgrim. Now, though I might borrow much from *Ptole-  
mey, Strabo*, and others in Geographies prayse, yet will I rather fixe my selfe on *Salomon* and his  
*Ophir*.

20 If wee should respect persons, and be moued by authoritie, wee haue in this *Ophirian* Navi-  
gation, the patterne of two most worthy Kings, as two witnesses beyond exception, *Iewes* and  
*Gentiles* conspiring; wee haue Reuerend Antiquitie of Time, Sanctitie of Sociall leagues, Holi-  
nesse of sacred Designes, Greatnesse of highest Maiesty, Magnificence of brightest Splendour,  
30 Munificence of rarest Bountie, Wisdome of iustest Temper, Prouisions of maturest Prudence; all  
these in this Expedition of *Salomon* proclayming, that there is no way by Land alone to the top,  
of humane Felicity (wherin *Salomon* also was a type of a Greater) but as God hath combined the  
Sea and Land into one Globe, so their ioynt combination and mutuall assistance is necessary to  
Secular happinesse and glory. The Sea couereth one halfe of this Patrimony of Man, whereof  
God set him in possession when he said, *replenish the earth and subdue it, and haue dominion ouer* Gen. 7. 22  
*the fish of the Sea, and ouer the fowle of the Aire, and ouer euery lining thing that mooueth vpon the*  
*Earth*. And when the Sea had, as it were, rebelled against rebellious Man, so that *all in whose*  
*nose-breath was the breath of life, and all that was in the dry Land died*, yet then did it all that time in-  
dure the yoke of Man, in that first of ships the *Arke of Noab*; and soone after the *Goad* also,  
30 when God renewed the former Couenant, and imposed the *fear and dread of Man vpon euery* Gen. 9. 2.  
*beast of the Earth, and vpon euery soule of the Aire, vpon all that mooueth vpon the Earth, and vpon*  
*all the fishes of the Sea*.

Thus should Man at once loose halfe his Inheritance; if the Art of Nauigation did not inable  
him to manage this vntamed Beast, and with the Bridle of the Winds, and Saddle of his Ship-  
ping to make him seruiceable. Now for the seruices of the Sea, they are innumerable; it is the great  
Purueyor of the Worlds Commodities to our vse, Conueyor of the Excesse of Riuer, Vniter by  
Traffique of all Nations; it presents the eye with diuersified Colours and Motions, and is as it were  
with rich Brooches, adorned with various Ilands; it is an open field for Merchandize in Peace, a  
pitched Field for the most dreadfull fights of Warre; yeelds diuersitie of Fish and Fowle for diet,  
40 Materials for Wealth, Medicine for Health, Simples for Medicines, Pearles and other Jewels for  
Ornament, Amber and Ambergrise for delight, *the wonders of the Lord in the Deepe* for instruction,  
variety of Creatures for vse, multiplicity of *Natures* for Contemplation, diuersity of accidents for  
admiration, compendiousnesse to the way, to full bodies healthfull euacuation, to the thirsty earth  
fertile moysture, to distant friends pleasant meeting, to weary persons delightfull refreshing; to  
studious and religious minds (a Map of Knowledge, Mystery of Temperance, Exercise of Con-  
tinence, Schoole of Prayer, Meditation, Deuotion, and Sobrietie: refuge to the distressed, Por-  
tage to the Merchant, passage to the Traueller, Customes to the Prince, Springs, Lakes, Riuer,  
to the Earth; it hath on it Tempests and Calmes to chastise the Sinnes, to exercise the faith  
of Sea-men; manifold affections in it selfe, to affect and stupifie the subtillest Philosopher; su-  
staineth moueable Fortresses for the Souldier, mayntayneth (as in our Iland) a Wall of defence  
50 and waterie Garrison to guard the State; entertaines the Sunne with vapours, the Moone with  
obsequiousnesse, the Starres also with a naturall Looking-glasse, the Skie with Clouds, the Aire  
with temperatenesse, the Soyle with suppleness, the Riuer with Tydes, the Hills with moy-  
sture, the Valleys with fertilitie; containeth most diuersified matter for Meteors, most multi-  
forme shapes, most various, numerous kindes, most imment, diffomed, deformed, vnformed  
Monsters: Once (for why should I longer detain you?) the Sea yeelds Action to the bodie, Me-  
ditation to the Minde, the World to the World, all parts thereof to each part, *by this Art of*  
*Arts, Nauigation*.

60 Neither should we alone loose this halfe of *Natures* dowrie, without the benefit of this Art;  
but euen the Earth it selfe would be vnknowne to the Earth; here immured by high impassable  
Mountaynes, there inaccessible by barren way-lesse Deserts; here diuided and rent in sunder with  
violent Riuer, there ingirt with a strait siege of Sea; heere possessed with wild deuouring beasts,  
there inhabited with wilder man-deuouring men; here couered with huge Worlds of Wood,  
there buried in huger spacious Lakes; here loosing it selfe in the mids of it selfe, by showres of  
Sand,



\* This is effected by such as saile about the World, as is knowne of all such as know the Sunnes course.

Sand, there remoued, as other Worlds out of the World, in remoter Ilands; here hiding her richest Mynes and Treasures in sterill Wildernesles, which cannot bee fed but from those fertile Soyles, which there are planted, & as it were remoued hither by helpe of Nauigation. Yea, whereas otherwise we reape but the fruits of one Land, or the little little part thereof which we call our owne lands, hereby wee are enriched with the commodities of all Lands, the whole Globe is epitomised, and yeelds an Abridgement and Summarie of it selfe in each Countrey, to each man. Nor should we alone loose the *full moytie* of our Demesnes by Sea, and a *great part* of that other moytie the *Land*, but the *Heauens* also would shew vs fewer starres, nor should we grow familiar with the Sunnes perambulation, to ouertake him, to disapoint him of shadow, to runne beyond him, to imitate his daily iourney, and make all the World an Iland, to beguile this Time-measurer in exact reckonings of Time, by adding \* or loosing a day to the Sunnes account. Nor could wee know the various Climates, with their differing seasons, and diuersified affects and effects of the Heauens and Elements. Nor could we measure the Earths true Dimensions and Longitudes, nor know many creatures both vegetable and sentitue therein (which are our Chattels) nor her high prized Minerals and Gemmes; nor yet could wee know and vse the varietie of Fowle, or (like inferiour Gods) dispose of the winds in the Ayre, bringing constant effects, out of their varietie, and obserue their Seasons to flie with them about the World, had we not these Sayle-wings of shipping; whereby we out-runne the wildest beasts, out-swimme the swiftest fish, out-flie the lightest Fowles, out-stretch the fiercest Windes, but-set the strongest Currents, out-passe most spaciuous Seas, and tame all *Nature to the nature of Man*, and make him capable of his Natural Patrimony. 10

2. Chron. 8.

What shal I say of other men? The holiest, the wisest, the Greatest of Men, of Kings, of Kings of Kings (Salomons example speaks all this) hereby honour God, hereby haue made themselues to all Posterities honorable. Wil you haue al commendations at once? *Salomon* the Epitome of al human worth and excellence, promised by Prophecie before his birth, named by speciall appointment of God when he was borne, founder of (that Miracle of Earth, and mysticall Mirrour of Heauen) the Temple; glorious in his other Erections, Customes, Tributes, Riches, Government, and in (that Soule of happinesse) the happy endowments of the Soule in Visions, Wisdome and Holinesse, in his Fame exceeding Fame it selfe, his Renowme attracting *all the Kings of the Earth to seeke his presence*, in his Writings elected a Secretary of God to record *wisdome to saluation*, to all Ages and places of the World, in these things passing others, yea surpassing himselfe (euen here may we say, as before is said, is a *greater then Salomon*) typing the Great Creatour and Sauour of the World; This first, and most eminent of men, is by the first, and best of Stories, set forth as the first Founder of Long and Farre Nauigations, and Discoueries. As for *Noahs Arke*, it was intended rather to couer and secure from that tempestuous Deluge, and to recouer that handfull, the Seed of a New World, from the common destruction, then to discouer New Worlds, or to make Voyages into any parts of the old: though if we should yeeld This the beginning of Nauigation (as indeed it was, though not of Discouery) wee haue hereof a greater then *Salomon*, God himselfe the Institutor and Author, Christs Crosse typed in the matter, Mans Baptisme in the speciall, and Saluation in the generall scope and euent. But for Heathens, *Iosephus* hath shewed that *Salomon* was ancients then their Gods, not their Nauigations alone; and that *Carthage* was conceived many yeares after *Salomons* death: and for *Greece*, *Plato* hath recorded that *Egyptian* testimony, that they in *all things were children*, which yet doted with age, when the *Romanes* were in the vigor of their youth. The *Tyrians* indeed were supposed Authours of this Art, but neither could they make this Voyage, but passing ouer Land through the Countries of others, there to build a Nauie, (as in this case they did with *Salomon*) nor is there record or likelihood of any farre Nauigation of theirs till this, yea, it is likely, that heere and hence beganne the greatnesse and supereminent lustre of their Name; the Art which they exercised at, and neere home before, being thus brought out of the Nest, and by *Salomons* wisdome taught such remote flights. 30

Ecc. 4.  
Iob 40.

Thus the Author, and thus Antiquity commends Nauigation: and no lesse the ends which moued *Salomon* thereto, which were to get Gold, Siluer, Iu. y, precious Wood and Stones, and other Rarities, which gaue such lustre to his State, tewel to his Magnificence, glory to his Name, Ornament to the Temple, splendour to Religion, Materials to the exercise of his Bodie and Minde, that I mention not the Customes increased, others by the Kings example, aduenturing the Seas, and Merchandise quickened. This also he makes the fit Obiect of his Royall thoughts and vnmatchable wisdome; not trusting others care, *he went* himselfe to *Ezion-Geber*, to make prouisions for his Nauie; yea, and not leaning to his sole Wisdome, Power, and Successe, entred into league with *Hiram*, and employed his Ships and Mariners, as he, which hath proclaimed to the World, *va Soli*, and esteemed *two better then one*, and to *haue better wages for their labour*, and a *three-fold coard not easily broken*. Hee was not like *Behemoth*, to trust that hee could draw up *Iordan* into his mouth, much lesse to make a Monopoly of the Ocean, as if the whole East had been created for *Ezion-geber*: but amidst his incomparable Delignes, framed of Greatnesse, clothed with Wealth, enliued with Wisdome, attended with Successe and Glory, disdaines not, yea, seekes assistants, 60



assistants, and admits a Heathen Kings Society in this, in the Temples Negotiation; inferring that they neither mind the good of the true Temple, or the Catholike Church, which will not endure Christian compartners in the Voyage to *Ophir*, which impound the World in a corner, and entile a corner to the World.

And as he sought not to prejudice *Egypt*, or any of his Neighbours, if out of their owne Ports they intended to seek the World abroad, no more did he prooue iniurious to the *Ophirians*, with whom he dealt, eyther in their Wealth, hindred, by prohibiting all others to trade with them; or (among his many cares of building) by erecting Forts against their wils, as Prisons of their Libertie, and Fetters of their Captiuitie.

10 For if to doe as we would be done to, be the Law and Prophets, this Prophet of the Law would not seeke his owne profit, by inuading the publike of whole Nations remote and to him innocent, and force vpon them so vnwelcome knowledge of God and his people *Israel*, that through their iniuries his Name might be blasphemed amongst the Heathen: but as he might vse his owne right where were no people, so in places inhabited, not to neglect the security of his own, nor to vsurpe the Souereignty of the Natiues, or preuent and interuert the Rights of common humanity. God that would not (as before is intimated) the price of a Dogge or a Whore, nor the Patrociny of a lie, would not by publike Latrociny haue his Temple adorned, nor suffer his House to bee built with blond, nor the holy Citie with iniquity. Righteousnesse and Peace kisse each other in Gods Kingdome, and acts of Warre though iust, excluded *Dauid* from the honour of building the Lords Houle. It follows then that *Salomon* was in this *Ophirian* businesse, a man of peace, and thereot an example to all following Discouersers, according to that Christian Rule, as much as is possible to haue peace with all men. Rom. 12.

20 As *SALOMONS* Iustice, so his Wisdome and Prudence is exemplary, which though in him supereminent, yet found (as is already obserued) no meanes at home to maintaine the glory of *Salomon*, no meanes by Land correspondent to such Magnificence and Munificence, but addresseth himselfe by Sea and long Voyages to seek it: nor doth he esteeme others eyes enough, nor others assistance too much, but surueyes his Nauie himselfe, & is glad of *Hiram*s helpe? Nay, this was not only the subiect of his wisdome, but the furtherer and Purueyor, by new experiments in Minerals, Gems, Beasts, Fowles, Fishes, Serpents, Wormes, Trees, Fruits, Gums, Plants, Men; Climates, Winds, Seasons, Seas, Lands, Soyles, Riuers, Fountaynes, Heauens, and Stars; and a World of the Worlds Varieties; of all which how soeuer he had receiued the mayne stocke of Wisdome by immediate Gift of God, yet did he frugally employ his Talent, and thriftily improoue that Reuenue, labouring to be more wise, and travelling in Wisdome and Knowledge, and Equitie; and \* gaue his heart to search and find out wisdome by all things that are done vnder the Heauen, God humbling him with this sore travell, although he excelled in wisdome, all that were before him in *Ierusalem*. Thus *Homer*s *Vlysses* in the Schooles of diuers Nations & Navigations is trained to that peerlesse wisdom, & thus *Aristotle* the chiefe of Natures Schollers, trauelled with *Alexanders* Purse and Experience to furnish himselfe, and succeeding Ages with Naturall Science and Wisdome. And our Age which God hath blessed beyond many former, produced as Twinnes Navigation and Learning, which had beene buried together in the same Graue with the *Roman* Greatnesse, and now are as it were rayfed againe from the dead.

30 Hence it is that barbarous Empires haue neuer growne to such glory, though of more Giant-like stature, and larger Land-extension, because Learning had not fitted them for Sea attempts, nor wisdome furnished them with Nauigation. Thus the *Persian*, the *Mogoll*, the *Abassine*, the *Chinois*, the *Tartarian*, the *Turke*, are called GREAT, but their greatnesse is like *Polyphemus* with one eye, they see at home like purblind men neere to them, not farre off with those eyes of Heauen, and lights of the World, the Learned knowledge, whereof is requisite to Nauigation. The *Chinois* at home, is hereby stronger, and so is the *Turke*: but the other are braued by euery petty Pirat on their owne shores: the rest like *Ostriches* spread faire plumes, but are wattle to rayse themselves from the Land: yea, their Lands also (as hath happened to the *Abassine*) and Seatownes taken from them to the downfall of their estate. One *Salomon* left greater testimonies of greatnesse, by this his wisdome and helpe of Nauigation, then many of the later *Ottomans*, which possessed all *Salomons* Territories, and perhaps a hundred times so much added. But as God giues huge strength and vast bodies to beasts, yet makes Man by art and reason secure from them, if not wholly their Masters; so to the good of Christendome, hath hee denied Learning to those Barbarians, and skill or care of remote Navigations, which how otherwise they might infest the World, appears by their Christian Slaues and vnchristian Pirats, whereof they make vse against vs, and whereby their *Mediterranean* is guarded. But on the *Arabian*, the *Portugals* before, the *English* since haue put a bridle into the mouth of the *Ottoman* Horse, and shewed how easie it is to intercept his Maritime incomes, and if not to smother him (as the *Floridans* serue the Whale by stopping the two holes, whereby he breath's) yet to impouerish him by diuerting the riches of the *Persian* and *Arabian* Gulphes.

40 And hereby is euident that as we haue obserued in *Salomons* Iustice, and wisdome, so Fortitude it selfe here is exercised, hence increased: nor did *Alexander* thinke it enough to haue overcome men,

Rom. 12.

Ab. 2.

Rom. 12.

Ecc. 2. 13. 21.

\* Ecc. 1. 13. 16.

Acof. hist. Ind. 3. 3. 6. 15.



men, but would also encounter the vnknowne Ocean. *Salomons* riches made him eminent and secure, his Navigations rich. But besides the necessary exercife of Fortitude in the Mariner expoted and oppoling himselfe to *Step-dame* Elements, to Shelues and Rockes from the Earth, Whirle-pooles, Currents, Billowes and Bellowes of the Sea, Tempests, Huricanos, Tufons, Water-spouts, and dreadfull Meteors from the Aire: by Sea-fights is the safest defence of our owne (as the Oracle instructed the *Gracians* by Wooden-castles, to fortifie against that World of men in *Xerxes* his Armie) and surest offence to the Enemy. What reputation of courage, what increafe of State, did the *Portugals* hereby attaine in *Africa* and *Asia*? cooping vp the Natiues within their shoares, possessing themselves of diuers petty Kingdomes, enriching themselves with the richest Trade in the World, and that maugre the force of the *Moors*, of the *Egyptian* and *Turkish* Sultans? The Sea was the Work-houfe, and Naigation the Anuile, whereon the fortitude of a Woman, wrought the safetie of her Subiects, and hammered the terrours of that enemy, which was called, *Omnium etatum & totius orbis amplissimi Imperij Monarcha*. Nor need I name the *Belgian* Vnited Prouinces, whose Free estate like another *Venus* arose out of the Sea, and hath forced *Mars* to woo this Ladies loue and amitie, when force could not rauish her; which seemes since not only to contemne that force, to neglect this loue, but almost wantonly in many of hers, remembers to forget herselfe in some respects to her *quondam* best friends, by whose helpe this *Neptunian Amazon* was secured at home, by whose ayde and example, that I adde not their Name, her Fortune and Fortitude hath attempted both East and West, yea, hath taken away the name of East and West out of the World, and three times compassed the *Com-passe*. Thus hath a little remnant of Land by Sea-assistance, swelled to this present greatnesse, and filled the remotest *Indies* with her Martiall and Mercuriall Designes. 10 20

Now for *Temperance*, *Salomon* himselfe stumbled and fell at that stone; neither are Sea-men vsually on Land the most temperate: *Vlysses* had not heard of *Cyrce* or the *Syrenes*, had hee not aduentured the Sea. Yet let this be a commendation of the Marine art, how euer the Mariner be to blame. It is the excellency of the thing that makes it a strong temptation; strong and sweet wines are commended, though weake branes and distempered heads bee iustly blamed for their intemperance; in the good gifts of God, beautie, wealth, and honor (as the wormes breede in best fruits) are the lists of *the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and pride of life, which are not of the Father but of the world*. Nor was Heauen to blame for the fall of Angels, or Paradise for that of Men; nor the Sea if her riches make mens mindes sea-sicke, wauering, inconstant, distempered, and like the Sea, subiect to tempestuous temptations. Yea, if you looke neerer, you shall see, as men blame and feare death for the last fatall paines, which yet are not properly of death (which is not in possession till paine and sente be quite dispossessed) but of the remainders of life; so deale they with Naigation in this case, whereas the Sea holds them in good temper, and is a correction house to the most dissolute; but the Land makes them forget the Sea and temperance together. *Salomons* vxorifousnesse and idolatries were Land beaults, not Sea-fishes: nor could his *Apes* and *Peacocks*, the vainest of his Sea wares, teach him that vanitie. *The wonders of the Lord in the Deepe* teach many, no doubt, deepest Diuinitie and profoundest Temperance, though some froth swims on the top of the Sea, and beates on euery shore where the winde driues it, carried about with euery blast of tentation, to the death of more in the wrongly-accused voyage of the East *Indies* by *Bacchus* and *Venus*, then *Neptune* and *Mars*, and all such other supposed Deities, and perhaps (I will not speake Dutch) that *scurvy* Sea-deuill too. *Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*. They carry their vices with them, which because the Sea, a Schoole of sobrietie and temperance, permits not to practise, breake out on them aland in greater furie. And as *Ouedo* tels of Lice, hat they leaue men a litle past the *Acores*, as they saile to the West *Indies*, and die and vanish by degrees, nor trouble them in the countrie, but at their returne about the same height (as if they had waited all that while for them) breede afresh; so is it with vices, which being practised on Land, doe finde men on euery shore, where people and plentie offer opportunitie. Once, Earth is predominant as in our complexions, so in our conditions. 30 40 50

Now for the vertues called *Theologicall*, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charitie*, the Sea is a great Temple not to contemplate their theorie, but really to practise them. *Faith* hath her greatest eclipse by interpolation of Earth, as we see in the Moone; but at Sea, *Cælum undiq, & undiq, pontus*, no Earth is seene, only the Heauen (the walls of our fathers Palace) and the inconstant shifting Elements, which constantly put vs in minde of our Pilgrimage, and how neere in a thin ship, and thinner, weaker, tenderer body we dwell to death, teaching vs daily to *number our dayes, and apply our hearts to wiseāme*. And what can more liuely traine vs in *Hope* then Sea-naigation, where the life we liue is hope, where as *Dauids* former deliuerance confirmed him against the vncircumcised *Philistine*, so daily deliuerances from death in so few inches distance by windes and waues, which like the *Beare* and the *Lion* alway assault vs, may the better traine vs to the fight with *Goliab* himselfe, and as I haue said (by death escaping death) to cut off *Goliabs* head with his owne sword. But the chiefest of these is *Charitie*, and the chiefest charitie is that which is most common; nor is there any more common then this of Naigation, where one man is not good to another man, but so many Nations as so many persons hold commerce and intercoure of amitie withall; 60

Salo-

2. Job. 2.

Psal. 107.

1. Sam. 17.



Salomon and Hiram together, and both with Ophir; the West with the East, and the remotest parts of the world are ioyned in one band of humanitie; and why not also of Christianitie? *Sidon and Sion, Jew and Gentile, Christian and Ebnike*, as in this typical storie? that as there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme, one Body, one Spirit, one Inheritance, one God and Father, so there may thus be one Church truly Catholike, One Pastor and one Sheepfold? And this also wee hope shall one day be the true Ophirian Navigation, when Ophir shall come into Ierusalem, as Ierusalem then went vnto Ophir. Meane while, wee see a harmonie in this Sea-trade, and as it were the consent of other Creatures to this consent of the Reasonable, vnited by Navigation, howsoever by Rites, Languages, Customes and Countries separated. Heauen conspires with the inferior Elements, and yeelds, as it were, a Sea Card in the Sun and Stars. The Elements which euery where else are at open warres, herein agree in sweetest symphonie; the Earth yeeding Shores, Capes, Bayes and Ports, as netts; the Aire windes as wings to these artificiall Sea-fowles (so esteemed at their first sight by the *Americans*, and by the *Negros*) and the Sea admitting strange Children into her Familie, and becoming a Nurse against her Nature, to the Earths generation. What shall I say more? *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*. To the many profitable effects of Navigation, many pleasures may be added both of Reason in speculation, and of Sense in more then sensuall delight. Salomon in his Ophirian voyage furnished himselfe with Gold and Siluer, and other solid commodities: with *Almuggins* trees also, yea with Apes and Peacocks, the one for the muscicall delights of the Temple, the other domesticall and naturall. But I am plunged in an Ocean, when I goe about the Oceans praise, which goes about all things: I shall sooner drowne my selfe in these Deepes, then measure the true depth of the Seas commendations, or Nauiate thorow the commodities of Navigation by commerce abroad by his owne, or by Customes at home by others employments. The Text it selfe is a Sea, and needes a better Steerel man to instruct in these Points of Salomons Compasse, which saith more for Navigation then I can, who yet to shew my loue and honour of that Noble Science haue aduentured to say this, to pay this as *Custom* for the whole Worke, wherein are returned so many returns from Sea. And now it is high time we come to the History it selfe, and historicall or litterall sense; the first in our intention, howsoever last in execution.

§. VII.

Of Ezion Geber, Eloth, and the Red Sea: that of Edom it receiued that name, and communicated it to the Indian Ocean, by the Phoenician Navigations frequent in those times to India.



And King Salomon made a Nauie of Ships in Ezion Geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shoare of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom, &c. 1. Reg. 9. 26.

This is the first and best testimonie of a holy Nauie. Noah had by Diuine Wisdome and Precept built a Ship, which preserved the remainders of the Old, and beginnings of the New World, a figure of that Baptisme which now saueth vs by the resurrection of Iesus Christ. The Temple, a later and liuelier figure of Heauen and Saluation it selfe, must bee furnished with due materials by a whole Fleet of Ships, which shall not saue alone from dangers, but crowne with fulnesse of ioy and glory; this typically then renewed by Salomon for new supplies euery Trinitie of yeares; but there the Eternall Trinitie shall at once bee the Temple, the Sunne, the exceeding great reward, and all in all for euer. No passage was found for Israel out of Egypt to the Wildernesse (a type of the life by Faith) nor for abundance of the Temples riches the shadow of glory, but by the Red Sea; so meritorious is the blood of our Redeemer, which, by bloody sweat, whippings, and a thorny Crowne, welled Springs of the water of life out of all parts of his body; out of his hands and feet yeelded the foure Riuers which watered the Paradise of God; out of his pierced side and heart flowed a sea, a Red Sea of water and blood to saue, to enrich vs, to purchase our Iustification by Grace, and beginnings of Sanctification growing vnto perfect Glory. 1. Pet. 3. 21.  
Apoc. 21. 2, 3.  
Gen. 15. 1.  
1. Cor. 15.

But as all faire things are farre from easie possession, so is it with Heauen, and all her mysteries, so is it with vs in this Voyage of Salomon, to know where this Ezion-geber was, from whence he set sayle, and to come to that Ophir, where he made his Voyage: touching both which, things otherwise enough difficult are made the harder by those mysts, which disagreeing opinions haue raised in our way. The Text giueth three markes to know the first, that it was beside Eloth, on the shoare of the Red Sea, and in the Land of Edom. This third marke of Ezion-geber is delineated by Moses, Deut. 2. 8. and before in Num. 33. 35. made the two and thirtieth Station of the Israelites remouing, or march in the Wildernesse. And heerein our Maps of that Chapiter, were in the former Bibles much to blame, which are in that and other respects much amended, in the Map of the Holy Land added to the last Translation. Now that it was on the shoare of the Red Sea, and not on the Mediterranean, this Text proueth: and the conceite of *Goropius* in this kinde that denieth *Idumaea* to extend to the Red Sea, and auereth that this Fleet was set forth from the *Idumean*. 1. Gorop Becan.  
Hispanic. l. 5.



- dumæan Mediterraneæ* shoare, it is as many other disputations of his, more full of industry then wit, of wit then learning, of learning then iudgement. Strange are his conceptions, and strong his dilceptions, bat hauing weake foundations (grounded commonly on names and wordes buried vnder succession of rubbilhes) they proue in the end (as *Ioseph Scaliger* speaketh) but *Docta nugæ*, more wordy then worthy guides, which doe but *verba dare*. Againe, that *Iosephus* placeth *Esiongeber* at *Berenice*, is either a marginall note of some nouice Geographer crept into the Text, or else an old error; for *Berenice* is on the *Egyptian* shore, *Esiongeber* on the *Arabian*. *Iosephus* placeth it neere *Elana*: and in the Text *Eloth* is set a guide to *Esiongeber*. Now *Eloth* being written in the holy tongue *עֶלְוֶת* and *עֶלְוֶת* was by transmigration shifted and remoued to diuers pronuntiations, a thing vnuall in *Ebrow* names; both of places and persons. Hee that seeth how *John* or *Iames* are transported in such vnlike sounds from the Originall, in *Greeke*, *Latine*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, *Englisb*, and other languages, in all so vnlike and diuerfied, would scarcely acknowledge them brothers, or to haue any kindred either to the mother tongue, or in those many sifter languages: and so is it commonly with other names.
- Strabo* calls it *Αἶλα*, *Iosephus* *Εἰλαν*, the *Latins* *Elana*, and the Gulfe or Bay neere to it is termed *Elaniticus*. Of this place how it lieth, and how the Ancients were deceiued, you haue the Relations of *Don Iohn Di Castro*, from his owne eyes and learned iudgement, supposed to bee the same which is now called *El Tor*, or *Toro*. Yea the *Red Sea* is likeliest to haue receiued that name from *Edom*, as the *Pamphiliæ*, *Ionian*, *Tyrrhene*, *British*, and other Seas are ordinarily so named of the Principall shoares they wash. *Castro* hath better examined the rednesse then any man, and compared the Moderne and Ancient opinions with his owne eyes. And for a Booke-traueller, I must needs applaud *Maister Fuller*, Our Country-man, who in the last Chapter of the fourth Book of his *Miscellanea Sacra*, hath mustered the testimonies of the Ancients together, and ascribeth the name of *Red-sea* to *Edom*, of whom *Idumæa* tooke name, and of him and it, this Sea. For *Ptolemy's Idumæa* is farre short of the Ancient, which contained also *Nabathæa* and their Citie *Petra*, whence *Arabia Petrea* receiued the name; *Esaus Sword*, (of which his Father had prophesied) conquering to both Seas.
- This *Edom* or *Esaus* was that *Erythras*, which the *Grecians* mention to haue giuen name to that Sea, by translating *Edom* into *Erythras* or *Erythraus*, as *Cephas* into *Petrus*. *Postellus* had stumbled on this Note, which *Fuller* more fully and learnedly hath opened, as other things also pertaining to our purpose. That there is a rednesse in some parts of that Sea, by reason of the cleerenesse of the water, and abundance of a kind of red Corall, branching it selfe on the transparant bottoms, *Castro* hath made euident, but that in a small part of that Sea; the like whereof happneth in other Seas of cleerest waters, which show white from sands, Greene from weeds, particoloured with pleasant diuerfied hue, as *Pineda* citeth the testimony of *Fernandez* obserued neere to *Carthagena* in *America*, euery Stone, Shell, or whatsoeuer else was in the bottom, in those liquid waues yeelding so pleasant and various a tincture, as his many Nauigations had no where else obserued; and *Captaine Saris* in this Sea, called anciently *Erythraean* (which name, besides the *Arabike* and *Persian* Gulfs, contained the *Indian Ocean*, so named as it seemeth, from the frequent Nauigations out of *Eloth* and *Esion Geber* in *Edom* vnto *India*) was one night almost terrified with a glare yeelding light to discerne Letters, suspected to bee some breach, and proued nothing but *Cuttle Fish* in the bottome.
- But to returne to our *Red Sea*, *Agatharchides* in *Photius* his *Bibliotheca*, saith it is not called *Red* of the colour, but *ἑρὶς τῆς δυνάμεως* of some man which there ruled. The Scriptures call it *Siph*, *Suph*, or *Souph*, translated *algosum*, *caricosum*, *iuncosum*, (to which accordeth *Martialis* Verse; *Quicquid Erythraa niger inuenit Indus in alga*) it seemes of the abundance of Rushes and Weeds there growing. The *Moors*, *Turkes*, and Traders thereof in later times call it the Sea of *Mecca*. *Mela* mentioneth the colour, and the King *Erythras* there reigning; *Plinie* addes for the name, The Sunnes repercussion from the Sand and Land; *Strabo* cites the same out of *Eratosthenes*, with a tale of *Ctesias* of a Fountaine emptying his red-okerie waters thereinto, and the Relation of *Boxus* a *Persian*, that *Erythras* a *Persian* planted a *Persian* Colonie in an Island thereof. *Ouranus* in *Stephanus* tells of the red adioyning Mountaines: the Poets haue their *Perseus*, and others their other conceits and deceits, which I leaue to their Authors, as also *Pineda's* later deuce. The nature of that Sea is better deliuered in the voyages of *Castro*, *Middleton*, *Saris*, *Downton*, *Haines*, and others in these our Nauigations. But for *Eloth* and *Esiongeber*, *Maister Fuller* is of opinion that *Salomon* in his great Wisdome, wanting fit Mariners, sent to *Hiram* for *Tyrians* and *Phenicians*, and that a large Colonie was sent by *Hiram* to inhabit those parts, then subiect to King *Salomon*, by which meanes *Solomon* and *Hiram* enter into societie for the *Indian* traffick by that Sea of *Edom*, so to get the riches of the East in possession. This Colonie numerous and strong he placeth at *Esiongeber* the *Arsenal*, or fittest place of building Ships, and at *Eloth* the fittest Port, Mart, and Staple for the *Indian* merchandise. Thus hee, and very probably: adding that the *Hebrew* *Elath* in the singular, and *Eloth* in the plurall number, was by the *Phenicians* turned into *Ailath*, whose singular is *Aila*, and plurall *Ailan*: thence the *Greekes* *Aila*, *Ailana*, *Eilane*, *Elana*, and the *Latins* *Elana*, and by inuersion *Laana*. This *Phenician* Colonie hee obserueth to haue bene of most



name of all other the Inhabitants thereof. For the Jewish yoke was soone shaken off by the Edomites themselves, after *Iehoshaphats* death, *Iehoram* rebelling against God, and the Edomites against him. After that *Azariah* recovered *Elath* and built it. It continued not long, but *Rezin King of Syria* recovered *Elath* to Syria, and drove the Jewes from *Elath*, and the Syrians came to *Elath*, and dwelt there to this day. Thus the Jewes which were the Lords, and received the Customes, were expelled; but the Idumean Natives and Phœnicians, which might bee usefull to the conquerours remained, the Tyrians being Syrophœnicians, and speaking the Syrian language, and by their merchandising so profitable to their Kings.

This *Elath* was after called *Albus Pagus*, by *Strabo* called the chiefe Mart of the Nabateans, whence the Indian and Arabian Merchandise was carried to *Petra*, thence to *Rhinaculura* in Phœnicia neere Egypt, and thence dispersed to other places. Thus in the times before the Ptolemys. But in *Salomons* time, and whiles the Jewes ruled there, they were brought to *Ierusalem* and to *Tyrus*; and after that to *Myos Hormos* and *Berenice*, Egyptian Ports on the other side of the Red Sea, to be thence conveyed to *Alexandria*. *Avrianus* in his time mentioneth the Garrison at *Albus Pagus* and Custome there taken, the transporting of wares thence to *Petra*, notwithstanding the Egyptian flourishing. Saint *Ierom* also placeth *Ailat* in extremis finibus Palestine, adjoining to the Wildernesse and the Red Sea: Unde ex Egypto in Indiam & inde ad Egyptum navigatur. Sedet autem ibi legio Romana cognomento Decima; Et olim quidem *Ailat* à veteribus dicebatur, nunc vero appellatur *Aila*.

*Ptolemy* placeth *Phanicum oppidum*, not far from *Elana*; the Ile *Astarte* is a Phœnician memorial also; *Plinie* mentioneth *Gens Tyra*, and *Herodotus* the Syrians on the Red Sea shoare; that I pursue no other Antiquities. These Tyrians it seemeth first began the sailing of the Indian Seas, and Habitation on the Arabian shoares, instructed by the Wisdome, and procured by the Friendship of *Salomon* with *Hiram*: which they continued vnder many State-changes, till the Mahometan times, the Staple of those Indian Merchandises being altered after the Jewish times, with the chiefe Monarchies, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Ptolemaean, Roman. And this is the onely Phœnix-neast made of sweet Spices, in Nature false (for God made all Fowles at first, and after brought to, and out of the Arke, in both sexes, male and female) but true in this Alegory, the Phœnicians of all the Nations known, being the only skilful Mariners in the Arabian and Indian seas, and from the one, by the other, bringing the Spices and Riches of the East into the West, that skill being euer communicated not by Generation, but by Industry; which made *Tyrus* (as *Ezekiel* describeth it) the Phœnix indeed of all Cities of Trade in the World. Master *Fuller* learnedly addeth the Fables of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* their Indian Expeditions, to this of *Salomon* and *Hiram*, *Hercules* being adored of the one, and *Iehona* of the other, which name by Heathens was perverted to *ioβαρος* and *ioβάρης* names of *Bacchus* in *Hesychius*; which agreeth to *Plutarchs* conceit, that the Jewes worshipped *Bacchus* on their Sabbaths, and deriue the name *Sabbatum* from *σαββα*, and *σαββα* a name of *Bacchus*, as his Priests were termed *σαββα*. Now for that Gulte in which *Strabo* placeth *Elana*, and calls it therefore *Elaniticus*, and another towards Egypt, I referre you to *Castros* following relations, which better knew those parts then *Strabo* could; *Gaza* by *Strabo* and *Plinie* reckoning seemeth to bee about one hundred and fiftie of our miles or more from thence. *Salomon* went in Progresse to take care of this his Ophirian Fleet from *Ierusalem* to *Esi-on-geber*, almost as farre as from *London* to *Torke*.

*Ason Geber* in Saint *Ieroms* interpretation signifieth *ligna viri*, aut *lignationes viri*, aut *dolationes hominis*, *ἐυλακισμὸς*; whence some gather that much Timber grew there usefull for building of Ships: perhaps, and I rather beleue, for the Timbers brought thither as to an arsenall or store-yard for that purpose. For as Woods agree not with *Moses* his Wildernesse, so I find little mention of Wood in all the Arabike shoare; at lest, later times haue knowne none there. And *Solimau* the Great Turke, A. 1538. is said to haue brought the materialls of the great Fleet which hee built at *Sues* in the Red Sea, to invade *Dium* and expell the Portugalls out of India, from remote Regions, *Materia ex longinquis colligi iussit* (*Damianus à Goes* is our Author) *illamq; sumptu inestimabili ad mare rubrum vebis curauit*. *Comito Venetiano*, who with other Venetians were forced to that seruice out of their Ships at *Alexandria* to goe to *Cairo* and *Sues*, more particularly relateth that *Sues* is in a Desert place where no Hearb of any sort groweth, where the *Armad* for India was made, and all the Timbers, Ironworkes, Tackling, Munitions were brought from *Satalia* and *Constantinople* by Sea to *Alexandria*, and thence carried on the Nile by *Zerne* (Boats, or Rafts) to *Cairo*, and thence on Camells to *Sues*. This Voyage is eightie miles, in which is neither habitation, nor water, nor any thing for life: they carry Nilus water on Camells when the Carouans goe thither. In the Pagans times, it was a great Citie and full of Cisternes, and had a trench from Nilus which filled all their Cisternes, destroyed by the Mahometans, so that now they fetch their water fixe miles off from brackish Wells. There the Turke built a Fleet of seuentie six Vessells of all sorts, &c.

*Don Iohn de Castro* speakes of this Fleet of *Salomon*, and sayth, the Timber whereof it was made was brought from *Libanon* and *Antilibanon* (so little signe saw hee, or heard of any Trees or Wood in these parts) and saith, that from *Toro* all the Coast is West, and without any Port

2. Chron. 21.8.

2 Re. 14.22.

2 Reg. 16.6.

The Editio of

*Avrianus* hath

*Idumæi & Syri*

*venerunt, &c.*

to which a

Manuscript of

*M. Fuller* a-

grecali.

Sir. l. 16.

*Avriani* Periplus

*Hier. de loc. Heb.*



## HONDIVS his Map of the Deserts and Israels Peregrination therein



but *Sues*, and that therefore *Cleopatras* Fleet was brought by Land from *Nilus*, to *Sues* over the *Isthmos*. This is in 29. degrees 45. minutes, supposed *Arfinos* of the Ancients, Some say, *Civitas Heronum*; and said to be the *Turkes Arsenale* for his Armada, for those Seas, the Materials being brought from *Caramania*: which at *Castros* being there, consisted of one and forty great Gallies and nine great Ships. It seemeth by Sir Henry *Middletons* Story following, that their strength in those Seas is weake in later times. As that whole Wildernesse yeelded nothing for mans life, but their food was *Manna* from Heauen, and their apparell was by heavenly power preserved, so here *Salomons* wisdome is freely giuen, and his Materials for an *Ophirian* Fleet, and Temple structure must be not naturally there growing. His Mariners also must be borrowed, to shew that the *inst line* by faith, and in matters of grace, wee have nothing which wee have not received, not growing out of the naturall powers of free will, but framed out of the will freed by diuine grace, agreeing to which Mystery nothing of the Temple was framed in *Moriab*, nor the noyse of a Hammer once heard; the Tabernacle before built also of *Egyptian* spoyles; and *Israel* inherited Cities which they builded not, and Vineyards planted by them: and lastly, Christ himselfe was crucified without the gate, that neither *Iew* nor *Ierusalem* may challenge either Monopoly or Merit, but all may bee ascribed to meere mercie and free grace, *Non nobis domine, not to vs Lord, not to vs but to thy Name be giuen the glory.*

1. Cor. 7. 4.



## §. VIII.

of Ophir, diuers opinions weighed and censured; whether the Compasse was knowne to the old World; that the remote parts were lately inhabited, the New World but newly, and a great part thereof not yet.

10 **H**is Golden Countrey is like Gold, hard to find and much quarrelled, and needes a wise Myner to bring it out of the Labyrinths of darknesse, and to try and purifie the Myners themselves and their reports. And here our best *Athenians* seeme Owles indeed, which dozed with *Salomons* splendour hide themselves affarre off, and seeke for Easterne Ophir in Peru, and the West Indies. Such conceits haue transported *Postellus*, *Goropius Becanus*, *Arias Montanus*, *Vatablus*, *Possennius*, *Genebrard*, *Marinus Brixianus*, *Sa*, *Engubinus*, *Auenarius*, *Garcia*, Noble *Morney*, and many others by their authority. Their reason is spelled out of the Letters of Ophir and Peru, so neere of Kinne. *Arias Montanus* in his *Phaleg* is both large and little in this point, saying, both much and nothing; for from the Scriptures stiling the Ophirian Gold פֶּרֶץ *Parauaim*, he gathereth that it was brought from the two *Perues*, one of which he maketh new Spain, and the other that which now is called Peru; or the Northerne and Southerne moyties of *America*; and that those parts were commonly traded in ancient times. He maketh the rowe of hills which runne from *Panama*, to the *Magellau* Straits to be Mount *Sepbir*: for so it is said *Gen. 10.* *Gen. 10. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30:* speaking of *Ioktan* Sonnes, the brother of *Peleg* or *Phaleg*; And *Ioktan* begat *Almodad*, and *Sheleph*, and *Hazarmaneth*, and *Ierah* And *Hadoram*, and *Uzal* and *Diklah*, and *Obal* and *Abimael* and *Sheba*. And *Ophir* and *Hauilah* and *Iobab*: all these were the sonnes of *Ioktan*. And their dwelling was from *Mesha*, as thou goest unto *Sephar*, a Mount of the East; or as *Tremellius*, *ad montes orientis usq.*

30 If learned *Montanus* had viewed his owne Map only, hee should haue seene his Ophir in the West, and not in the East: and if it be said *Salomons* fleet went by the East to the Westerne parts of the World, as the *Philippina* and *Moluccan* shippes of the *Spaniards* vse to doe, yet *Moses* speakes of the dwelling and habitations (not of Iourneyings and Nauigations) which God after the *Babylonian* conspiracy had allotted to the generations of men; their dwelling must then bee in regard of *Moses* when he wrote this in the Desert, or of the scattering from *Babylon*, whereof he wrote. But these parts of *America*, are more than halfe the Globe distant from those places Eastward, and much neerer by the West.

40 Againe, the name *Peru* or *Piru* is a vaine foundation, for diuers places (see *Ortelius* his *Thesaurus Geograph.*) haue like, or the same names, neyther is any part of *America* by the Inhabitants called *Peru*, but this name was accidentally by the *Spaniards* ascribed to those beginnings of their Discoueries on the South Sea, and continued to that great Kingdome of the *Incas* found by *Pizarro*. *Garcilasso de la Vega* of the *Inca* bloud Royall by his mother, sonne to one of the *Spanish* Conquerors, borne and brought vp at *Cozco*, chiefe City of *Peru*, sayth that they had no generall name for the Kingdome, but *Tauantinsuyu*, that is, the foure parts of the World; nor acknowledge the appellation of *Peru*: but the first Discouerers seising on a fisherman in a Riuer, asked him of the Countrey, and he amazed and not vnderstanding them, answered *Beru*, and anon added *Pelu*, as if he should say, my name (if you aske me thereof) is *Beru*, and I was fishing in the Riuer, *Pelu* being the common name of a Riuer. The *Spaniards*, as if he had answered directly, corrupted a name of both those words, which they vnderstood not, and called the Region *Peru*, a name which the Natiues had neuer heard. The like they did in another Prouince, where asking a Natiue what was the name of the Countrey, he answered, *Tectetan*, *Tectetan*, that is, I vnderstand you not, which they corruptly called *Iucatan* and *Tucatan*, as if the *Indian* had affirmed that to be the name of the Region. The like casuall names he obserueth of other *American* places.

50 The Iesuite *Blas Valera*, in his History of *Peru* affirmeth the same, that *Peru* is not the proper name but accidentall, which the Natiues know not. *Acosta* acknowledgeth it vnkowne to the Naturals, and an occasioned name from a small Riuer, which *Vega* saith was called so first by those *Spaniards*, which there tooke the fisherman. Thus the name which they would make as old as *Salomon*, began but Anno 1515. at the most, and that which is extended to New Spaine, and *Peru*, was knowne in neither, nor in any place else of the World.

Thirdly, I answered that *Peru* was not inhabited, nor yet New Spaine, one thousand yeares after *Salomons* time; of which I shall speake more anon, and in my following Discourse of the Apostolicall peregrinations.

60 Fourthly, neither could so long a Voyage then haue beene performed in three yeeres, beeing farre more then to haue compassed the Globe, which hath cost *Drake* and others three yeeres worke: where their worke was not in Mynes but in quicke fights.

Fifthly, this could not then be done without the Compasse. *Pineda* may conceit himselfe that those times knew it, but the *Phenicians* haue in no Story left any such memoriall; nor others of

*Sepharuaim*.  
2. Reg. 17. is a name as like, and true, adding but a *Sa* mech to *Parua* im a name of a place subdued by the *Assyrians*.  
*Vega.com. reales* l. 1. c. 4. 5. See his story Tom. 2. l. 7. c. 13.

*Lopez de Gomara* Gen. hist. c. 52.

*Blas Val. hist.*  
*Peru*.  
*Acost. hist. l. 1. cap. 13.*



Lem. de Occultis  
Nat. mirac. l. 3. c.  
4.  
Full. Miscel. l.  
4. c. 19.  
Ec. l. 10.

them, yet these were *Salomons* Sea men. *Leuius Lemnius*, and Master *Fuller* would haue vs beleeue that the Ancients had the Compasse within the compasse of their art, by reason of the *Phanicians* Marine skill and experience, which we say might be as much as it was, by the Starres, the Monsoons, the Soundings, and Shores. Another reason is, the Learning and skill of those times, whereof *Salomon* saith, *Is there any thing whereof it may be said, this is new? it hath beene alreadie of old time which was before vs.* It might therefore be knowne in those times, and by barbarous inuasions be after lost, and by better times restored: I answer that the times were learned before and after *Salomon*, but when that learning should by Barbarian incursions be lost, I know not. The *Egyptian*, *Affyrian*, *Chaldean* inuasions might rather increase and disperse, then eclipse and abolish learning, being then more learned then the *Greekes*, who borrowed their very Letters from the *Phanicians*. The *Persian* times are knowne, and the *Greeke* Learning then grew to the highest pitch, when their Empire succeeded, and in loue of Learning exceeded the other. *Hippocrates*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Aristotle*, and before them *Pythagoras* and other Philosophers flourished before the *Persian* ruines, and trauelled into the East for that Learning, which they brought into *Greece* and *Italse*.

Ioseph cont. Ap-  
pionem.

See Voss. de hist.  
græcis in foure  
Bookes.

*Salomon* had all knowledge necessary to Morall, Politike and sauing wisdom, and to the ends for which God gaue him so large a heart. But the Sea hath bounds, & so had *Salomons* wisdom. Somewhat was left for *Iohn Baptist* to be greater then he, or any borne of women. Neither was the knowledge of the Compasse necessary to *Salomon*, who without it could and did compasse the Gold of *Ophir*. \* About 13000 miles space. Perhaps the Whale constellation took vp this Sea Whale into his Chariot, some part of the way.

The *Romans* borrowed their Arts from the *Greekes*, neither doe we read of Learning euaporated in Barbarian flames, till the Deluges of those Sauages in the *Romane* Empire, which yet continued both Empire and Learning in the East, till the West had in good measure recovered it selfe out of those Myths, and the Barbarous *Saracens* had growne louers of Learning, and our Teachers. And yet, had there beene such Barbarians which had rooted that skill out of the World (which is vnlikely, that Marine skill beeing the best meanes to encrease their Empire, to enrich their Cofters, to doe them other seruices in Warre and Peace, the ancient Conquerors vsing Fleets also to their purposes) yet some of the Bookes and Monuments of all Ages, from *Salomons* time being left to that of the *Romans*, as appeareth by *Iosephus* so well acquainted in the *Tyrian* Libraries, and other Authors of diuers Nations, and by the fragments which are come to our hands, and by whole Bookes of Voyages in the *Indian* and *Mediterranean* Seas, as this Booke will declare; it cannot be but some mention of the act, if no description of the Art, would haue remained to Posteritie.

Now for *Salomons* testimony, it confuteth those which make him the author and first founder of the Loadstone (which to *M. Fuller* and others seemeth probable) if nothing were then new; it may aswell be alleaged for many Generations before, that they also made ships at *Ezion-geber*, to goe to *Ophir* for like Rarities; and against all new Inuentions in any Age: which sense is also contradicted by *Salomon* in the same Chapter, Verse 16. Where hee saith, that *bee had more wisdom then all they that had beene before him in Ierusalem*: and 1. Reg. 3. 12. *There was none like be-fore thee, nor after thee shall arise any like vnto thee.* This was then a new thing vnder the Sunne, this his wildome, which brands vs for Fooles, if wee make him contradict himselfe and diuine Veritie.

The Scripture would goe one mile with them and shew the vanitie both of men and other creatures, and they post and force it two, applying what *Salomon* spake of kindes, to indiuiduall acts and euents; which might aswell enforce *Platoes* great yeere, and a personall reuolution of each man withall his conceits, words and acts. The Magnete is no new thing, but this vse of the Magnete was newly knowne two thousand yeares after *Salomons* death. The Argument to mee seemeth a merrie one, rather then serious, and I will answer it accordingly with a iest. The Iesuite *Pineda* (which out of *Lemnius* citeth these Arguments to proue that the Compasse is ancient) is no new thing as a Man; but as a person, as a Iesuite (a new order which beganne 1540.) as an Author which conceiteth that that great fish which tooke vp *Ionas* carried him in three dayes quite thorow the *Mediterranean*, and round about the *African* vault \* Circumference (*statim atq; deglutitur Ionas, reuertitur cætus velocitate incredibili ad mare Indicum & Sinum Arabicum, per Mediterraneum & Gaditanum fretum, immans totius Africa circuitu*, these are his owne words) these are new things vnder the Sunne, and this a new interpretation, which himselfe prefaceth with *Papa! nouam & inauditam exponendi rationem!* These particulars are new, and yet that text is true. I wil not adde (that were too serious and seuer) that all Iesuitisme is new, and their Expositions of Scriptures, Councils, Fathers for the *Roman* Monarchie, are all new, New-gay-nothings, *Vanitie of vanities and vexation of spirit*; yet to lye (the *genus generalissimum* of Iesuiticall tenents, as they are Iesuites; *CHRISTIANS* is a name too old for them) is as old as the old Serpent.

But lest I be ouer-bold with our Author, and may seeme to passe from a new argument to an old quarrell, and from ieausting to ierking; I contayne my selfe, lest any *Veterator* take mee for a Nouelist; and with reuerence and thanks for his better paines, craue pardon for this *ioco-serium*, and come to his third Argument out of *Plautus*, where in speech of sayling, hee hath these words,

Plauti Mercat.

Huc secundus ventus nunc est, cape modo versoriam,  
Hic Fauonius serenus est, isthic Auster imbricus.



Here *Lemnius*, *Giraldus de Nauighs*, and *Calcagninus* with others mentioned by him, doe interpret *Verforia* of the Compasse: whom *Pineda* beleueth not, and yet saith, hee hath *quod nostro Acofta reddere possimus requirenti aliquod idoneum ex antiquitate huius acicula testimonium*: notwithstanding, hee coniectureth it to bee some pole to thrust the Veffell (if any Instrument) and acknowledgeth that the Oares and Rudder might bee *Verforia*, in regard of turning the ship, and lastly concludeth it to be spoken without respect to any Nautike Instrument, interpreting *Cape Verforiam* to returne: and that *Plantus* his actor did point to the Heauens, not to any Instrument, when he said, *hic secundus ventus est, hic Faunius, &c.* which seemeth to bee the Poets true sense.

- 10 *Pineda* addes, that we ought not to doubt but that *Salomon* knew this of the Loadstone aswel as other Stones and Herbs. I answer we haue a better Loadstone and Leadstone for one then for the other; the Scripture speaking of him more as a Herbarist, then as a Lapidarie and Mariner. He alleageth, that the attractiue facultie would reueale that Polare. I answer, that experience hath produced many Ages to testifie the contrarie; which knew the one, not the other. His Argument from the store of Load-stones in those Easterne parts, concludes nothing for the skill, any more then that the naked artlesse *Indians* in *Hispaniola* were better Gold-smiths then the *Europeans*, because they had more Gold. His last Argument is least, from the Diuine Prouidence which would not permit men so many Ages to be ignorant hereof. For heere we come to an, *O altitudo! O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his iudgements, and his wayes past finding out? For who hath knowne the minde of the Lord, or who hath bene his Counsellor?*

Rom. 11. 33, 34.

I like much better that which *Pineda* addes of the Ancients abilitie to sayle without kenne of the shoare, without Magneticall helpe, which *Strabo*, *Arianus* and *Plinie* acknowledge: and *Aratus* saith, that the *Phanicians* followed the Load-starre (not the Load-stone) which *Tully* citeth also out of him.

*Arrianus* mentioneth the helpe of the Monsoons (as now they terme them) or seasons of the Windes, obseruing a constant course in the *Indian Ocean*, which with experience of the frequented Coast, might easily teach *Hippalus* a compendious passage thorow the Mayne, or at least further from kenne of Land. Whereupon *Plinie* hauing related the former course, addes

- 30 *Secuta etas propiorems cursum tutioremq. &c. Compendia inuenit Mercator, Lib. 6. cap. 23.* They also obserued the flying of certain Birds which they caried with them. But al these could nothing helpe to a *Peruan* Voyage from the Red Sea, where the knowne Starres were laid asleepe in *Telbys* lap; where neither Birds carried with them, could instruct to any neere shoare, nor any Birds in the mayne Ocean were to be seene, where the Monsoons and Seasons of the winde are so diuersified; where without the Compasse all things are out of compasse, and nothing but miracle or chance (which neuer produce Arts) could saue or serue them. I haue spoken of the Load-stone in another place to which I referre the Reader, least that makes mee wander and drowne, which directeth and saueeth others.

*Cic. Acad. 1. Ego meas cognitio- nes sic dirigo, non ad illam paruulam Cynosuram, Qua fidunt duce nocturna Phenices in altum. ut ait Aratus &c. Certior est Cynosura tamen sulcantibus aequor, &c. Arat.*  
In the beginning of the second books. The sixth section.

- 40 Lastly, *Peru* could not be *Ophir*, if wee conceiue that *SALOMON* brought thence *Iuorie*; and *Peacocks*. For *Peacocks* they read *Parrots*, and for *Iuorie* they are forced to take it vpb by the way in some place of *Africa* or *India*, which distraction must needs prolong the Voyage, which without such lets could not (as before is obserued) in three yeares bee performed. As for such (Asse for such, I might haue said) which thinke so huge and vast a tract of Land as that New World, might bee now emptie of Elephants which then it had (for it is confessed by all Classike Authors, that *America* neuer saw Elephant) as *England* is ridde of Wolues, wherewith it hath sometimes abounded; Why should not other kinds of Creatures bee vterly destroyed aswell as these, being more hurtfull to the Inhabitants? I meane, Tigres, Leopards, and other rauenous beasts whereof *America* hath more then a good many. And if they should destroy Elephants for their Iuorie, what piece of Iuorie was euer found in *Peru* or all *America*, before 50 our men came there? If *Salomons* men had destroyed all, it were inhumane to interuert after-ages. The hunting of Wolues in the North of *Scotland* at this day, and the huntings vsed by many Nations, *Tartars*, *Cafres*, &c. easily tell vs how *England* was cleered of Wolues; Armies, or Multitudes in a large Ring, encircling the beasts, & with Fire, Waters, Dogs, Armes, &c. bringing all into a narrow Compasse, and there killing them. But in the New World that would haue required another World to haue done it. I adde that no Elephant could come into *Peru* but by Miracle, the cold and high Hilles euery way encompassing, beeing impassable to that Creature, as wee shall see in our *Spanish* entrance with Horses. Yea, I auerre further, that an Elephant could not liue in *Peru*, but by Miracle. For the Hilles are cold in extremitie, and the Valleyes, till the *Incas* made artificiall Riuers were without water, it neuer rayning there, whereas the Elephant delights in places very hote and very moist. But I deferue blame to fight with Elephants in *America*, which is with lesse then a shadow, and to lay siege to Castles in the Aire.

60 These arguments haue no lesse force against *Columbus* and *Vatablus* their *Ophir* in *Hispaniola*: which from the Red Sea makes a farther fetch with like or greater improbabilities. This error

A second opinion for *Hispaniola*.



Colon a happier Discoverer of the new World then the old. was more fortunate then learned. For out of a right rule that the World is round, and that therefore men might sayle to the East by the West, *Columbus* first, and presently after him Sir *Sebastian Cabot* made their Discoveries, and stumbled on a New World by the way, whereof they had not dreamed.

*Cabots* Voyage was to seeke *Cathay* or *China*. *Columbus* his intent was for the East *Indies*, and finding much Gold in *Hispaniola*, without examining other difficulties, and falsly supposing himselfe to haue attayned the East *Indies*, he called that Iland *Ophir*; which conceit *Francis Vatablus* receiued.

Third opinion for *Sophala*.

See *infl. 9. c. 12*

*Barros* Dec. 1. l. 10.

*T. Lopez ap. Ramusium* Tom. 1.

\* *Infra* Tom. 1. pag. 1549.

A fourth and fifth opinions.

A sixth opinion.

*Ios. Acoft.* l. 1. 14.

*Inf. l. 4. c. 16.*

See *§. 12.* for *Acoft.* opinion. Other opinions.

*Gen. 10. 31. 32.*

Now for *Sofala* or *Cefala*, many arguments are alleaged by *Ortelius* (who here placeth *Salomons Ophir*) and others. And indeed the abundance of Gold, and the excellencie thereof, as likewise of Siluer, there taken out of the Mynes; Peacocks, or Parrots, whether you choose to interpret; Elephants, Apes, (Monkeyes and Baboones) excellent Woods for such vses as the *Almuggim* Trees were applied; all these, together with the easie Nauigation from the Red Sea thither alongst the *African* shoare; and lastly the name it selfe may seeme to plead for a *Sofalan Ophira*, or *Sophira* (as *Iosephus* calls it) in this place. *Ioan dos Santos* liued eight yeares in those parts, and alleageth many things to this purpose. He saith that neere to *Massapa*, is a great high Hill called *Fura*, in the Kingdome of *Monomotapa*, to which hee will not suffer the *Portugals* to passe lest the rich Mynes should cause their too potent Neighbour-hood. On the top of that Hill are old ruinous wals of lime and stone. *Barrus* saith, there are also vnknowne Letters ouer the gate: the people ignorant of such workes, say they were built by Devils, thinking them impossible to men, iudging others by themselves. They are five hundred and ten miles from *Sofala*, in one and twentie degrees of Southerly latitude. He coniectureth it to bee *Ptolemys Agysimba*, the buildings being still called *Simbaoni*. *Thomas Lopez* addes, that the *Moors* affirmed, that their Bookes and ancient Writings contayned, that King *Salomon* fetched his Gold in his three yeares Voyage from thence.

At that time 1502. there were warres, but formerly the *Moors* of *Mecca* and *Zidem*, vsed to carrie two Millions of *Mitigals* (which are about eight shillings a piece) yeerely from thence. But to returne to *Santos*, hee alleageth a Tradition of the Natiues, that these Mynes and Buildings belonged to the Queene of *Saba*, and that others ascribe them to *Salomon*, making this *Fura* or *Afura* to be *Ophir*, See the place, \* and his pleading of this point, wherein I could be persuaded to be of his minde, if that *Moses* did not place *Ophir* Eastward, *Gen. 10. 30*. Who (it is likely) gaue name to this golden Region.

There are that seeke for *Tarshish* at *Carthage*, and some I haue knowne which place *Ophir* neere *Gambra*. Of this minde was Captaine *Iobson*, which trauelled vp that Riuer, nine hundred and sixtie miles, and heard such golden reports of the In-land Countreyes, as this Worke will from him deliuer to you. And indeed I doe easily perswade my selfe, that the richest Mynes of Gold in the World are in *Africa*; especially in the heart of the Land from the Line to the Tropike of Capricorne. (See our Relations out of *Bermudez*, *Iobson*, *Battell* and others) and I cannot but wonder, that so many haue sent so many, and spent so much in remoter Voyages to the East and West, and neglected *Africa* in the midst; which perhaps might prooue as much rich as neerer, then both the *Indies*. But *Rectum est index sui & obliqui*: if wee shew *Ophir* to bee in the East *Indies*, it cannot be in *America* or *Africa*, vnlesse we be of *Acoftas* opinion, who howsoeuer he thinketh that *Salomons* Gold, &c. came from the East *Indies*, yet coniectureth that *Ophir* and *Tharshis* signifie no certayne Regions, but are taken in a generall sense, as the word *India* is with vs, applied to all remoter Countreyes. *Ophir* might be any of the former, remote farre from the Red Sea.

But I can tell that *India* receiued his name from the Riuer *Indus*, still called *Sinde*, (which hath also foiled all our Geographers hitherto, making it to passe thorow *Cambaya*, which Sir *Thomas Roes* Voyage will confute, that it is lesse maruell if *Ophir* trouble vs so much) and because the Countreyes beyond *India*, were so meanly knowne by their true names, and *Indus* came from so remote Regions, they continued and extended that name to them: and (as euen now you heard) *Colon* by misprision called *America*, *India*, not dreaming of a Westerne, but supposing that by the West, he had arriued in the Eastern *India*. Now, why *Ophir* should be so dilated, I see no such reason. *Tarshish* we shall better examine after. And for others opinions of *Ophir* to be an Iland in the Red Sea called *Vrphe*, or *Ormuz* in the *Persian*, they are not worth examining: beeing not able to yeeld Gold, and the other Commodities which *Salomon* sought.

The truth of *Ophir* must as from a deepe Myne bee drawne out of *Moses*, *Gen. 10*. Wherein although wee cannot approue the opinion of those which conceiue *Moses* in that Chapter, to haue set downe the iust number of Languages and Nations, as if there were seuentie two of each, and neither more nor fewer; yet it must needs be granted, and the Text plainly auereth, These are the Families of the sonnes of *Noah* after their generations, in their Nations, and by these were the Nations diuided in the Earth after the Flood: and particularly of the Sonnes of *Shem* (here questioned) These are the sonnes of *Shem*, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their Nations. So that wee gather that the first originalls of Nations are there mentioned, such especially



ally as concerned his Ecclesiasticall story, or was necessary for the Church to take knowledge of. For neither were they all differing Nations and Languages which hee mentioneth, nor are all Nations or Languages there mentioned. For eleuen of them are the sons of Canaan, which all peopled that little region, which *Israel* after by *Ioshuas* conduct possessed: al which also spake one language, or else *Abraham* & the Patriarks must haue learned many tongues in their frequent perambulations; which some thinke the same which the *Israelites* spake, & iudge it euident in the History of the first Spies, and of *Rahabs* entertaining of the later Spies; and that it is called by the Prophet, *The language of Canaan*, Es. 19. 18; and carried thence into *Egypt* before by the Patriarks, to whom *Ioseph* spake first by an Interpreter, but in reuealing himselfe, hee with his owne mouth (that is, in their tongue) spake vnto them, when the Interpreter and all others were excluded. And in the whole story of the Old Testament, no difference of language is notified in all the commerce and cohabitations of all sorts of both Nations. \* *Priscian* saith, *Lingua Pœnorum Chaldaea vel Hebraea similis*: and Saint *Ierom*, *Pœni quasi Phœni, quorum lingua Hebraea magna ex parte confinis est*. Saint *Augustine* often saith as much; and diuers wordes of the language confirme it. As for a *Shiboleth*, and *Siboleth*, or some difference of Dialect (which wee see with vs almost in euery Shire) wee make not that a difference of, but in the Language. And so it seemeth it was in the first Ages, before Conquest and Commerce brought in so many new wordes to the *Punick* language. The *Punick Scene* in *Plautus* his *Pœnulus*, by \* *Scaliger*, M. *Selden* and others is found a kind of *Hebrew*, after all those ages and changes. I will not herein contend with M. *Fuller* and others which haue written contrary. But either they were the same, or not much differing: and (which I principally ayme at) all these eleuen Nations had the same language at lest in the Patriarkes times, and not vnlike the *Hebrew*, which was so little altered, after such alterations of time and place.

\* *Prisc. l. 5.*  
*Hier. on. ad Ier. 5.*  
*Arnob. in Ps.*  
*104. Aug. de*  
*verb. Dom. l. 3.*  
*cont. lit. P. l. 13.*  
*De C. D. l. 6.*  
*Or. c. Ber. Aid. c. 16.*  
*Anteg. l. 2. c. 2.*  
*\* Scalig. in 170.*  
*legom. vlt. edit.*  
*Emend. Temp.*  
*Selden. de D. S.*  
*prolegom. c. 2.*  
 The Spies ha-  
 uing such ter-  
 rible education  
 in *Egypt* had  
 no meanes to  
 learn tongues;  
*Gen. 45. 12.*

Now because that Countrey was giuen to *Abrahams* posteritie, *Moses* is more exact in bounding the places, & intimating the peoples, then in all *Ioktans* posterity (which it seemeth peopled one hundred times so much Countrey) as not pertaining to *Israels* Inheritance, and not much to their neighborhood or knowledge. And if *Salomon* imployed aboue eight score thousands in continuall workes so many yeeres for the Temple, how many shall we thinke imployed themselves in that *Babylonian* structure, which occasioned that diuersifying of languages; and which is therefore likely to haue happened long after *Pelegs* birth, by which time the world could not likely be so peopled? Neither may wee deny more then ordinary multiplication in those first Ages after the Floud: though we grant a good space after *Pelegs* birth, for how else could such a multitude haue assembled so soone to such a purpose? Wee see the like admirable increase of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, in despite of bloody butchery and slavery, which yet asked aboue two hundred yeeres, from seuentie persons. And can any man thinke that where a World was multiplied, that the Fathers had no more Sonnes then are there mentioned? especially seeing of *Sems* line, *Gen. 11.* it is said they begat other sonnes: and of them are expressed fve generations, of the other but two or three, and most of them omitted, except such as most concerned *Israel* in neighbourhood or other affaires. How could *Ioktan* yeeld thirteene Nations then, when *Peleg* giues name to none, till of *Abraham*, six generations after, some were deriued? I suppose therefore that *Moses* there names not all Nations, as writing not a Story of the World, but those principally which by vicinitie or Inheritance, or future commerce (as this *Ophir* and his brethren) it behooued the *Israelites* to take notice of; especially Him, who was to alter *Moses* his Tabernacle into so glorious a Temple, and to bee so liuely a figure of a greater then *Moses* and *Salomon* both. Nor is it likely but that there was a greater confusion of languages, then into so many as can bee gathered in the tenth of *Genesis*; or that all there mentioned differed in tongue from each other; for so *Shem*, *Cham*, and *Japheth* should neuer haue vnderstood each other, nor their posteritie. It is probable therefore, that God multiplying the World in so short a space (which, as I said, I rather thinke to haue hapned some good while after *Pelegs* birth, then at that very time) almost to a miracle, most men of most families were there, and their languages also miraculously multiplied; (The *Jewish* tradition is that it hapned a little before *Pelegs* death, as *Genebrard* obserueth out of them) but being a conspiracy against God, many others were not there and retained their ancient *Ebrew*; especially the pious and religious Patriarkes. Such perhaps was *Peleg* himselfe, then a man of yeeres, and therefore his name giuen him of that diuision in others. For if any thinke that *Pelegs* name intimates the building of *Babel* at his birth, we see that *Abraham*, *Sarah*, and *Iacob* had their names changed in their riper yeeres.

This diuision of languages caused that dispersion, Therefore is the name of it called *Babel* (or Confusion) because the Lord did there confound the language of all the Earth; and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad vpon the face of all the Earth. Yet cannot we say that presently this was wholly executed; but euen then so many as spake one language, dwelt together in one Region: Other Persons and Families in other Regions, which then were thinly planted, and in proceesse of time more fully peopled, and Colonies also deriued to people remoter Regions. For although Man, (that is Mankind) hath a right to all the Earth, yet heere there was a very great part of the Earth vnpeopled in *Moses* time, yea to these dayes of Ours. And if we marke all the Heads



of Families mentioned by *Moses*, wee shall see none, which at that time had inhabited so farre as this our *Britaine*: but how much neerer the Regions were to the Arkes resting, and *Babels* confusion, so much sooner were they peopled. Sure it is that some Ages after, the best and most frequent Habitations, and neereft those parts were but meanly peopled, as appeareth by *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Lot*, *Laban*, and their children wandring and remoouing from place to place with their great Flockes and Herds, as if Grounds and Pastures had then euen in the Regions of *Syria* and *Canaan* beene of small value. Compare *Abrahams* time with *Ioshua*, and you shall see a great difference, more Cities and Villages seeming then builded, then before were Families of note, and that in foure hundred yeeres space. *Ammon*, *Moab*, *Ishmael*, all the Families of the sonnes of *Keturah*, and that of *Edom*, with innumerable other were not in *rerum natura*, neither the language (which it seemes by mixture with others was altered) nor the Nation.

America newly inhabited.

Chaldea, Syria

See *Acosta*, and the Picture story To. 2. l. 5. c. 7. & *Vega* his *Inca* story, l. 7. c. 13.

Yea how poore a thing was our *Britaine* in *Cæsars* time, either for the numbers or ciuilitie? How thinly is all the Northerne *America*, from thirtie degrees vpwards towards the Pole inhabited? a world of Continent by no probabilitie, containing in the whole so many people as some one small Region in *Asia* or *Europe*. All *Virginia*, *New-England*, and *New-foundland*, cannot haue (notwithstanding such commodious habitations and innumerable commodities) so many Inhabitants, so farre as my industry can search, as this one Citie with the Suburbs containeth, though we adde all euen to the Pole, and take one hundred miles within Land alongst the Coast all the way; which easily argueth the later peopling thereof. Neither is there any thing in all *America* which doth not indeed proclaime it a New World. For as in the Old World, first there was simplicitie of Herdmen, Shepherds, and Husbandmen; and after that Trades, Merchandise, Riches, Cities, Kingdomes, more curious Rites Ciuill and Religious, and some Monuments of them (which those which had, esteemed others for the want therof *Barbarians* & *Sauages*, as a wilder kind of men) and this Ciuilitie, Cities, Populations and Kingdomes began in *Assyria*, *Egypt*, and other places neerer the first confusion, and after proceeded to *Greece* (whom the *Egyptians* called children, as is before said, for their later Ciuilitie, Arts, and Histories) and thence to *Italy*, which was long swaddled in *Roman* rusticitie, and later attained to politer Sciences; and thence into *France* (as wee now call it) and after that into *Britaine*, and later into *Germany*, all by *Roman* Conquests and imparting Arts with their Armes: so may wee iudge of the New World, wherein two Empires were growne great, ciuill, rich, and potent, after their manner, as our *Mexican* and *Inca* stories will shew in due place. This their greatnesse produced stories of their Acts by *Quippos*, Pictures and other Monuments, which deriued to posteritie the knowledge of former times and acts. By which we may gather that the Northerne *America* was first peopled, and that probably from the Easterne or Northerne parts of *Asia*; and communicated people to the Southerne parts, the Northerne Antiquities of *Mexico*, being ancients then those of *Peru*. Those first stories also (see them in the Picture-Booke, and in *Vega* and *Acosta* following) how raw and infantly beginnings and proceedings doe they shew? What barbarisme? Yet neither containing memorialls of one thousand yeeres: So that allow sixe hundreth yeeres to meere breedings and barbarous infancy, with creeping in dispersions, as out of the cradle of *American* humanity amongst them, till they were fuller of People and Townes, where one wit whetts another to new deuices, yet we scarcely come to the times of Christ and his Apostles. I may adde, that till about one thousand two hundred yeeres after Christ, neither of those Empires were worthy the names of pettie Kingdomes, and euen then had scarcely crept out of the shell.

Now for Ilands in the Seas betwixt *Asia* and them, as also along the North Sea, as they call it, on the Easterne shoare of *America*, in the North and South parts thereof also, these Relations will shew you Worlds of them not yet peopled. The Southerne Continent is yet but saluted on the Shoares and Ilands, of which we may no lesse coniecture much emptinesse. For the fulnesse of the Continent disburthens it selfe into Ilands; and fulnesse of the first peopled parts, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, made them seeke to root out one another by the Sword, or to possesse vacant places by Sea or Land, which either chance or industry had found. But except *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* had sowne stones to procreate Men, or *Cadmus* his sowne teeth had procreated Armies, or the Clouds had rained Peoples, as they are said to doe Frogs, I know not how wise and learned men (by their leaues inconsiderately enough) fill *China* and *America* with people in those dayes before *Moses* and *Abraham*, and find great commerce and knowledge of the New World, when the Old was but yesterday begun. So necessary to Humane and Diuine knowledge is Geographic and History, the two Eyes with which wee see the World, without which our greatest Clerkes are not the wisest men, but in this part blind and not able to see farre off. If any deride this as paradoxicall and new, I say againe, that in *America* alone, so much as hath beene discovered, and whereof knowledge from ey-witnesses hath comne to my hand, partly in the Continent, partly in Ilands, as much (and in great part as commodious for mans vſe) as all *Europe*, is either wholly vnhabited, or so thinly inhabited, that men roague rather then dwell there, and so as it would feed and sustaine a hundreth, perhaps a thousand times as much people by due husbandry.



§. IX.

IOCTANS Posteritie seated in the East parts of Asia, amongst them, Ophir in India ultra Gangem, where CHRYSE was of old, and now is the Kingdome of Pegu, and the Regions adioyning.



*Africa* fell to *Chams* part, with some adioyning Regions of *Asia*; *Asia* it selfe in greatest part to *Shem*, and *Europe* with *Asia Minor*, and the Northerne parts of *Asia* to *Iapheth*. Their very names haue left memorialls of them, as *Armenianus*, *Iunius*, *Broughton*, and others haue obserued, to whose Commentaries I referre the Reader.

10 But for *Ioctans* ionnes, we find in and neere to *India*, the prints of all their names. *Elmodad* hath left his name in the Hill *Emodus*, whence the *Indian* Riuer flow, and *Comedus*, the greatest Hills of *Asia*, elsewhere called *Taurus*, and by diuers names as it runneth thow diuers Countreys, from the one end of *Asia* to the other: also in the *Themosea*, or *Thetmontia* in *Sarmatia*. Of *Sbeleph* are the Mountaines *Seriphi*, whence *Oxus* floweth. *Seiloris* is a famous Iland in these dayes. Of *Hazarmaneth*, *Sarmatia*; of *Ierah*, *Aria* and *Arachosia*; of *Hadoram* the *Oriz*, *Oxus*, *Oxindrac*; also the *Adraista*, *Andreisti*, *Adreste*; Of *Uzal*, *Muziris*, *Musopalle*, *Ozoana*, *Oxus*, *Udia*, or *Odia*; a Citie, and *Udezza* a Kingdome, in *India*; *Anzacia*, a Citie extra *Imaum*, and *Auxacitis*. Of *Diklah*, *Delly*, *Dankalee*, *Tacola* and *Tagola*; also *Dela*, *Dekaka*, the *Laos*, *Bacola*, *Bengala*, and (by conuersion of *D* into *R*, not vnusuall) *Rhacan* and *Arracan*; *Oriza*; *Dandagula* and *Dadala*. 20 Of *Obal*, the *Bolita* and *Cabolita* neere *Paraponisus*; of *Abimacl* the Mount *Imaus*, and the *Malli* in *India* mentioned by *Curtius*.

Now for *Sheba* and *Hauilah*; *Cush* had *Seba* and *Hauilah*, and his sonne *Raamah* had also *Sheba*; all mentioned in the same Chapter: and *Iokshan* *Abraham*'s sonne by *Keturah*, begat *Sheba*; *Chush* his two sonnes, were Authors of the *Sabeans* in *Arabia*, so famous for the Merchandise of *Myrrite* and *Frankincense*; some distinguish the *Sabai* in *Arabia deserta* (whose posteritie robbed *Iob*) from the richer *Sabeans* of *Sheba* in *Arabia Felix*, whence that rich Queene called *of sheba* (that Countrey is called *Alicman*, that is, the South, to this day) came to visit *Salomon*. *Abraham*'s *Sheba* had his habitation Eastward in the Northerly parts of *Arabia deserta*; as if his kindred by the flesh, the sonnes of *Keturah* and *Hagar* (the carnall *Israelites*, and such which insist on Iustification by their owne Workes of the Law) should neuer haue to doe with *Canaan*'s fertilitye and felicitie, the type of Heauen, *Righteousnesse*, *Peace* and *Ioy in the Holy Ghost*; but distract themselves in wandring errors, & a disconsolate miserable estate, as those *Arabians* doe to this day. *Ioktan*'s *Sheba* was Author of the *Sabe* beyond *Ganges*; of *Sabana*, *Sabara*, *Sobanus*; and now *Siam*, *Champa*, *Camboia*, are famous in these parts.

*Hauila* of *Chus* is hee which planted that Countrey, at the entrance of *Susiana* in *Persia*, commended, *Gen. 2.* for the Gold. And of him also might *Abila* in *Syria*, and *Analites*, a Bay and Port on the *Red Sea*, and the *Analita populi*, which thence remoued into *Ethiopia*, and the *Chalybes* among the *Tragodyte* beate names.

40 *Ioctans* *Hauila* might giue name to the Ile *Surdina*, the Gulfe *Tanai*, to *Ana*, *Martanan*, *Canelan* also, and *Cublan* all Kingdomes lately subiect to the King of *Pegu*. The *Anares* in the Northerne parts might bee a deduction from him, *Chaberis* also and the *Auasian* a *Bactrian* Nation, by some called *Sauadij*, and the *Auchata*, where *Hispanis* springeth; the *Abij* and *Indian* *Abali*, and *Zeba*; *Abarimon* also in *Scythia*, and *Iesual*, a Kingdome in these daies. Of *Iobab* came the *Iabadij*, the *Ibi*, or *'Icol* (an *Indian* Nation) the *Sobi*, and *Sarmatian Ibiones*; *Iacubel* also in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, the Ile *Iaua*, *Iamba*, and in old times *Barebe* and *Bepinga*.

Some impression of the name of *Ophir* is left in *Ophar*, a *Sarmatian* Riuer, and the *Opharite*, and in those names of the Hil *Taurus*, *Paropamisus*, *Pharphariades*, otherwise *Pariades*, *Parithenasis*, *Paritao*, *Chaboras*, *Oscobar*, *Pariedrus*, *Para*; *Choatra*, *Parthaus*, *Tapurins*, *Opurocarra*, *Bepyrus*, *Parfuetus*, *Paryadres*. I might adde the renowned *Indian* Iland *Taprobane*, the *Prasij*, *Hippuros*, the Citie *Paraca*, *Palibothra*, *Perimula*, *Doperura*, *Sobura*, *Cottobora*, *Sippara*, *Mapura*, *Caspira*, *Brachme*, *Brachmana*, *Opotura*, *Pharistras*, and other names in *Ptolomey*, and the *Pharasiy* in *Curtius*. Also the *Hippuri* in *Plinie*, to omit *Porus* the great King of *India*, whom *Alexander* subdued. And many places of principall note in *India* in these dayes haue such a termination, as *Fetipore*, *Iounpore*, *Sinapore*, *Merepore*, and the like, of more certaintie then the occasionall and yesterday name of *Perru*.

Thus haue wee brought arguments of names, to find all *Ioctans* posterity in the way to *India*, or the Inland *Indian* Countreys, where it is likely they first seated themselves, and afterwarde spread themselves both to the Northerne *Sarmatians*, and *Sythians*, and to the Sea Coast Southerly after the Floud, some feare whereof did not a little terrifie the first Ages. At this day *Tippara*, *Serepore* on *Ganges*, *Caplan*, the place where they find the Rubies, Saphires, and Spinells, fixe dayes iourney from *Ana*, *Pegu* it selfe, and the *Bramas*, which founded the New Citie, and which still people the Kingdomes of *Prom*, *Melintay*, *Calam*, *Bacam*, *Miriam*; and *Pardabin*, *Purbola* at the Spring, and *Benpurbat* at the entrance of *Ganges* to the Sea; the Straits of *Cingopura*, with diuers other places in those Regions where wee place *Ophir*, haue some foot-prints left of



of that name after so many Ages. Their *Brachmanes*, *Probar* their chiefe God, *Talipoies* their Priests might be added for sound. But words are windie, sounding and not sound, wordy not worthy arguments, except things agreeing make the truth euident. For accidentally names are the same in diuers Countries, as if any man lust to obserue in a Geographickall Dictionary, hee shall easily see.

These are onely probabilities which are to be weighed with the words of *Moses*, *And their dwelling was from Melha, as thou goest vnto Sephar, a Mount of the East; ad montes Orientis usque*, *Tremelius* reads it: *Iosephus* interpreteth from *Assyria* to a Riuer of *India* called *Cophene*. *Sephar* is, if ye receiue *Montanus*, the *Persian Andes*, the Mountaines of the West in the Worlds situation from *Babylon*, and the place where *Moses* wrote; *Ptolemie* mentions *Sippbara* not farre from *Euphrates*: *Postellius* makes it *Imans*, *Saint Hierom* placeth it in *India*: *Sepharuaim* of the *Assyrians* (which is perhaps *Ptolemies Sippbara*, is often mentioned, and confirmeth well that opinion of *Iosephus*. From *Mesa* therefore which taketh his beginning East from those parts where *Moses* wrote, being also part of that hill *Taurus* whereto we haue found all *Iokans* Sonnes neighbouring (afterwards called Mount *Mafius*, in *Mesopotamia*) to *Sephar*, another part of that great hill *Taurus*, both Eastward, and thence also in proceffe of time to further Easterly Mountaines, the remotest Easterne parts of *Taurus*, did *Iokans* Posterity spread and disperse themselves; one of the most Easterly whereof we finde this questioned *Ophir*. Or if any like rather to finde them more Easterly, *Plinie* mentions the *Mafua* and *Mesa* in *India*, and there also is *Ptolemies Sappara* and *Sippara*, agreeing with *Sephar*: *Sarpedon* also and *Sariph* are hills so called, parts of *Taurus*.

Ptol. l. 7. Tab. 4. Asia.

2 Reg. 17. 22. & 19. 13. E. 36. & c.

Hee nameth Mesa and Sephar as better knowne, & but the entry of their further population, ad montes orientis usque, as Tremellius translates.

Tab. Asia 11. India ext. Gan.

\* ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκτῷ γὰρ ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡ χρυσὴ καλεῖται ἐν χερσονήσῳ ἐστὶ.

Herod. Thal. Pro. 6. & 30.

Fab. de reb. Met. Pl. l. 6. c. 19.

Plut. Alexand.

x Erannoboa perhaps is now Lemni. Strab. l. 15.

y Sanbal stands where Lemni fals into Gallia. D. S. l. 3. c. 10.

It remaines then to see whether the Commodities of those parts, and the Voyage thither be correspondent to the Scriptures description. For the Commodities, we will giue both auncient, middle, and moderne testimonies (with this difference, that the auncient and middle are not so particular nor directly expressing and notifying places and things as the last) the rather because this hath beene the stumbling stone to *Ortelius*, and others, to make them seeke for *Ophir* elsewhere. The *Ophirian* Voyage (it is probable) comprehended all the gulfe of *Bengala* from *Zeylan* to *Sumatra*, on both sides: but the Region of *Ophir* we make to be all from *Ganges* to *Melan*, and most properly the large Kingdome of *Pegu*, from whence it is likely in proceffe of time, the Southerly parts; euen to *Sumatra* inclusiuely was peopled before *Salomons* time.

In *India* beyond *Ganges*, *Ptolemie* placeth both *Argentea* and *Aurea Regio*. Super *Argenteam autem regionem, in qua multa dicuntur esse metalla non signata, superiacet Aurea Regio, Belyngitis appropinquans, qua & ipsa metalla auri quam plurima habet*. *Arrianus* in his *Periplus*, or Treatise of the sailing about the *Erythraean Sea* (which as is said before contained the *Indian*) speaking of *Ganges* and the rising and falling thereof like *Nilus*, placeth χρυσή, or the *Golden Region*, neere to it, and addes the reports of golden Mines in thole parts. λεγεται δὲ χρυσόρυχα καὶ τὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

*Marcianus* mentions this golden *Chersonesus* also. \* Long before them *Herodotus* in his *Thalia* relating the Tributes paid to the *Persian* Monarch, saith, The *Indians* as they are more in number then other men, so their tribute is greater, 360. talents of Gold: and then addeth the reports of Ants,

not so bigge as Dogges, but bigger then Foxes, which cast vp antheaps full of golden sands. *Arrianus* cites *Nearchus* and *Megasthenes* (whom *Strabo* produceth also) for these Ants, which I thinke rather to be an Embleme then a Story. For as *Salomon* sends the *Sluggard* to schoole to the *Pismire*, to learne of that little creature great industry and prouidence, so *Salomons* and other Princes Mines could not be better expressed then in such an alegory; liuing in darkenesse, and as it were buried aliue, and bearing excessiue burthens, yet baited with poore diet and wages. And thus *Georgius Fabritius*, *Indi suos Metallicos μυρμηγκας appellauit, unde fabulis locus, & c.* The like fable they had of monstrous Griffons, thereby expressing the miserable monstrosity of couetousnesse.

*Plinie* hath (speaking of the *Indian Nations*) *Fertilissimi sunt auri Darde, Seta vero argenti. Sed omnium in India prope, non modo in hoc tractu, potentiam claritatemque antecedit Prasij, amplissima urbe ditissimaque Palibotra: unde quidem ipsam gentem Palibotras vocant, imo vero tractum vniuersum a Gange. Regi eorum peditum sexcenta M. equitum triginta M. elephantorum nonem M. per omnes dies stipendiantur, & c.* These *Prasij* placed neere *Ganges*, *Plutarch* calls *Prasij*, *Curtius* *Pharasij*, *Diodorus* *Tabrasij*, all which names they which know any thing in *Ebrew*, can tell how easily they may be deriued from *Ophir*, passing the Greeke termination after other changes:

And *Palabothra*, or *Palimbothra* is by *Arrianus* placed at the confluence of the Riuer x *Erannoboa* and *Ganges*, *Strabo* speakes of the sailing vp *Ganges* to *Palibothra* against the streame, and saith that *Ganges* descends from the Mountaines and from the plaines takes an Eastward course; then passing by *Palibothra* a very great Citie, enters the Sea with one channell, although it be the greatest of the *Indian* Riuer. Master *Fitch* our Country man spent five moneths in passing downe *Ganges* (he might haue done it sooner) and mentions *Serrepore*, which (as *Sanbal* y by the first syllable) may seeme to be the same by the situation, trafficke, and last syllable; and tels of the Gold Mines in the way. *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of *India* saith, *Nascitur in ea ingens argenti aurique vis, non parum quoque aris, ferrique & orichalci*. Another *Diodorus* in his Geographickall

Verbes saith of the *Indians* Gold-mining:



Τῶν δ' οἰκὸς χρυσοῖο μαλακίδουσι φρέθλων  
Ψάμμου ἐὺγναμπήσοι λαχαινοῖτες μακίλῃσιν. and after χρυσοῖο φρέθλων  
Δαυδαλέλῃ Τῆς τῆς φέρει, δειδὸς τῆς Μεγάρο  
Λαζρότατος ποταμῶν; ἀπὸ δ' οὐραοῖς Ἡμυδοῖο  
Ὀρνύμανοι περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Γαγγηπιδῶν χερσῶν.

Pomponius Mela mentions those Ants, *More Gryphorum* keeping the Gold, *cum summa pen- nicie attingentium*. He, Solinus, and Plinie mention *Chryse* and *Argyre* so plentiful of Mettals, that men reported the soyle was Gold and Siluer: so hyperbolicall reports were raised of their store.

But as the ancients knew not these parts of *India* so well as later times, wee will produce la-  
ter testimonies. And generally it is esteemed in the remotest East parts, that Gold by reason of  
the plenty hath not his true and naturall preeminence about Siluer (which ordinarily is twelue  
to one) but lower by much, in some places more, in some lesse, as the following Relations will  
better acquaint you. So *Marco Polo* saith that in the Prouince of *Cardandan*, they giue one  
ounce of Gold for five of Siluer: Gold being exceeding plentifull, which many brought tho-  
row the Desarts to change as aforesaid, the wayes being vnpassible for others: I omit the gol-  
den Monument he mentions in *Mien*. In *Tboloman* hee saith, is great quantity of Gold. The  
former place is somewhat Northerly, this Easterly from the necke of the *Chersonessus*. *Nicolo  
de Conti* mentions Bels of Gold commonly sold in those parts, still in vse in *Pegu* to put in mens  
yards. *Odoardo Barbosa* mentions store of Gold at *Queda*, and in the Kingdome of *Pam*, in this  
*Chersonessus*. But I am too suddenly slipt into later times: Long before these, *Saint Isidore* mentio-  
neth *Chryse* and *Argyre* plentifull of Gold and Siluer, and those golden Mountaines *quos adire  
propter Dracones & Gryphas, & immensarum hominum monstra, impossibile est*. *Alian* hath a long  
discourse of those *Gryphons* out of *Ctesias*, keeping the Gold in vast Deserts; of which I no-  
ted before, as of the Phenix and the Ants, that a Myserie rather then Historie is intended,  
either shewing the barrenesse of Misers producing no good fruites in the mids of golden abun-  
dance, but rather ready to deuoure all which came in their clutches; or else intimating the  
difficulty to get Gold, and manifold dangers in respect of the neighbouring inhabitants, & of fa-  
mine in those Deserts. *Rabanus Maurus*, and long after him *Nicolas Lyra* relate these Beasts pe-  
rillous to such as seeke the Gold in these parts. And indeede for wilde Beasts, both Lizards, Ty-  
gres, and others, I thinke no places more infested then those in and neere *Pegu*: for which  
cause the Country and people are forced to build their houses about ground, that they may goe  
vp to them on Ladders. *Barros* tels of one Tygre which in *Malacca* seised on a peece of wood  
to which three slaues were chained, and carried all away, leaping therewith ouer a high wall  
also. Neither are the Tygres of other Countries comparable to these in these parts, being ano-  
ther kinde, called Thoes, or some other kinde, rather then true Tygres, of which are many in *A-  
frike* and *America*. But leauing the testimonies of auncient and midle times, wee will come  
to later dayes.

Mela. l. 4. c. 3.  
Plin. l. 6. c. 11.  
Solin. cap. 54.

See T. 2. l. 1. c. 4.  
S. 6. l. 4. c. 2.  
pag. 394.  
Cardandan a-  
bout the head  
of Ganges.

Id. l. 14. c. 33

Alian de ani.  
mal. l. 4. c. 27.

See the Gloss  
& Lyran. in  
l. 2. c. 9.

See my Pilgri-  
mage Lincolne,  
Fitch, Balbi, all  
which haue  
written of  
these parts.  
Alian de anim.

Barthema.

Frederik.  
Sec. l. 10.

Fitch.

Ganza is a mix-  
ture of Brasse  
and Tim.  
Balbi began his  
journey 1579.  
he came to Pe-  
gu A. 1583. and  
staid till 1586.  
in which space  
was a comba-  
berwixt the  
Kings of Aua  
and Pegu on E-  
lephants, and  
the King of A-  
ua slaine.

*Ludouico Barthema* in his third Booke of *India*, c. 16. much extolleth *Pegu* for riches (he wrote  
fixe score yeeres agoe) especially for Iewels, and he saith the King had a Million of Gold in reue-  
nue: and note that the *Bramas* Empire or Monarchy was not then begun. *Barthema* also menti-  
ons the Gold in *Somatra*. *Barbosa* testimony is before. *Cesar Fredericke* which was at *Pegu*, neere  
sixty yeeres since in the *Bramas* reigne in *Pegu*, saith that the King had diuers Magazines full of  
Gold and Siluer, euery day increased without diminishing. He is Lord also of the Mines of Ru-  
bies, Saphires and Spinels. He mentions also Colosses, or prodigious and more then Gyantly  
statues of Gold and Siluer, the foote as bigge as a mans body: innumerable Varelles or Idoll Tem-  
ples couered with leafe Gold, with other things which I omit. Master *Fitch*, besides the Gold  
Mines at *Patenaw* as he descended the *Ganges*, relates the like golden stories of *Pegu* (where hee  
was 1586.) as *Fredericke* hath related, of houses of the King full of Gold, of gilded Idoll houses and  
statues. The Merchandise in *Pegu*, saith he, is Gold, Siluer, Rubies, Saphires, Spinels, Muske,  
&c. neither is their money of those mettals, but of a kinde of Brasse called *Ganza*, wherewith  
Gold and Siluer are bought, somtimes dearer, sometimes cheaper, no lesse then other wares. So  
also saith *Fredericke*, saying that euery man may stampe that money at his pleasure, and therewith  
buy Gold and Siluer, as aforesaid. *Gasparo Balbi* a Venetian Jeweller was there a little before *Fitch*,  
and relateth likewise of the statues, Magazens of Gold, Siluer, *Ganza*, Iewels, Cloathes, Muske, &c.  
vnder severall Treasurers, and concludeth, that this King, for Gold, Siluer, and Iewels, is the richest  
King in the world, except the King of *China*.

But the *Iesuites* Letters haue best opened these Mines of the King of *Pegu*. *N. Pimenta* writes;  
*Fernandus* also from *Syrupore* 1599. 16. Kal. Feb. of the state of *Pegu*; that the Kings Father a *Bra-  
man* had subiected twelue Kingdomes to his scepter, viz. the Kingdome of *Cauelan*, whence come  
the best Rubies and Saphires: *Aua*, which hath Mines of Cyprian Brasse, Lead, and Siluer: the  
Kingdome of *Bacan* which hath many Mines of Gold: the Kingdome of *Iangoma*, abounding  
with Copper, Muske, Pepper, Silke, Gold, Siluer, (all which are also had, saith he, in the rest of  
the Kingdomes of the *Peguan* Empire) *Cablan* abounding with Gemmes, &c. Hee proceeds to  
relate



relate the miserable ruine & destruction of that Kingdome, which then had lately happened, not yet recovered, as you may read at large in him, and in my *Pilgrimage*. The former King of Pegu is reported to have cast 366. combalengas of Gold, each containing 180. pound weight, which none knowes what is become of them. This King had 67. Idoll-statues of Gold, adorned with all kinde of Gemmes. He killed 200. Eunuches lest they might disclose his treasures. *Andreas Bonos*, another *Iesuite*, relateth the miserable death of the King (in his Letters from *Sirtan* in Pegu, March 28. 1000.) slaine by the King of *Tangu*, to whom he had yeelded himselfe, who neglecting Siluer, and things of smaller value, onely with Gold and Gemmes laded sixe or seven hundred\* Elephants, and as many Horses. The King of *Arracan* tooke his leauings, gleaming so much Siluer as was valued at three Millions besides Ordnance 3300. Peeeces.

P.P. 1.5.c.3

\* One Copy  
hath 600. lat-  
ric hath 700.

He placeth Ca-  
laminhan twixt  
Pegu and China  
neere to Prom.

Now for trade of Gold out of the adioyning parts, I could adde hither out of *Fernand Mendez Pinto* which trauelled from *Timplan* in *Calaminhan* (the Emperour whereof, he saith, hath seven and twenty Kingdomes subiect to him) to Pegu, An. 1546. then possessed by the *Braman* Conquerour. He reporteth that the *Bramans* Monarchy had anciently contained thirteene Kingdomes; and that abundance of Gemmes, Gold, Siluer, and innumerable riches are in the *Calaminhan* Empire; in which is no money of Gold, or Siluer, but they trade by weight of *Cates*, *Tadis*, *Maazes*, and *Conderins*. He also reporteth that the Lake *Chiama* containeth in circuit sixty Iaons, each of which is three leagues, alongst which are many Mines of Siluer, Copper, Tin, and Leade, which they carry in Cafilas of Elephants, and *Badas* (I thinke hee meaneth Rhinoceroses) to the Kingdomes of *Sornan*, to wit, *Siam*, *Passiloco*, *Sauady*, *Tangu*, *Prom*, *Calaminhan*, and returne therefore much Gold, and Diamonds, and Rubies. As for the Mines of Gold neere the Lake *Pinator* whence the Riuer of *Camboia* runneth, yeelding yeerely two and twenty Millions of Gold, and a rocke of Diamants there also, I referre you to the Author, which placeth them further then our limits.

Peregrin. F.M.

Pinto c. 39.

Peguan tradi-  
tion.

The cause why  
*Ortelius* reiect-  
ed the opinion  
of *Iosephus*.

But if we adde *Sumatra* (which the most thinke to be *Taprobane*, in which *Ophir's* name is evidently scene still) we haue the tradition of the people, the Gold also (*Bonferrius* a *Franciscan* hath related that the *Peguans* are descended of *Salomons* seruants sent to these Mynes; but I knowe not whether the Natiues haue any such tradition, perhaps it is the Friars coniecture) as appeareth by the following testimonies. And if wee adde the next Neighbour on the West, which now possesseth the Easterne parts of *Ganges*, and the Kingdome of *Bengala*, I thinke wee shall vnterly take away *Ortelius* his scruple (*Sed hanc Chersonesum auri diuitem olim fuisse, nemo veterum, quod sciam auctor est*) neq; nunc etiam esse, ex recentioribus palam est: ) Onely remember that in the *Ophirian* Voyage, we take not onely the *Chersonesus*, but all the Countrey from *Ganges*, and thence to *Sumatra*, placing Pegu in the centre as the *Ophir* of *Ophir*, or *Ophir* in most proper sence; annexing the rest, with all the *Choremadell* coast also, as being subiect to one and the same trade and Nauigation, all on the shoares of the gulf of *Bengala*. I like Master *Deer* similitude, which sets the feete of his *Ophirian* compasse, one in *Zeilan*, the other in *Samatra*, the head I place in Pegu. This head is *caput cana*, the true *Ophir*, the other parts of the compasse, the parts compassed and traded in, in this *Ophirian* Voyage. From *Ganges* to *Menan* are diuers *Chersonesi*, or rather Ilands, in regard of the Riuer which come from the Lake *Chiamay*; and from *Bengala* to *Menan* is the *Peguan Chersonesus*, which perhaps is the true *Chryse* and *Aurea* (for that *Malaccan Chersonesus* hath neuer beene renowned in latter times for any great quantity of Gold that I haue read or learnd, not yet altogether destitute, as we haue shewed; but not sufficient for *Salomons* *Ophir*) from which as first peopled, the Inhabitants of *Samatra* might (as is said) be a Colony.

Whether it were so or no, I dispute not; nor whether it or *Zeilan* be the true *Taprobant*; nor whether it were anciently an Iland, and since separated by the Seas irruption: that it is well stored with Golden Mines needes no question, and therefore fit to be saluted by *Salomons* Naui, then in their *Ophirian* Voyage, and by vs here in our *Ophirian* Discouery. Of *Sumatra*, *Odoardo Barbosa* witnesseth that there are many Gold Mines, *vi son molte minere d'Oro*: and speaking of *Menancabo* one of the Kingdomes in the South part of that great Iland saith, *Et qui e il principal fonte dell'oro, &c.* there is the principall originall of the Gold of that Iland, as well of the Minerals, as of that which is gathered neere the brinkes of Riuer. He wrote An. 1516. and was one of *Magelans* companions in his Voyage about the World. Long before him *Nicolo de Conti* testified of *Sumatra*, that in it is abundance of Gold. *Andrew Thenet* mentions the gold Mines: but wee haue later and better testimonies from our owne men. Captaine *Davis* was in that Iland, Anno 1599. and mentions not onely the King of *Achens* store, but the Mines of Gold and other commodities of that Iland: and the *Brasse* Mines to be also rich in Gold; and (which maketh most to our purpose) a tradition of the Natiues that *Salomons* *Ophirian* voyage for Gold was to that Countrey. Sir *James Lancaster's* Voyage, and diuers other *English* Voyages will ratifie *Sumatras* Gold. But what neede we better testimony then the Letter of that King to our King, which this story yeeldeth to your view, and worth your reading. To that, and to *Walter Paytons* testimony of the Gold of *Passaman* in this Iland I referre you. Likewise for the next adioyning parts on this side, I will trouble you onely with two testimonies, one of Master *Fitch*, who traueiling

See Inf. p. 121.

See Inf. pa.  
468. & 532.

downe



downe the Riuer *Ganges*, at *Patenaw* obserued the golden Mines, where saith he, they digge deepe pits and wath the earth thence taken in great boles, and so finde the Gold: the other of Captaine *Hawkins*, who bare the name of the *English* Embassadour in the *Mogols* Court, and speaking of fixe seuerall treasuries of that King, relates the particulars of that one of *Agra*, which stands on *Iemni* or *Gemini*, a Riuer tributary to *Ganges*, where his Gold, Siluer, and Iewels may seeme to our poorer World, beyond credit. But I had rather point you to the place, then here trouble you with transcribing. And thus haue we vsed a threethold argument, one of names, a second of situation, a third of the principall commodities returned, to proue that *Ophir* was in these parts, and haue before shewed that it could be in none other alleaged. But Gold and Gemmes haue such a lustre, and *Salomons* other rarities were so precious, that wee may I hope be pardoned to take longer view on them, both for our better knowledge in such things, and for better confirmation of the *Ophirian Pegu*, and the Regions adiacent.

Inf. 217 &amp; seq.

## §. X.

Of the Gold, Siluer, Gemmes, Iuory, Almug-trees, Apes and Peacockes, which  
SALOMONS Fleet brought from Ophir, with diuers other  
profitable obseruations inserted.

**M**etals are our Mothers hidden treasures; by mens couetousnesse often occasions of her violent rauishments, and no better to her then a Viperous Issue, or as Wormes, or Co-like passions in her entrals. In themselves, and in diuine Ordinance, they are many wayes profitable for medicine against diseases, armour against enemies, ornaments for peace, engines for Warre, Instruments for daily labour, vtensils for daily food, and in money-employment, they are All things. Of all Metals Gold hath preeminence, as likest the Sun in purity of substance, glory of splendour, powerfull attraction, longest endurance (in despite of Age and Fire) most operative influence, and of base Idolaters most adored. How it is found in Grains, Pippins, or Powder, this Booke elsewhere sheweth. And although Siluer bee a durable metall, and well induring both times and flames, yet herein is it short of Gold; and notwithstanding the colour is more lightsome, and the sound more delightsome, yet Gold hath in great proportion alway beene preferred. *Iullius Pollux* citeth *Menander*, and *Hesychius*, *Polemarchus*, which make this proportion ten fold, which the *Romans* also obserued in their agreement with the *Ætolians*, that if they paid in Gold, one peece should counteruaile ten of Siluer. The old *Greekes* and *Perians* seeme to haue obserued the like rate. *Plinie* mentions at the first coyning, the proportions of fifteene; and neere that, to wit, fourteene and a halfe, is obserued in the Constitutions of *Aradius* and *Honorius*. *Herodotus* makes one Talent of Gold equall to thirteene of Siluer. In *Galbas* time it was twelue and a halfe. But *China* and some parts of the East Indies, by reason of plenty of Gold, and small store of Siluer, haue diuersly vnderualued the Gold. The most generall, which *Plato* also approued, and in *Plinies* time was currant, and is most vsuall in these parts, is ordinarily twelue for one, as an ounce of Siluer five shillings, of Gold three pounds.

The purest Gold, and which is as much as may be, purified from all other mixture, is called *Obrizum*, a word procreated in the Mints, & not of *Ophirian* parentage (*Obrizum quasi Ophirizum*) and such are (as they say) the *Darike* coines and our *Edward Nobles*; not about the nintie sixth part being of other mixture. They say (saith Master *Brerewood*) that it may be so farre refined that onely the three hundred eighty fourth part shall be of other mettall. The *Greeke* coines of *Philip* and *Alexander* admitted a fiftieth part of Siluer, the *Romans* forty eight, now obserued in *Turkish*, *Hungarian*, *Spanish*, and *Venetian* coines: those of *Rome*, *Luques*, *Millaine* haue alloy thirty two, *French* Crownes sixteene, *Italian* nine, &c. The *Talmudists* mention seuen kindes of Gold, or obserue seuen names by which Gold is named in Scripture: Saint *Ierom* also intimateth the same, and *Pineda* hath long discourses of them, which I omit. The Scripture seemeth to ascribe a prerogative to the Gold of *Ophir*, before *Salomons* time, in *Iob*, and in *Dauids* daies, wherby it may seeme that the Voyage to *Ophir* for Gold was in vie long before *Salomon*, and some thinke that a great part of *Dauids* Gold consecrated to the Temple, was by his care fetched thence. For about his other preparations, mentioned 1. *Chron.* 22. 14. which were a hundred thousand talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand talents of Siluer, in the nine and twentieth chapter, he out of his proper goods giueth 3000. other talents of Gold, of the Gold of *Ophir*, and 7000. talents of refined Siluer: the Princes offered also 5000. talents of Gold, and 10000. drams, and of Siluer 10000. talents, &c.

This is diuersly summed by diuers Expositors differing in their computation of a Talent. Master *Dee* and Master *Brerewood* haue seemed to haue given the best construction, deriued from *Moses* himselfe, *Exod.* 38. 25, 26. which *Rabbi Salomon* and *Lyra*, had obserued before them; that a Talent containeth 3000. Shekles, which is 375 li. a Talent of Siluer, and a Talent of Gold, allowing

\* To. 1. li. 9. c. 12.  
§ 3. To. 2. li. 5. c. 1.  
§ 3. c. 3. c. 6.  
See *Brerewood*  
de Nummis c. 20  
22. *Pollux* in voce  
Talentum  
*Hesychius* χρυσός  
& σπᾶρμι.  
*Lin.* 1. 38. Pl. 1. 3  
c. 3. *Hero.* *Thalia.*

Geop. Pine. &amp; c.

*Tal Ioma* fol. 44  
*Hier.* in 1er. 10.  
*Iob* 22. 24 & 28  
16.  
1 *Chr.* 29. 4

a 6003550. 22  
halfe a shekel  
a man pay 100.  
talents and  
3550. shekels:  
so that 600000  
pay 300 talents  
& consequen-  
ly a talent is  
6000. halfe  
shekels.



1. Reg. 10. 10.  
E. 38. 24, 25

allowing tweluefold proportion, is 4500. li. According to which iust reckoning *Salomons* foure hundredth twenty Talents of Gold brought from *Ophir*, came to one million eight hundred ninety thousand pounds. *Davids* 3000. Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, 1. *Chron.* 29. 4. aforesaid, was thirteene millions and five hundredth thousand in *English* money. His Siluer then offered (7000. Talents) is two millions 625000. li. The offering of the Princes (5000. Talents of Gold) was two and twenty millions five hundredth and seven thousand & 500. pounds: and their ten thousand Talents of Siluer came to three millions and seven hundred fiftie thousand pounds. *Salomon* had also giuen him by the Queene of *Sheba* 120. Talents, that is five hundredth and fortie thousand pounds. As much was lent him by *Hiram*. Now the whole Furniture of the Tabernacle was twentie nine Talents of Gold, and 730. Shekles; in our money, one hundredth thirtie and one thousand, five hundredth ninety and five pounds; the siluer was 100. talents, and 1775. shekles, that is, thirtie seven thousand, seven hundredth and twentie one pounds seuentene shillings six pence. Thus hath Master *Brerewood* cast vp these summes. Now for this *Ophirian* Gold, *Salomon* is said, 2. *Chron.* 8. 18. to haue had from *Ophir* foure hundred and fiftie talents, thirtie more then 1. *Reg.* 9. are mentioned, which thirtie Talents, it seemeth were spent in wages or other charges, and came not to the Kings Coffers.

\* 1. Chron. 1. 12.

But a great scruple remaineth about the 100000. talents of Gold, mentioned before out of 1. *Chron.* 22. 14. which amount to foure hundredth and fiftie millions of *English* pounds; and the million of Siluer talents to three hundredth seuentie five millions of pounds: summes stupendious and prodigious beyond all that the *Persian*, *Greeke*, or *Roman* Empires euer saw at one time, after greater and longer conquests then *Davids*; and such, as euen *Salomons* wealth had beene by much ouertopped by *Davids*; which agreeth not either to the History\*, or to the Mystery, that Heauens peace & glory should be surmounted by militant Faith and Grace. *Alexander* the richest Conquerour, left but eightene millions and seven hundredth and 50000. pound of money at his death: and in conquest of *Darius*, had gotten but thirtie two millions 750000. pounds: and *Cyrus* out of the conquest of *Asia* gathered but 125. millions, which yet is the greatest sum (except that of *Sardonapalus* mentioned by *Ctesias*, an Author not much to be credited) which any Ethnick story mentioneth. Wee must therefore find another acceptation of the word there translated *Talent*, which is taken sometimes for a lumpe of mettall in forme of a Cake, or else that name *Talent* is sometimes taken for a small summe, as out of *Pollux* and *Homer*, M. *Brerewoods* paines haue obserued; who also hauing cast vp the particulars, findeth that such summes could not haue beene spent on the Temple, had the Walls and Pauements beene of massie Siluer, the Roofe and all the Linings of the Walls and the Furniture of solid Gold.

\* *Villal. To. 2.*  
*Explan. p. 2. 6. 44*  
*Or. seqq.*  
Siluer brought home much more then Gold.  
1. *Chron.* 9. 27.  
Or 1. *Reg.* 10. 21  
1. *Chron.* 9. 23, 24  
\* *Villal. ubi sup.*  
raiseth the tributes of *Israel* to 120. talents each Tribe, & as much of *Hiram* (of whose subiection I dispute not, it agreeth with *Canaan* curse, and the promise of all *Canaan* to *Israel*) which together make 1560. talents, 26254800.  
*Roman* ducats: besides Siluer and all other profits which he brought together about *Affuerus*, *Alexander*, the *Roman* Empire with faire probabilities.

*Salomons* yeerely reuenue (as some interpret, 2. *Chron.* 9. 13.) was sixe hundredth sixty sixe talents of Gold, besides his Customes, and the rich Presents of Gold and Siluer sent him from the Kings of *Arabia* and the Gouvernours: that lackes but three pounds of three millions in our reckoning. Some would make vp this great summe of the *Ophirian* Gold, and *Hirams*, and the Queene of *Shebas* gifts, which all lacke but six talents; as if it were not an Annuall, but Casuall Reuenue, which I cannot approue. Some interpret it of ordinary tributes leuied of his Subiects; some of the posteritie of the *Chanaanites* (a thing vnlikely) and some of forraigne voyages, making him to send euery yeere a Fleet, though none of those Fleets returned till the third yeere. *Villalpan-*  
*du*\* makes it but one returne from *Ophir*, the first, of foure hundredth and twenty Talents, the second, of foure hundredth and fiftie, the third, of sixe hundredth sixty sixe of Gold, besides Siluer and other goods. And, as for *Salomons* entire Reuenues, hee with great paines in the auditing, raiseth them higher then the *Persians*, then *Alexanders*, then those of the *Roman* Empire: arising from his Customes, his Gifts and Presents, Taxations, Tributes, prouisions of Corne, &c. That of the King of *Tyrus* he reckoneth a tribute, and out of *Eupolemus* alleageth that the *Tyrians* were tributaries. Wee may here also remember, that there is no mention of the summe of the Siluer which they brought from *Ophir*, which is likely was farre more then the Gold, insomuch that it was reputed as Stones, and was of none account in the dayes of *Salomon*.

To mee it seemeth that the sixe hundredth sixtie sixe Talents of Gold is spoken onely of forraigne Gold, partly by *Ophirian* and other merchandising Trades, and partly by Presents; of which the two principall, *Hiram*, and the Queene of the South are expressed: but it is added of others, That all the Kings of the Earth sought the presence of *Salomon*, and brought euery man his Present, vessells of Siluer, and vessells of Gold, and Raiment, Harnesse and Spices, Horses and Mules, a rare yeere by yeere. Grant then a Fleet yeerely set forth, which came not home till the third yeere, one succeeding another (as in the *Spanish* Fleets to *Peru*, and ours to the *Indies*, of which is a yeerely returne, yet not of the same) and these yeerely Presents, there could not be lesse then six hundredth sixty six Talents: besides perhaps, tenne or twelue times as much in Siluer, and all the Spices, Horses, Mules, Customes of Merchants, Tributes of the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, and *Vassalls*, Taxes on his *Israelitish*\* Subiects, Reuenues out of his Pastures and innumerable Cattell and husbandry of Crowne Lands (wee will not adde, with some, Chimistry; that might haue saued his *Ophirian* paines) and all the riches left him by Inheritance from his Father. Now that the six hundredth sixtie six Talents is to be vnderstood of Strangers, appeareth in that exception, *Vers.* 14. where

none



none but forraine Incombes are mentioned. And hereby most lively is both the calling of the Gentiles figured, of which the 72. Psalm was by the Spirit of God purposely indited in correspondence of this type, and the Christian Truth; as also the glory of the heavenly *Ierusalem*, which ariseth not out of the *workes of righteousness which we have done*, but of free gifts, of which it is said, *They shall bring the glory and honour of the Nations into it.* Rev. 21. where in vision that glorious Citie is represented, and correspondent to *Salomons* type, *The Citie was of pure Gold*, and the foundations and gates of precious stones, but there is no mention at all of Silver.

Another question ariseth out of *Davids* 3000. Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, whether hee practised the *Ophirian* Voyage also: and some suppose that hee had made seven voyages thither, which reckoning 420. Talents a time, makes much about that summe of three thousand Talents. For my part, I thinke *David* a greater Warrior then Merchant, allowing the greatest summes before questioned to be reserved and consecrated out of the spoiles, as himselfe confesseth, *In my trouble I have prepared for the house of the Lord 100000. Talents of Gold, &c.* and more plainly; 1. *Chronicles* 18. 11. considering also that it was long before his State could be settled at home, and fitted abroad to attend such Navigations; which likewise have neither ground in the Sacred Story (for the Gold of *Ophir* is proverbiall, usually in Scripture for fine and pure Gold) nor agree with the type, *David* one way, *Salomon* another resembling Christ, and their times the state of the Church; likewise that *David* had much care of husbanding his estate to the best, thrift being the fewell of Magnificence, as appeareth in the particular enumeration of the Officers for his Rents, Store-houses, Husbandmen in the Field, Vineyards, Olive-trees, Sycamores and Oyle, Herds in *Sharon*, and in the Vallies, Camells, Asses, Flockes; it is no marvell if such industry acquired such substance in such continuance of time, and that hee said *I have of mine own proper goods of Gold and Silver which I have given to the house of my God, over and above all that I have prepared* (to wit, in consecrated spoiles) *for the holy House three thousand Talents of Gold of Ophir, &c.* This example of *David* sheweth that it is no impeachment, yea the true advancement of Honour for Princes to use all frugall husbandry and meanes of thriving at home; as that other of *Salomon*, to adde helpe of Discoveries and Trade abroad (both in a Royall manner by their iust Officers) that Magnificence may stand firme on both legs: the want whereof hath denied that wealth (not to speake of power) these many Ages to many Kings out of farre farre greater meanes (besides other inconveniences to themselves and their Subjects) which *David*, *Salomon*, and other Kings in the old World had. Once these examples so moved that good King *Ieboshaphat*, that hee built Cities of store at home, and had many Flockes, and made Ships also to goe to *Tarshish*, and they made the Ships in *Ezion-Geber*, the same Port where *Salomon* made his Nauall provisions; but sojning therein with *Ahaziah* King of *Israel*, who did very wickedly (So much worse before God is an *Ahaziah* then a *Hiram*, the one an honest minded Gentile, the other a schismaticall Idolatrous *Israelite*) that the Lord broke the workes, and the Ships were not able to goe to *Tarshish*.

We haue bene very long in this metall Discourse: yet how much longer was *Salomon* in his three yeeres Voyage, and how much longer the most of men, which make their whole life a voyage to *Ophir* for Gold and Silver, thorow so many diuersified Seas of Arts, force, frauds to get those metalls which procreated neereff Hell, carry these eager seekers thither altogether? That the Silver was more by farre then the Gold, was before proued; but the quantitie is not expressed, as not agreeing with *Salomons* either Litterall Story, or Mysticall Glory. Some thinke that there was in euery voyage 24. times as much Silver as Gold; both because they conceiue that Nature hath giuen so much more thereof in quantitie, as the qualitie and price is vnderualued; and because all Stories Ancient and Moderne magnifie *India* for store of Silver; and so prodigious prodigality, to giue Silver in *Ierusalem* as stones, must haue a deep fountain for such a flowing streame, besides those other Silver Hooks and Brooks mentioned in *Salomons* History. But we will leaue these precious, specious objects to take view of Gemmes.

And herein *American* *Pern*, and *Sofala* are beggarly in comparison of those parts of *India*, where we haue placed *Ophir*, as the former testimonies well weighed with whatsoeuer can be brought for the other, will easily and superabundantly conuince. In Northerne *America* are some *Turkesses*, in the Southerne are saide to bee (which others question) *Emeralds*, in both *Pearles*, but not comparable to the Orientall: these *Bezars* are twice so good; in Spices to make comparison hath no spice of knowledge. And first for the first of gemmes, *Diamants*, *Pliny* saith, *Maximum in rebus humanis non solum inter gemmas, pretium habet Adamas, unus modo in metallis reperiuntur.* Some haue conceited it to dull the Loadstones attraction, and to resist all force of Hammer, which experience hath found contrary. The Kingdomes of *Narsinga*, *Biznagar*, *Orissa*, *Masulipatan*, and all the Countreies on the *Choromandel* Coast, are the most famous for Rockes of *Diamants*, and now also *Socodanna* (where they diue for them as for *Pearles*) *Decan*, *Delli*, and *Agra*, *Tarriam* also in the Tract of *Malacca*, and *Iana*. Here then is the Worlds Centre of *Diamants*, both for the most and best. *Garcias ab Horto* writes, that he hath seene one of one hundreth and forty Mangels (that is seven hundreth Graines) another of one hundreth and

Whether *David* sent Fleets to *Ophir*.

1. *Chron.* 22. 14  
& 18. 11.  
D. Dec.

1. *Chron.* 27. 25,  
26, 27, 28, 29,  
30, 31.

Two remarkable pillars of Royall Magnificence, Husbandry on Land, and Navigation by sea

1. *Chron.* 17. 11,  
12. & 20. 35,  
36. 37.

D. Dec.

1. *Kings* 10. 27.

Gemmes.

*Plin.* l. 37. c. 4.

\* See C. *Sari.*  
l. 4. c. 2. 5  
*Tanapura.*



Garcab Horto  
l.1.c.47.

Exod.24.10.  
Epiphan.libel.de  
12.gemmis.  
Od.Barbosa.

Linschot.cap.86

Garc.cap.49.

Linsch.37.

Pineda de Reb.  
Salom.1.4.c.18.  
Of Indian store  
of Jewells and  
their richnesse  
see inf. 217.  
550.558.559.  
1.Reg.10.12.  
"Terrises or  
Raues are ad-  
ded, 2.Chron.9.11  
Iof.1.8.c.2.  
It seemes to  
haue bin writ-  
ten by M.Hakl.  
hand, amongst  
whole papers I  
had it; & haue  
here made  
much vse of it,  
although  
much later  
and better in-  
telligence be  
here also cited.

twentie, and hath heard of one of two hundreth and fiftie, and a credible man told him that hee  
saw one as big as a small Hens Egge in *Bisnager*. This soyle is so diamantine, that where you  
haue digged and taken them now, in two yeeres space you may dig and find others. Neither is it  
poyson, as some affirm, but he hath knowne the whole stone, and the powder, taken without hurt.  
The Heauen-coloured *Sapphire*, with some obtaineth the second place, because of the likenesse  
thereof vnder the feet of the Almighty when hee spake to *Moses*; of which are store in *Zeilan*,  
and the most true, hard & fine as *Barbosa* testifieth. But *M. Fitch* and *M. Fredericke* haue before told  
you of Mynes of them in *Pegu*; and these saith *Garcias* and *Linschoten*, are esteemed the finest, and  
are in great plenty. So is there also of the *Rubie*, a stone of greater value, none in the world ex-  
ceeding that King in excellencie and varietie of Gems, as appeareth by generall voyce. Of *Ru-* 10  
*bies*, the *Carbuncle* is esteemed the best, the *Ballas* next, the *Spinell* in the third place, of fiery co-  
lour: there are besides, White, Carnation, halfe White, halfe Red Rubies, others halfe *Sapphires*,  
halfe *Rubies*, and one thousand other sorts, if wee beleue *Linschoten*. *Garcias* ascribeth this to the  
generation of the *Ruby*, which at first is whitish, and groweth vnto rednesse in proceffe of time: and  
because the *Sapphire* and *Rubie* grow in one Rocke, they are found sometimes such participles  
as is deliuered, *Sapphire-rubies*, called *Nilacandi*. The *Granado* and *Hyacinth* are also reckoned by  
some amongst the Rubies, calling the yellowish Rubie the *Hyacinth*, and the blackish a *Granado*.  
These are plentiful in *Cananor*, *Calecut* and *Cambaia* (neerer Westward, and in the way to the  
Gulfe of *Bengala*) in *Zeilan* also, as *Nicolo di Conti* and *Andrea Corsali* affirme; *Pimenta* his testi-  
mony of *Cancian* and *Cablan*, two gemme Kingdomes you had before. The *Iaspas* is found in 20  
much plenty in *Cambaia*; *Chrysolites*, and *Amatis*, there and in *Zeilan* and in *Balagate* (the *Apen-*  
*nine* of the Great *Indian Chersonesus*) where they haue also the *Alaquera* or *Quequi*, which stay-  
eth the issue of bloud presently. *Pegu*, *Brama*, *Zeilan*, yeeld the *Cats-eye* and *Agat*, of which the  
*Indians* conceiue the owner shall increase in wealth; and *Garcias* saith, Hee hath tried that no  
fire can burne a linnen Cloth pressed to the eye of it. The *Armenian Stones* are found also in *Ba-*  
*lagate*, the *Loadstone* in *Zeilan*, neere to which is the fishing for *Pearles*, but the best of the world  
are in the *Persian Gulfe* neere *Ormuz*: the *Alambie* in *Cambaia*. The *Bezar Stones* are at *Pahan*  
neere *Malaca*, and *Cambaia*, taken out of the maw of a Sheepe or Goat. The *Berills* are in  
*Pegu* and *Zeilan*. The *Topaz* is almost like a *Diamant*, and is digged out of the Earth  
in many places of *India*. There are *White Sapphires* and Rubies hardly knowne from *Dia-* 30  
*man*s. In *Cambaia* also is found plentie of the Stone *Alambre*. There are found in *Ze-*  
*ilan* also the *Topaz*, *Iagongas* and *Marucha*, whose names I can better giue you then the vnderstan-  
ding. There are also many sorts of Stones (you reade *Linschoten*) as well *Precious Stones*, as  
against poyson and other diseases of many properties and vertues: but I haue onely mentioned  
those that are daily bought and sold, and are commonly knowne. The *Emeralds* I mention not,  
though said to bee in these parts, because some doubt of them, and in other parts are  
found better, wherewith the *Venetians* haue made good gaine at *Pegu* in exchange for *Ru-*  
*bies*: those also of *Pegu* are suspected. For gemmes (wee now conclude) no part of the  
world but *India*, could fit *Salomons* turne; wherein, if *Aarons* breastplate were so glorious in the 40  
*Tabernacle*, to how precious height will *Salomons* Temple eleuate our thoughts? and conse-  
quently both manifest and magnifie the *Indian-Ophirian Voyage*, these being found either na-  
turall in the *Peguan Ophir*, or by trade there or in the way from *Ophir* by the *Western* parts  
of *India*, part of the *Persian Gulfe*, and the shores of *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*. Of which, *Arabia*  
is said to yeeld the *Hemathite*, *Topaz*, *Sardonyx*, *Onyx*, *Molochite*, *Myrrhite*, *Corall*, *Andromade*,  
*Iris*; *Ethiopia*, the *Chrysolite*, *Chrysolamp*, *Heliotrope*, *Hyacinth*, *Hemathite*, *Chrysoprase*; the *Persian*  
gulfe from *Babylonia* the *Sagda*, & *Sardy*, and the best *Pearles*: *Egypt* in ordinary trade, the *Galac-*  
*tite*, *Emerald*, and *Egyptilla*: some of which you had before particularly mentioned in *India*, and  
likely enough should there find most of the rest with many other vnkowne, if *India* were as  
much frequented with Philosophers from hence as Merchants.  
Wee are next to consider the *Almug Trees*, whereof were made *Pillars for the House of the* 50  
*Lord*, and for the *Kings House*; *Harper* also and *Psalteries for Singers*: there came no such *Almug*  
*Trees*, nor were seene vnto this day. *Iosephus* Interprets *Pine Trees*, but saith, they differed from  
the vnuall, resembling the Timber of the *Figge Tree* to the eye, but that they were whiter and  
brighter. There is mention of *Almug Trees* in *Lebanon*, 2. *Chron.* 2.8. which some thinke to bee  
the same with the former, and the word onely altered by transposition of letters; others, that  
that transposition intimates no lesse specificall difference in the wood then in the word, though  
otherwise hauing some likenesse to those of *Lebanon*, but of greater excellency. *D. Dee* hath  
written a laborious Treatise almost wholly of this *Ophirian* argument (the same yeere in which I  
was borne, *A.* 1577. of seuentie sheets of paper) howsoeuer intituled, *Of Famous and Rich Discu-*  
*veries*; of which I haue a written Copie, and could willingly but for the length haue published it; 60  
which may appeare in this, that he hath ten sheets of paper about these *Almug trees*, more profi-  
table to the leasurely Scholler, then commodious to be inserted to so voluminous a Worke, as this  
*Library* of ours. Hee there, as *Commissioner for Salomons Timbers*, like a learned, both *Ar-*  
*chitect* and *Planter*, hath summoned a Iury of twelue sorts of *Trees* (mentioned by diuers *Inter-*  
*preters*)



preters) to examine or to bee examined rather, which of them were the Almugs here mentioned. I should bring you into a Wood to relate his labours in this kind; the kinds are, the Deale, Boxe, Cedar, Cypress, Ebonie, Ash, Iuniper, Larch, Oliue, Pine, Oke and Sandall Trees: all which with their severall qualities and fitnessse for Royall and Sacred buildings hee examineth by best testimonies, and concludeth nothing absolutely, but inclineth to *Iosephus*, who either by some Monuments in writing might haue learned, or in some remainders to his time in Instruments Musicall, or other profane or sacred memorialls, might probably bee thought to haue scene thereof. I easily beleue that these Pines or Thynes (*Thyina*) or whatsoever other Trees, were both odoriferous to the Sent, of beauteous aspect to the Eye, of fittest temper to refract sounds to the Eare, smooth to the Touch, and of long continuance and strong substance for building, therein to bee seruiceable to all senses. Of which sorts it is euident out of Ancient and Moderne Writers, and out of the following Relations, that *India* hath the best in the World.

The Spanish Bible reads Brafilwood.

Plin. l. 13. c. 26.

The living Creatures remaine to our learth, Elephants, Apes, Peacocks; of which I need say little, saying so much in our following Histories, and hauing said so much already. Elephants come neerest Men in vnderstanding, Apes in forme (*Simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis* said *Ennius*) and Peacocks for their beauty, as Parrots also, Birds of Paradise, and many other *Indian* Fowles might be desired. The greatest Elephants are found in all this our *Ophirian* Tract, from *Zeilin* to *Pegu*; those esteemed to haue a naturall preeminence, and these had of late a Politicall, the King of *Pegu* stiling himselfe, *The King of White Elephants*, and keeping them Royally attended, his Subjects and Tributary Kings also, it is *Gasper Balby* his report) kneeling to them. Once all *India* is plentifull of them, and therefore of Iuory; this Countrey also neere *Ganges* is stored with the *Abada* or Rhinocerate, whose Horne is (in *Bengala*, by reason of certaine Hearbs hee there feeds on) a good Counter-poyson. *Indian* Ass-horne in these parts is also vsed for Bucklers, and drinking Cups, and esteemed a great Iewell, as Master *Finch* affirmeth, *infra* Pag. 436.

Of their Treed and of Elephants, see M. Terry l. 9. c. 6. §. 2. of their Apes as big as Grey-hounds ib. §. 3. See also Santos, l. 6. c. 10. Leo, and many others in this worke.

For Peacocks or Parrats, translate which you will, heere are not onely so many of both, that they flie wild, as the following Relations shew, but for excellency beyond those of other parts; as the Apes also are for their beauty and strength. See Sir *T. Roe*, Master *Finch*, and others Iournalls, or rather talke with our *Indian* Merchants, which vsually trade and trauell those parts, some of which in the *Mogolls* Countrey, carrying with them an *English* Grey-hound, one of the company shot at a great white shee Ape on a Tree, and wounded her, whereby shee with her Cub fell downe: they set on the Grey-hound, and this Ape before seeking shifts for her Cub, seeing the Grey-hound come, layd it aside and encountred the Grey-hound so fiercely about the necke, that hee dyed within a few houres, the company with their weapons comming in, and killing the Ape (as themselves related to mee) and carrying away the young one. The Countrey people, in I know not what superstition forbear to kill them, whereby they multiply exceedingly. Heere by the way may bee obserued, that it appertaineth to Royall Magnificencie, and disagreeeth not to humane Excellency, to procure rarities of liuing Creatures, and to keepe them as testimonies of our admiration of Gods various Workes, and exercise of the Minds Contemplation, the Bodies pleasure, with the right Humane ouer Sensitiue Creatures: which Nature taught *Alexander*; yea *Motexuma* and the *Incas*, in that wilder World; and Diuine Grace our *Salomon*, as these Scriptures manifest. The imitation of whose Wisdome hath whetted my Studies almost to curiositie, to giue to the World a world of Rarities in that kind, as any occasion offered it selfe in these voluminous Voyages.

Peacocks wild; Parrots, Apes, great & white, see 436, &c.

These Apes are tamed.

§. XI.

Probable coniectures of the Course taken in the *Ophirian* Voyage, and accounts given of the three yeeres time spent therein: also of the Course taken in like Voyages by the Romans: and the diuers Ports whereto the Spices and riches of *India* haue in diuers Ages beene brought, and thence dispersed to the severall parts of EUROPE.



We haue now vndertaken a hard taske, where we tell not but spell a Voyage, and from reasonable coniectures grounded on other experiments, gather what is most likely in this of *Salomons*. D. *Dee* hath written 23. sheets of paper in examining the miles, the dayes, the way, the employments of the time, and mustering of Men and Ships employed in this seruice. I cannot presume either of so much learning in my Selfe, or so much patience in the Reader. Yet I shall bee bold both to follow him, and to adde somewhat for further light. *Pliny* writes, that in his time this Voyage from *Egypt* to *India* was made euery yeer. Euery yeer *India* consumed H. S. 500. (which *Iacobus Delachampius* in his notes summeib to 1200000. Crownes) of the Roman Empires Treasure yeerely, yeelding merchandises therefore in returne sold at

Plin. l. 6. cap. 23. As covetous rich men are euery needy & greedy, so India hath euery swallowed in Trade the worlds Treasure, and yet is the Treasury of the World.



*Muziris* is by some thought to be *Chaul*, by *Arrianus* in his *Periplus* it is placed more Southerly, on that which we call the *Malabar Coast*. D. Dec thinks it *Surat*. Voyage of *Onesicritus* and *Nearchus*. *Plin.* l. 6. c. 22. Voyage to *Taprobana*. \* *Liberius*. \* That is 1250. miles which cannot agree to *Zeilan* but *Sumatra*: the Easterly situation also ultra *montes Emodos* and commerce with *Seres* agree to *Sumatra*. *Arrian* l. 8.

a hundreth times so much. Their course, hee saith, was from Alexandria twelve dayes by Nilus to Coptus, thence by Camells ouer Land to Berenice two hundreth fiftie eight miles (travelling most part by night by reason of the heate) in twelve dayes more. From Berenice on the Red Sea, they beginne to set forth at Midsummer, or about the beginning of Dogge-dayes, and in thirtie dayes come to Ocelis in Arabia, (or to Canaan or Muza, if they goe not to India, but for Arabian Frankincense and Odours) and from Ocelis in fortie dayes they arrived at the first Indian Port Muziris. Remember that in this Course they both tooke benefit of the Monsoon, and went the neere way: for so a little before hee mentioneth another Course by the Shoare, *Secuta atas propiore cursum, &c. donec compendia inuenit Mercator, Lucroque India admoti est. Quippe omnibus annis nauigatur.* Hce mentions the Voyage of *Onesicritus* and *Nearchus* from India to Tigris, in the bottome of the Persian Gulfe, which helde them till the seuenth moneth. So much was Nauigation improued in *Plinie*'s time. Their Pepper they tooke in on the *Malabar Coast*, and returned in December the same yeere. The names which then they gaue to places were quite differing from the Antients; and the like Indian mutations haue continued to our times.

The course to *Taprobane* had accidentally come to their knowledge a little before, found in *Alexanders* time to be an Iland by *Onesicritus*, mentioned by *Megasthenes*. The Antients deemed it another World. The Sea is full of shoalds, the North-starre is not seene there, and they obserued their course, by sending out Birds which they carry with them and followed their flight. But in the Empire of *Claudius*, *Annius Plocianus* hauing farmed the Customes of the Red Sea, one of his Retainers or Free-men \* sayling on the Arabian Coast, was by a Northerne storme carried alongst the *Carmanian* shoare to *Hippuros* a Port therein, and was kindly vsed by the King, who admiring his Roman Relations, sent foure Embassadors backe with him. These related amongst other things, that the side of the Iland which lieth toward India, is 10000. furlongs\*, and that they had trade with the *Seres*. I will not recite *Nearchus* out of *Arrianus* nor *Ptolemy* and *Marianus*, which can little aduantage vs in regard of the lesse knowledge of the former, and lesse certainty of the later passing the ignorance of Transcribers, and about one thousand yeares darknesse. Yet herein is *Ptolemy* profitable, where his Longitudes and Latitudes are false, that by his order of position and successiue setting downe of places some knowledge may arise. But the length of the way is better knowne by later Writers.

*Iohn di Barros* hath set downe the coasting distances, from the Bab or Mouth of the Red Sea to Cape *Nigraes*, the Southerly part of Our *Peguan Ophir*, whose *Portugall* leagues (allowing for each three English miles, and a fifth part of a mile) come to 5769 $\frac{1}{2}$  and from that Cape to *Singapura* is 1008. miles more. From the Bab or Mouth of the Red Sea to the bottom, is by *Comito Venetiano*, in *Ramusio* reckoned 1441. miles, and in his returne 1514. the breadth in some places two hundreth, the way full of shoalds, so that it cannot be sailed neere the shoare but by day. So troublesome is this Sea, and so difficult to be sayled, that *Don Iohn di Castro* (whose voyage followeth at large) spent no lesse then three moneths in the way from the Straits to *Sues*, from the nine and twentieth of Ianuary, 1541. to the seuen and twentieth of April; and returning the eight and twentieth of April, arrived at the Bab the eighteenth of July; So that here the way is to be weighed by the qualitie as well as the quantitie. *Hieronimo da Santo Stephano* in *Ramusio*, spent from *Cosir* to *Aden* fiftie dayes, almost three hundreth miles Southward from *Sues*, and therefore so much lesse way.

We must here note also that neither the ships, nor their furniture; the shipmen also nor their furniture of skill, could in *Salomons* dayes, be any way comparable to these later times: and that if three moneths were spent by the *Portugall* Naue from *Sues* to the Bab, we may at least allow somuch time to these *Ophirians*. For if these had more haste, the other had more skill and better ships. Neither may we thinke that they durst there saile but by day in *Salomons* fleete, and therefore were likely to make it longer. The lesse vessels and many men, would require also oftner staies for water and refreshing, besides the seuenth dayes rest, which *Salomons* seruants according to the law, and especially in a Voyage for adorning the Temple, built in honor of the legall worship, must not breake. Being out of the Straits into the Ocean, they were neither willing nor able (as appeares by the mentioned Voyage of *Onesicritus* and *Nearchus*) to aduenture the sailing beyond ken of Land. And therefore also *Ptolemy* in his longitudes and latitudes, abates of *Marinus* and the Mariners reckonings one third part, because of the crooking in their coasting, as euery Bay and point enforced them. And that compendious way mentioned by *Plinie* was then new in his time, when shipping and the Mariners art had beene by frequent experience much improued, and from the swadling bands in *Salomons* time growne to some virility. So that except forced by distresse of weather we cannot make the *Ophirian* course but within ken of shoare all the way. Now then if it were the seuenth moneth, as we haue read in *Plinie*, before *Alexanders* fleet could arrive in Tigris from India, in which *Arrianus* reporteth that there were *Phenician*, *Egyptian* and *Cyprian*, besides his best *Gracian* Mariners, they all being then his subjects; we can allow no lesse to *Salomons* fleete before it could touch the neere Indian Port, being no lesse way. And howsoeuer it may be objected that triumphall deuotions, and tempests, and



and fights, and reparations of the Fleete, tooke vp much of *Nearchus*'s time: I answered, that this Ophirian fleet was neither warranted from enemies nor tempests, & was likely also to spend time in reparations, and in provisions, and in deuotions, specially that which was peculiar to them, the Sabbath.

And although single ships in the *Arabike* gulf, and in the Ocean might euen then make quicker way then this mentioned, yet in that of *Castro*, of *Nearchus*, and this of *Salomon*, where care was to keepe a whole fleet together for mutuall helpe and common security, the greater body must needs haue slower motion. Thus then allowing three moneths to the Red Sea, and fixe moneths from thence to *India*, we shall follow *Comito Venetiano*, who reckons the one 1514. miles from the Straits to *Suez* inward, and thence outward to *Diu* 2023. to which adde the coasting about to the *Ormuzian* strait, and coming to any Port in *India*, as namely *Muziris*, or any in the *Malabar* coast, it could not much lesse then double the length of the way, and therefore the time. By this proportion we should spend the three yeeres in going and returning, if we adde that spacious way from *Muziris* to our nearest Port in *Ophir*: and so should both their labour and ours be vaine, and nothing should be done. *Barros* himselfe (to make this more eident) hath reckoned short of the way which *Salomon's* Fleet must make in bouts and windings by the shoare, for which he makes no allowance. *D. Dee* is sparing in this calculation, and yet makes it from *Ezion Geber* to Cape *Negraes* 9155. miles; of which we deduct for the *Arabike* gulf but 1514. and leaue 7641. remaining. We therefore in regard of the manifold dangers and shelves of that Gulf, allow to it eighty dayes, of which deducting eleuen Sabbaths, there remaine fixtie nine, to which (one with another) we allow one and twenty miles a day, somewhat more, as much as can conveniently in that Sea be allowed to a Fleet sailing together. And this allowance is so large, that *Castro* was eighty eight dayes (and that in the daies of better Navigation) in the way which we allow to fixtie nine. Now in the Ocean, where they might make better vse of the Monsoon and Tides, as freed from the dangers which attend the Gulf, wee will allow thirty two miles a day one with another (the Sabbath deduced) which by the yeeres end will bring vs to our Port at *Peg*, or some other the nearest to Cape *Negraes*, where we may harbour our Fleete. For to Cape *Negraes* it selfe (deducting the one and forty Sabbaths remaining of the yeere) 7641. miles are proportioned in each daies equall sailing, in requisite and direct way, one and thirty miles and  $\frac{1}{4}$ , which being very far from any safe Port, must needs make it two & thirty miles the day to bring vs thither, allowing nothing for New Moone, or any other *sunsh* solemnities, or other occasional stay whatsoeuer: nor for those bords, gibes and fetching tunces (which Mariners) and specially coast-winders must make) and consequently much superfluous way, which alone (besides force of stormes) would make this thirty two to be above forty miles a day ordinary way, broken and whole, one with another.

And if this seeme to any man a small thing, let him consider the weakenesse of Navigation then, both in skill and shipping: the *Phenicians* before this time not acquainted with those *Indian* Seas, but onely with the Mediterranean, as probably may be thought; their vsing the Oile more then the saile, and not daring to saile by night when they could not see shoare, their necessary occasions of stay sometimes for watering and provisions, sometimes by foule weather detained, sometimes for reparations of some of the Fleet occasionally needing helpe, that all the Fleet may keepe together, sometimes for trade by the way, sometimes for healthfull disport, recreation and ioy: and (which is of principall obseruation in those Seas) for expectation of the Monsoon, or season of the winds, which there keepe an euen course, as out of the following Voyages you shall see. All which laid together, it will not seeme miserably and vniustly done to haue allowed the proportion before mentioned. If you read the first Discoveries on the coast of *Africa* by the *Portugals*, and see how litle they discovered in a whole Summer, when their skill was not inferior to these *Phenicians*, and experience more, you will thinke me liberal if not prodigall in this allowance. Capitaine *Hawkins* in the *Heclor* (a ship not the worst of sail, and which before had beene twice at the *Indies*) was from the first of April 1607. till August 24. 1608. ere he could arrive at the Barre of *Suez*, in the nearest part of the *Indes*, almost sixteen moneths space, where no Sabbath, nor shore-creeper enforced their stay: The *Dragon* at the same time was longer in her way to *Sumatra*, and I believe many of our later Voyages doe not much exceede this proportion. It seemeth therefore to me probable in a round reckoning to allow but one yeere litle more of Rest on the Voyage, a second in the stay at their severall ports; and in the mines of Gold and Silver, and for further provisions of *Amber*, *Iuory*, *Apes* and *Peacocks*; and a third yeere in their returne.

*Doctor Dee* allowes fiftie miles a day of requisite way, that is 1500. miles every foure weekes, resting the Sabbath, and forty miles a day within the Gulf or Red Sea: the miles he computeth 9155. and the whole Voyage to be performed in seven moneths and six and twenty dayes outward, and as much homeward; one fortnight of rest after their landing before they fell to their Mine-workes, to be spent in mind-workes of deuout thankfulness, prayers and festiuall reioicing; as much before their shipping for returne, the rest in their workes and purueying of commodities. So that for what I allow a yeere, to each of these he alloweth the space of eight moneths

Thirty two miles a day allowed for the whole Voyage one day with another: for what that fraction lacks must be allowed in going from Cape *Negraes* either to the mouth of *Ganges* or *Ara*, or some other Port.

b. Sec. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

D. Dees reckoning.



or there abouts: the third yeere he bestoweth on their businesse, rest, and triumph at home, care of their family and state preparations for the next returne, as trimming the ships (in these times the wormes which in those Seas, breede in ships, and eate them, compell vs to sheath them) and other prouisions. He alloweth 4500, workemen for the mines, not all at once working, but in courses, some resting by turnes, others working, and then those succeeding to their workes whiles they againe rested (the workes and yeeldings whereof hee diligently examineth) three hundred for the Almug trees, for Elephants teeth twenty, for Apes and Peacockes ten: one hundred Officers: in all 5040. To this businesse he holdeth requisite fiftie tall ships, to each ship thirty Mariners, in all 1500. which with the former number make vp 6540. men. Thus he and more then thus with much curiolitie of minerall and nauall learning, which cannot here be expressed without that libertie of long discourse, which neither the vulgar reader could vnderstand, nor others perhaps (except some few) finde leisure to reade. Otherwise I would haue inserted it.

Salomons seruants sent to Ophir were not Israelites.

1 Reg. 9. 20. 21. 22

1 Reg. 5. 14.

I honour his great industry, but cannot conceiue that that age yeelded such great ships to carrie so manie, nor that they could one day with another make so much way, nor that Salomon would permit so long a stay as a whole yeere, but rather presse new men. As for the Phenician Mariners, vpon this occasion it is likely that they settled their dwelling at or neere Ezion Geber, as all antiquitie mentioning Phenicians in the Red Sea, seemeth to argue. And for the seruants of Salomon, they were the posteritie of the people that were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel. Their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel also were not able vnterly to destroy; vpon those did Salomon leaue a tribute of bond seruice vnto this day. But of the children of Israel did Salomon make no bondmen. Thus the holy writ but a few verses before the mention of this Ophirian Nauie. Of these it is said 2 Chro. 2. 17. And Salomon numbred all the strangers that were in the land of Israel after the numbring wherewith Dauid his father had numbred them, and they were found an hundred and fiftie thousand and three thousand and sixe hundred. And hee set 70000. of them to be bearers of burthens, and 80000. to be hewers in the Mountaines, and 3600. ouerscers to set the people a worke. If Salomon would not ease them by courses neerer home (for they were the Israelites which serued by those courses, not these strangers) I cannot here ease them; and if he would not employ the Israelites in the neerer quarries and Forrests, neither would he send them to remoter Mines, a more dangerous and difficult worke. Now some of those hewers in the Mountaines were fittest for this hewing and mining in the Mountains for Mettals, to which that place may also be intended and extended. Officers to Ophir and men of command he might haue out of Israel, but for the Oare by Sea and Ore at land, these were likely to be the seruants of Salomon mentioned in the text: the rather because that name euer after continued to them, as you may read euen after the return from the captiuitie in Ezra 2. 55. Nehem. 7. 60. This hath beene omitted by others handling this argument, and therefore I am the fuller in it.

Villalpand. Pineda, &c.

Besides, it is as likely (which others also obserue, and before is mentioned, & agreeth to the 666. talents of Gold yeerely) that Salomon after the Temple buildings were ended, employed Fleetes yeerely to Ophir, one vnder another, that each should make their voiage in three yeers, but of them euery yeere one should returne: which agrees not with D. Dees speculation of a yeers stay. Neither is it probable that in seuen or eight moneths so much Gold and Siluer could be gotten by so vnexpert miners. Nor doth D. Dees consider the Monsoons of those Seas which are by six moneths regulated, and not by eight. Nor may we thinke but that many of Salomons seruants settled some abode in the Countrey, so long (at least if we will permit courses, which I will not much quarrell amongst them) as Salomon vied the voiage; by whom the Iuorie, Apes, and Peacockes might be procured, and Gems also without any speciall allowance of men each third yeere to that purpose; except as the Fleet in coming or going might touch by the way at each good mart, for which Doctor Dees time of eight moneths seemes also too short. Yet if any approue, and lust to follow him, I haue no Empire ouer opinions.

First Merchants and the diuers Marts for Spices. Gen. 37. 23. 28.

1er. 8. 22. & 12. 6

Suidas,

See Fulk. Miscel.

This Ophirian voiage which brought the riches of the East to Ezion Geber, occasioneth a quere of the voiajes of Spices, and the manifold shiftings of the Marts & Ports thereof in former times, is a worke of voiajes not vnfit for consideration. The first mention of Merchants is of Ishmaelites and Midianites, which trauelled in a Carauan together with Camels carrying spicerie, & balm, and Mirrhe to Egypt. These inhabited not far from Ezion Geber, or the shores of the red Sea. Whither their Spicerie came out of the Southerne parts of Arabia, or further out of India brought into some Arabian port, is not easie to determine. Their Balme they might haue at Gilead by the way, though Arabia yeelds of that also, as the Myrrhe likewise; what Spicerie the first mentioned is, is not so easie to decide. Ioh. mentioning the gold of Ophir, and other passages in that Booke may cause coniecture of an Indian trade in his daies. But this is easily gathered out of Histories that the great Monarchs endeouored to make themselves Lords of India for the riches aforesaid. Semiramis is said to haue invaded India, & to haue beene repelled by Saurabates, which I can beleue, though not so prodigal of faith as to accept the report of three Millions of foot, and five hundred thousand horse in her army; no more then that she was the founder of Babylon. But both Nimus or Ninus (which her husband Nimus had made the seate of the Assyrian Empire) standing vpon Lycus which

floweth



floweth into *Tigris*; and *Babylon* seat of the *Chaldean* Empire on *Euphrates*, *Seleucia* also & *Bagdes* of later building not farre from thence, haue in their times beene fitting seats to receiue either by land or sea; or both, the *Indian* riches, thence to be disperfed to other Marts and thorow the world. The *Persians* were Lords of *India*, as both the Scripture & *Herodotus* affirme, & *Alexander* aduanced the *Macedonian* Empire thither also; whose Empire after his death being rent into foure parts, *Seleucus* possessed *Babylonia*, and *Ptolemus* *Egypt*, which by the red Sea made most aduantage of the Spicerie.

Eff. 8. 9.  
Herod. Thalid.  
Egyptians.

*Sesostris* (whom *Iosephus* esteemeth to be *Shishak*, 2 *Chro.* 12. the King of *Egypt* which tooke away great part of the *Ophirian* treasures) is by *Strabo* reported the first which subdued *Ethiopia* and *Troglodytica*: at the straits of *Dira* (where the red Sea is but fixtie furlongs or seuen miles and a halfe broad) left Monuments of his exploits, a pillar engrauen with hieroglyphikes: he passed thence into *Arabia* and thorow all *Asia*. His westerne expedition I omit (*Lucan* singeth, *Venit ad occasum mundi, extrema Sesostris*) but it is like that being in the time of *Salomon* and his enormous memie, that the glory of *Salomons* *Ophirian* arts had whetted him to this *Asian* and *Indian* expedition. *Pliny* mentions the *Tyrians* in this coast, and the port *Daneon* whence *Sesostris* first of all thought to bring a Nauigable River to *Delta* of *Nilus* 62. miles. *Necho* long after (hee which saw King *Iosias*) is said to haue sought to make a marriage betwixt the Red Sea and *Nilus* (the cause is euident, the *Arabian*, *Ethiopian* and *Indian* commerce to be ioyned, with the *Mediterranean*) and to haue sent *Phanecians* from that Sea vpon discouerie round about *Africa*; in which voyage they spent two yeeres. *Cambyses* conquered *Egypt*, and built *Cambisa* a Citle on the red Sea *Darius* the *Persian* pursued *Nechos* proiect, thinking to perfect a trench from the River to the Sea but was deterred by those which said that Sea was higher then *Egypt*, and therefore would drown it. Yet did this proiect outliue the *Persian* Empire in *Egypt*, for *Ptolemie* made a trench 100. foot broad and 30. deepe, 37. miles and 400. paces, as far as the *Butter fountains*, and then brake off fearing in inundation; the red Sea being found three cubits higher then the land of *Egypt*. Some (saith *Finie*) say the feare was, lest *Nilus* should be corrupted by the Sea water. Yet by three waies did the then passe to *Arfinos* built by *Ptolemus Philadelphus*. The Trench still continues, as *Farrus* a *German* (which saw it in his way to Mount *Sinai* from *Cairo*) testifieth.

Ios. Antiq. 1. 8. c. 4  
Strab. 1. 16.

2 *Chro.* 35.  
Herod. 1. 4.

Pl. 1. 6. c. 29.  
Diod. Sic. 1. 1. c. 3  
Plin. 1. 6. c. 29.

Some make  
P. ammeticus a  
worker also in  
this Trench.

*Copts* way was found by King *Ptolemie*, and the *Egyptian* Exchequer thereby so aduanced, that in *Aules* time, a King nothing frugall, the prodigall Father of prodigious *Cleopatra* (*Strabo* cites it out of an Oration of *Cicero*) the royal reuenues came to 12500. talents, which is of *English* coine by *M. Ferrewoods* reckoning two millions, three hundredth forty three thousand & seuen hundredth & fifty pounds. And if that he, saith *Strabo*, which carelesly and negligently administred his Kingdom, had so much reuenue, what may we thinke of the present *Roman* gouernmōr, the *Indian* and *Troglotical* Merchandises being added? For whereas afore scarcely 20. ships aduentured out of the *Strius*, now very great fleets are set forth to *India* and *Ethiopia*; whence precious Merchandise are brought to *Egypt* and thence transported to other places, with the benefit of double custome for importation and exportation. But those precious wares haue heauie imposts, because of the *Monopolies*, onely *Alexandria* receiuing and dispersing them. Thus *Strabo*, who calleth *Alexandria* *imporio* *maximo* & *maxime* the greatest Mart in the World. How gainfull this trade was, and what coile they held in this voyage in *Plinies* time, you haue heard out of him already.

Arfinos or Sues  
Furcr. voyage  
inf. 1. 8. c. 13.  
Strab. 1. 17.

Alexandria.

*Alexandria* being orewhelmed with a *Saracen* Deluge, by Schismaticall *Chaliphae* beganne at last to hol vp head againe, and whiles the *Mamelukes* Empire lasted, was the chiefe Mart for the Spices brought to *Mecca*, and thence carried to *Alexandria*, the Trade whereof was in the *Venetians* Ind, and enriched their Signiorie very much, till the *Portugals* in our Grandfathers dayes found the way by Sea into the *Indies*, whereby both the *Moores* and *Venetians* were impouerished. This Trade set *Henrie* that Noble Prince of *Portugall* on worke to begin that, which was so long before it produced any fruit. Yea, this *Indian* Trade set *Columbus*, and after him *Cabot* on worke to find the way to the *Indies* by the West; which their industrious simplicitie God rewarded with a New World by them discouered. But to returne to our *Romans*; *Abamasio* cites out of the *Iuan Law*, the Customes for the *Indian* goods set downe in the Reigne of *Marcus* and *Comodus*; viz. *Cinamon*, *Pepper long*, and *white*, *Cloues*, *Cassia*, *Cancamo*, *Spikenard*, *Cassia*, *Frankincense*, *Xilocassia*, *Myrrhe*, *Amomum*, *Ginger*, *Malababrum*, *Ammoniac*, *Galbanum*, *Laser*, *Agoloum*, *Gumme Arabike*, *Cardamome*, *Carpesium*, *Silkes*, *Parthian* and *Babylonian* *Workes*, *Inorie*, *Eboni* all sorts of precious *Stones*, *Peables*, *Sardonix*, *Ceraunia*, *Hiacinth*, *Emerald*, *Diamond*, *Saphire*, *Callio*, *Berill*, *Cilindre*, *Indian* and *Sarmatian* *Clothes*, &c. which I haue mentioned that we may see the Trade then, and now are much alike.

See Leo & Sand  
dys.

See inf. 1. 2. d. 27  
S. 2.

Pham vol. 1.  
fol. 371.

Dioscurus.  
Strab. 1. 17.  
Plin. 1. 6. c. 29.

*Strabo* and *Linie* (before this greatness of *Alexandria*, as it may seeme) extoll *Dioscurias* in the bottome of the *Euxine* or *Blacke* Sea, where people of seuentie Languages, or as *Timosthones* affirmed, three hundred seuerall Nations resorted; and after that the *Romans* used one hundred and thirtie Interpreters in their businesses. In *Plinies* time this *Babylon* was waste, I imagine; that when the *Persian* Empire possessed *India* and *Asia minor*, this *Dioscurias* was the Staple of *Indian* Commodities: brought partly by the *Persian* Golfe as farre as *Tigris* would permit, & the rest by Land, which is the way. Or, as some thinke, and not without cause, those Seas being so much

scattered



fested with Pirats, as appeares in *Plinie*, and the *Arabs* being alway Robbers; they carried their goods vp the *Indus* (as many still doe from *Tatta* to *Labor*) and thence by Carauan ouer the *Cau-dabar* and other Hills, the Riuer *Oxus*, and ouer the *Caspian* Sea to the Riuer *Cyrus*, and so to *Dioscuria*.

When the *Seleucide* succeeded in those parts, it is like that the Trade continued, though weaker; till the *Romans* drew all to *Alexandria*: especially the *Parthian* Empire not permitting such Commerce to their *Roman* Enemies, as neither the *Persians* after.

That Barbarous myst of so many Nations which ouercame the *Roman* Empire, buried this Trade in darknesse, till the *Saracens* grew to some height, and *Bagdet* was made the chiefe Seate of their *Caliph*, builded on *Tigris*, and commodious to attract the Trade of the East; and disperse it to the West. A great part of this Trade after the declination of *Bagdet*, the East beeing infected with *Mahumetan* follies, honoured also with colour of Religion, was conueyed by the *Arabian* *Moors*, and *Moorish* *Indians* to *Mecca* (the sinke of that Superstition) by the Red Sea, *Indda*, and *Ziden* being their Ports, and thence was much of it carried to *Damasco*, and thence to *Aleppo*, which Trade hath continued to our dayes; and another part to *Cairo*, hereby flourishing, and thence to *Alexandria* as aforesaid: which is still vsed also, but much empard, and almost forsaken by the *European* Navigations into *India*.

Whiles the *Tartarian* Empire flourished, these *Indian* Wares were carried much (as you may reade in *Polo*) to *Mangi* or *China*; to *Cathay*, many also carried to *Boghar* in *Bactria*, and to *Samarcand*, and thence to other parts. Also in those troublesome times when the *Tartars* had runne all, and when *Boghar* was in esteeme for Trade, the *Indian* Merchandises were shipped on the *Caspian* Sea by *Oxus*, and thence conueyed to *Astracan*, on the Riuer *Rha*, or *Volga*, and so to *Novogrode*, and thence partly ouer-land, partly by water to *Cassa*, or *Theodosia*, wherethe *Genowayes* fetched it (who then were of great power in these parts) and dispersed it in Christian Ports; the *Venetians* and *Genowayes* being Corriuals in this Trade, as in other things, and in those dayes very great. Much also passed to *Trapezond*, that Citie so flourishing that it became an Empire, a Title too heauie for it, and the ruine both of *Constantinople* the Mother thus weakened, and of it selfe.

*Ormuz* was famous by this Trade, and *Moba* in the Red Sea, but both haue their course to *Aleppo*; of which our Trauellers shall in due time tell you in the following Discourses. and now we see *London* an *Indian* Mart, and *Turkie* it selfe from hence serued with *Pepper*, and other *Indian* Commodities, as Master *Mun* Deputie of that Company in his following Tractate will shew you.

Thus much of the Ports made famous by *Indian* Spicerie and Merchandize, *Anastasis Sinaita* affirmeth, that *Salomons* Fleet made a returne every yeere, which of the same Fleet cannot be vnderstood. *Pineda* yeelds to this, but he makes vs more labour about *Tharsis*, to wch; trow wee are returned from *Ophir*; he enforceth vs to a new Voyage; and to finde *Tharsis* in *Spain*. *Iosephus Acoſta* also hath made a scruple both of *Ophir* and *Tharsis*, and makes them to signify no particular place, but generall and remote, as *India* doth now with vs, signifie all the Easterne World in vulgar appellation. Yet doth he acknowledge the substance of that wee haue spoken, and professeth to agree with *Iosephus*, so that with him wee shall haue but a Gramme quatrell. We will adde a word of the *Phanicians* which here are expressed to haue bene *Solomons* Mariners; and of their ancient Navigation, and so shall we make an end of our *Ophirian* Voage, which to some Readers will perhaps seeme much longer then three yeeres.

## §. XII.

Of *Tharsis* or *Tharshish*; whether it bee the same with *Ophir*, and both some in definite remoter Countrey; whether it be the Sea, or *Tartessus*, any place in *Spain*. Of the ancient Navigations about Africa, and of the *Phenician* Antiquities.

**E**arned *Acoſta* hauing alleaged Reasons sufficient for confuting that Opinion of *Pero* to be *Ophir*, an ystert name, vnknowne to the Natiues; and when neither Turie nor such precious Gemmes could be brought, and whither *Solomon* Naue in those times ignorant of the Load-stone, could not come to fetch them; all *Easterne* *India* being fitter then the West for *Solomons* purposes he concludeth, *Ego ſane Ophir & Tharshish diuina literis ſapientia non certum aliquem definitumq; locum ſignare ſuſpicor, ſed genera potius eſſe uocabula, idemq; efficere apud Hebraeos, quod apud nos vulgo Indiarum uocem.* He ſignifieth, that as *India* is a name given to any remote, rich, and ſtrange Region very much differing from ours; as

Bagdet.  
Mecca.

b This caused  
so much wars  
to the Portu-  
gals from the  
Moors, the  
Mamelukes, and  
the Turkes; and  
since from  
them to Ours  
and the Dutch.  
Ant. Galuano &  
Ramus.  
Boghar.  
Astracan.  
Novogrode.  
Cassa.  
Trapezond.  
Ormuz.  
Moba.  
London.  
Lib. 5. cap. ult.  
Anast. Sinaita  
lib. 12. Hexam.  
Pined. de reb.  
Salom.  
Acoſta de Nat.  
Orb. lib. 1. c. 13.  
13, 14.

Acoſta de Nat. N.  
Orb. lib. 1. c. 13.  
14.



Mexico, Brasl, Malaca, &c. So likewise Ophir and Tharshis; and as for Tharshis, it signifieth ei-  
 ther the maine Sea, or most remote and strange Regions. Thus he coniectureth.

For Ophir we haue before found it, the proper name of a man and of a Region denominated of  
 him; but withall haue acknowledged the Ophirian voyage to comprehend more then the Region of  
 Ophir, including the other Indian Ports wherat they touched and traded in that voyage, especially  
 the two Ilands now called Seilan and Sumatra, and all places on the Coast within the Gulfe of  
 Bengala, which might fit their purpose. It is vsuall now to call an Indian Voyage, not only to  
 Iacatra, Bantam, or Banda, but thereto also they reckon their touching at Soldanha, on the maine  
 of Afrike, or at the Riuer of Saint Augustine in the great Iland of Saint Laurence, and the Ilands  
 of Comoro, or Socatra, or wheresoeuer they arriue on the Abab or Mohan shoare in the Red Sea,  
 or in any Arabike Port, or in the Persian Gulfe before they come to India: and there also Surat,  
 Dial, Calcut, or wheresoeuer they touch besides on this side or beyond that principal Port where  
 they make their Voyage; as they terme it, that is, where they take in their chiefe loadings. Of  
 which, the following Relations will giue you many instances. So the Straits Voyages, intimate  
 not the meere sayling to or thorow the Straits of Gibraltar, in vulgar appellation, but all Voy-  
 ages within those Straits whether to Venice, or Ligorue, or Zant, or Constantinople, or Scanderone,  
 or Alexandria, or in one Voyage to visit many or all of these Ports, is yet called but a Straits Voy-  
 age. We may yeeld thus much therefore to Acoſta, that Ophir, was a proper Countrey (as India  
 also is) extending from Ganges to Menan, and betwixt the Lake Chiamay, and the Gulfe or Sea  
 of Bengala; but as it happened, that India being the remotest knowne Region, gaue name in old  
 times to all later Discoveries beyond it, and in after times accidentally to the New World, which  
 the first finders mistooke for Easterne India, so also the Voyage to Ophir, accidentally might giue  
 name to all those Remote parts, and comprehend all the farre Ports, which by occasion of the  
 Voyage to Ophir they visited, lying in the way thither, or somewhat wide or beyond. And as  
 there is a Region truly and properly called India, euen al that which extends from Indus (whence  
 it is so named) to Ganges; which name by others ignorance of the proper names of Regions, was  
 extended further both beyond Ganges, and to all remote Regions; so was there a true Ophir, na-  
 med of Ophir the sonne of Ioktan, which occasioned other remote Countreyes to beare that ap-  
 pellation, at least in this Voyage thither.

The bounds of  
 Ophir.

But for Tharshis or Tarshish, or Tharshish; we see Acoſta himſelfe in his finall vpsot, to make  
 an aut of it, *Aut immensum mare, aut regiones semotissimas & valde peregrinas accipi solere.* So that  
 his former Proposition admits now another, that either it is the maine Ocean (which I take to  
 be the true sense) or some remote Region. Some are of opinion that the Voyage to Ophir, and that  
 to Tharshis differed, because the Scripture saith, according to our Translation, *For the King had at*  
*Sea a Nauie of Tharshish, with the Nauie of Hiram once in three yeeres, came the Nauie of Tharshish,*  
*bringing Gold and Silver, Iuorie, and Apes and Peacocks.*

Ribera, Pineda,  
 &c.  
 1. Reg. 10. 22.  
 2. Chron. 9. 21.  
 The Kings  
 ships went to  
 Tharshish &c.  
 euery three  
 yeeres once  
 came the ships  
 from Tharshish.

Tremellius hath it. *Nam classis Oceani pro rege cum classe Chirami erat: semel ternis annis veniebat*  
*classis ex Oceano afferens aurum, &c.* The Vulgar, Latine and Septuagint, *Nauis Tharshis erat regi*  
*Salomoni in mari cum nauibus Chiram.*

Saint Ierome in many places examineth this Tharshish, as in *Es. 2. Melius est Tharshis vel mare*  
*vel pelagus absoluiè ponere,* and alledgeth Ionas his fleeing to Tharshis, who from Ioppe could not  
 come to India by Sea,

Ribera in Ion 1.  
 Cornel. Corn. in  
 Es. 1.  
 Forerius in Es. 2.  
 Em. Saa in Ps. 47  
 Marin. in Arca.  
 Leo Iud. 3.  
 Reg. 10.  
 Villalpand. in  
 Ez. 27.  
 R. Mos. Had. in  
 Ps. 71.

Most of the late Writers agree with Tremellius, that Tharshis is the Ocean; and make that a  
 difference betwixt Tharshish and *Tharshis* which signifies the Sea, as the Red Sea, or Mediter-  
 ranean, and withall those lesse collections of waters as the Dead Sea, the Sea of Galilee, and that  
 Brazen Vessell for the largenesse, called a Sea, 2. King. 25. 16. whereas Tharshish is only the Main  
 or large Sea. R. Mose Hadarsan citeth foure significations, *Tarsus* a Citie of Cilicia, Carthage,  
 India, and the Sea. This place cannot admit *Tarsus* nor Carthage, beeing in another Sea, to  
 which Esiongeber, on the Red Sea had not bene the Port to haue sailed from, but Ioppe or Tyros,  
 or some other Hauen in the Mediterranean. Now if any thinke them two Voyages from two  
 severall Ports, the Scripture is plaine, where it is said, *Iehoshaphat made ships of Tharshish to goe to*  
*Ophir for Gold; but they went not, for the ships were broken at Esiongeber.* And lest any might thinke  
 that they were called ships of Tharshish, because the materials came from Cilicia, it is more full,  
 2. Chron. 20. 25. *And after this did Iehoshaphat King of Iudah, ioyne himſelfe with Ahaziah King*  
*of Israel, who did very wickedly. And he ioynd himſelfe with him to make ships to goe to Tarshish, and*  
*they made the ships in Esiongeber. Then Eliezer prophesied, &c. and the ships were broken that they*  
*could not goe to Tarshish.* Note also that the vulgar translateth in one place Sea, in the other  
 Tharshis.

1. Reg. 22. 48.

Some hence gather it to be a Region in India, as that Rabbi, and Ierome also doth in some sort  
 auerre, with Iosephus, and many late Writers. But because no such Region in India can be found,  
 hence so many opinions. Postellus placeth Ophir in the Golden Region where Malaca standeth,  
 but makes Tharshis to extend further, euen to the South Sea; or the Peruan Coast, so that Ophir  
 and Peru are diuorced for a marriage with Tharshis. The Chaldee will haue it Africa, and Ema-  
 nuel Saa in Angola; Acoſta no certaine place; Ribera will haue them two Voyages, and not the  
 same

Post. de Orig. n.

Chal. 2. Parap. 9.  
 Sam. ib.  
 Rib. in Jon 1.



Gen. 10. 4.

\* 10f. 15. 12.

same to *Ophir* and *Tharshis*; *Pineda* and *Goropius* bring vs to *Tartessus* in *Spaine*. But I embrace the opinion of *Cornelius Cornelij*, *Villalpandus* (and heerein *Ribera* also agreeth) which say that of *Tarshish* the Sonne of *Ianan*, *Cilicia* tooke name at first, still continued to *Tarsus* (where *Saint Paul* was borne, famous in old times by *Straboes* report for the Vniuersitie and other Antiquities) and the Inhabitants therof, and the adioyning Regions being famous at Sea, might cause that great Sea (as the Scripture calls it, in comparison of the lesser Seas in *Iudea*) to be called *Tarshish*, a name then easily by the *Jewes* deriued to all great Seas, whether *Mediterranean* or *Ocean*.

Now that which makes Interpreters to question some place in *India*, or elsewhere, is the phrase of going to and coming from *Tarshish*, and bringing goods from thence, a kind of speech which to *Pineda* seemeth ridiculous, if thereby be not meant some certaine place on Land. Wee see at this day the Hill *Atlas* in *Afrike*, hath giuen name to that huge huge Ocean, extending euen to the New Worlds of the South and West. The Straits betwixt *Spaine* and *Afrike*, giue name with our Mariners to all the Midland Sea within and beyond them. *Indus* gaue name to *India*, and all the Ocean adioyning; and the South Sea (the greatest of knowne Seas) is so termed, because *Vasques Balboa* first saw it lying to the South from him; neither can the *Westerne Scite*, take away that name *Del Sur* to this day. Is it then any maruell, that *Tarshish* the *Cilician* Sea next adioyning to *Iudea*, should giue name to all the deeper and larger parts of the *Mediterranean*, which they had occasion after to take notice of, and to other Seas from the Red Sea forward more wide and spacious. *Pineda* himselfe confesseth, that *Tartessus* which hee would haue to be *Tharshis*, gaue name not only to *Bætica*, but to all *Spaine*. And is it any more ridiculous or absurd to say, the King had a Nauie of *Tharshish* at Sea, then that which our vulgar Mariners say, the Straits fleet is now at Sea, or the Straits fleet is come from Sea, speaking of our Merchants ships, which keep company together in the Seas for feare of *Algier* Pirats? Do not they cal them *Straits Merchandise*? and say, that such & such goods are brought out of the Straits, or caried to the Straits, that are sent thorow those Seas, and brought by those Seas to or from any Port therein? And as vsuall a Phrase it is, which *Pineda* iudgeth so absurde, that a Mariner being asked whither he goeth, should answer to Sea, or that Gold, Siluer, Iuorie, Peacockes and Apes should be said to be brought from Sea: For our Mariners (which learne not their Idiome of Scholers) vse to say, when all their money is spent, they will goe to Sea and get more; that they brought this or that from Sea, that shortly they are to goe to Sea, or haue lately come from Sea, without naming any Port; that such a man hath got all his goods by Sea, great wealth hath come to him by Sea; hee hath had great losse by Sea, and other like phrases of Sea-men (for so also are they called, in opposition to Land-men, in regard of their Trade and course of life, though the habitation of both be on Land.) This then may be the sense: *SALOMON* had at Sea a Nauie at *Tharshish*, that is, ships built for long voyages at Sea: as we call men of Warre, or ships of Warre; which are built for that purpose. And how ealie is the construction, *Iehoshaphat* made ships of *Tharshish* to goe to *Ophir*, in these words, a Sea-nauie, or ship of the Sea, to goe to *Ophir*; that is, not such Fisher-boates, as they saw in the Sea of *Galilee*, or such small Barkes as they vsed in *Palastina* to trade from Port to Port, but a Nauie Royall of strong ships able to brooke long Voyages in the Ocean.

Jonas 1.

Hieron. in Ion. 1.

Pf. 72. 11.

By some vnderstand-  
discreet and  
vaine Cutters  
or Printers  
flatterie, or ig-  
norance insen-  
sible of diuine  
mysteries,  
in the fore-  
front of a  
great Booke,  
some words of  
this Psalm  
proper to  
Christ are ap-  
plied to his  
Majesties pi-  
cture; Omnes  
gentes seruiunt  
ei, &c. which I  
mention to  
vindicate both  
that Scripture  
and his Maie-  
stie from ca-  
lumnies.  
\* See Tom. 2.  
eng. 19.

I also thinke that in regard of the length of those Voyages, in which they were two thirds of the time at Sea (after our account) and three whole yeeres in each Voyage from their Land-home, in a kind of eminence, they were in these Voyages said to goe to *Tharshish* or to Sea. And so *Jonas* likewise minding to flee from that Land whither he was sent, was hurried in the strength of temptation, a quite contrarie way, whether that ship intended *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, or whither-soeuer it went, he chusing rather a certaintie of flight then of scite, or settling himselfe any where, as *Saint Ierome* saith of him, *Non ad certum fugere cupiebat locum, sed mare ingreduens, quocunque pergere festinabat. Et magis hoc conuenit fugituo & timido, non locum fuga otiose eligere, sed primam occasionem arripere nauigandi.* Likewise in that Psalm which mystically and fully is true of Christ in the calling of the Gentiles; typically and in part verified in *Solomon* (wickedly and Antichristianly since applied to the Pope in many passages of the last Councell of *Lateran* vnder *In-  
50*  
*lius* the Second, and *Leo* the Tenth) it is said, *The Kings of Tharshish and of the Isles shall bring presents, the Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts*; it is plaine by the Historie of *Solomon* in Scripture, and by ioyning of *Tharshish* and *Sheba* together, that no *Tartessus*, nor *Angola*, nor *Pern*, are intended; and that Maritime Kings are meant (*Tremellius* reads *Reges Oceani accolae*) which ruled in Ilands (which is also added) or Coasts and Ports neere the Sea (sure as *Hiram* then was, and all remote Maritime Prouinces the Scripture calls Ilands) which vsed also (as in those parts of the East Indies, almost all the Kings are at this day Merchants) trade by Sea, and perhaps enioyed the Title of the adioyning Seas (as his Maiestie is King of the *British* Ocean, and another *Pacificus* his Predecessor added it to his Royall Title, *Ego Edgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniumq. Regnum, Insularum, Oceaniq. Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarumq. Nationum, que infra  
60*  
*eam includuntur, Imperator & Dominus.* Such were the Kings of *Tharshish*, whose Customes from the Sea, and Trade by it, made them haue their ships of *Tharshish*, & wealth from *Tharshish*: as in later dayes, the Kings of *Aden*, *Ormuz* and *Malacca*; and still of *Fartaque*, *Socatra*, *Calicut*, *Cochin*, *Zeilan*, *Achen*, and many others included in the circuit of our *Ophirian* Voyage are; and might there.



therefore iustly be called Kings of *Tharshish*: from all which no doubt either in the course of this *Ophirian* Voyage and Trade, or otherwise sent by speciall Messengers, *Solomon* had presents, as in 1. *Reg.* 10. 24. 25. is exprest.

*Pineda* himselfe citeth out of *Straboes* third Booke of the *Gaditans* (which is *Tartessus*, or with him *Tharshish*) *pleriq; mare incolunt, pauci domi desident*: and in this respect *Tyrus* may by the Prophet be called *filia Tharsis*, daughter of the Sea, as seated in it, ruling on it, and living of it. The *Chaldee* Paraphrase hath the Kings of *Tharsis*, and the Islands of the great Ocean Sea; which may bee understood of the Indian Sea: and not as *Goropius* and *Pineda* would vrge vs, of *Spaine*. *Pineda* citeth *Anastafius Sinaita*; that *Tharsis* is *Hesperia Regionis Occidentalis*; and *Forerius* & *Engubinus* to assist *Goropius*: whose authoritie shall so farrè mooue as their reason is weightie.

As for *Goropius*, his fifth, sixth and seventh Bookes of his *Hispanica* are principally spent on *Tharshish* the Sonne of *Iawan*, which he writes *Tarsees*, as signifying in that which he makes the first of Languages (the Dutch Tongue mother of ours) one that dares aduenture the Seas, or one which tarties in the Seas: therefore also firnamed *Atlas* or *Atlant*, quasi *Hat-lant*, or *Hate-land*. Him he makes with his brother *Elisba* the peoplers of *Spaine*, and saith, that of his skill in *Astronomie* and inuention of the Sphere, he was fabled to beare the Heavens; and to haue named his daughters with names of starres; to haue sailed also to *Ophir*, so called as ouer the widest Sea, as *Peru* of a peere there built; and other like collections hee hath very wittie, learned and pleasant, not solid enough to conuince, nor so contemptible as very easie to be confuted. *Pineda* hath written many sheets of paper to honour his *Spanish* home with *Salomons* Voyages for the Temples structure, wherein his error *amoris* and not *amor erroris* may plead his excuse, according to that of the Poet, *Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos Ducit, & immemores non sinit esse sui*. I cannot but maruell, that two so learned men are so strongly carried by so weake reasons as the likenesse of words in *Tharsis* and *Tartessus*, when Geographers tell vs of, and themselues confesse, *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, *Tarsis* in *Syria*, *Tarsius* in *Pannonia*, and a Riuer of that name in *Troas*, with I know not how many others; and besides, *Tartessus* being a *Phanicean* Colonie might of *Tharshish* or the Ocean receiue the name (whether we intend *Gades* or *Cadix* thereby, or the whole *Beitike* Prouince as seated in, or on the Sea or Coast, and living by Maritime Arts.

But of names of places wee haue before spoken how casuall and accidentall they are. Euen *Tartarus* the name of Hell is neere the former, & *Strabo* ghesseeth that *Homer* called it so of this *Tartessus* in the remotest West; which Hellish kindred of termes, me thinks, should not be very gratefull to *Spanish* eares. Etimologists may easily runne mad if they bee permitted libertie; neither is any argument found from the sound of syllables without other credible Witnesses. Therefore *Pineda* addeth the frequent Circumnavigation of *Africa* in those dayes; of which he citeth one out of *Herodotus*, of the *Phanicians* long after this sent by *Neco*, which makes against him; for *Herodotus* both doubted of it, as a matter seeming to him incredible, that they should saile beyond the Sunnes course, and therefore could not be frequent; for that Navigation would haue made both Tropikes familiar: he also saith in hunc modum *Africa primum est agnita*: if that were the first Voyage, *Salomons* were none, or at least his Title is false, *De frequentis & celebri mari Arabico in Hispaniam navigatione*.

They wintered also by the way, and stayed the growing and ripening of Corne, which argueth no people, at least no Trade in those parts. His next testimony is of *Setaspes*, who hauing deuoured the Daughter of *Egyptus* should therefore haue bene crucified, but by his mothers intreatie *Xerxes* pardoned him vpon condition of this *African* Circumnavigation; which argueth the rarenesse of the attempt, as did the sequell also: for hauing sailed out of the Straits, and coasted some parts of *Africa*, he returned (in despaire) and said he could saile no further, his ship beeing detained that it could not goe forwards. As for *Darius* sending to *Indus*, it is not to this purpose. The fragments of *Spanish* ships in the *Arabike* Gulfe is mentioned by *Plinie*, as a wonder in *Cains* *Cæsars* time; and that of *Hanno* agreeth not with the Historie which is extant of his Voyage, and more credible: and for *Eudoxus* fleeing the tyranny of *Lathyrus*, and comming to *Gades* by that Circumnavigation it was not for Trade, but at a dead lift, to saue his life. Another is said by *Antipater* to haue sailed from *Spaine* to *Ethiopia*, which might be to the neere Blackes before he came to that which now is called *Guinee*.

And these are all which are brought for this frequentis & celebri navigatione, that of *Neco* and of *Eudoxus*, and a *Spanish* wracke, being all that all Ages could yeeld vnto *Plinies* time; and all also long after *Salomon*: and of these that of *Eudoxus* which is the most likely is farre otherwise told by *Strabo*, and at large refuted. As for the long tale of *Semiramis* out of *Snidas*, it was to *India* by the Indian Ocean (if it were at all) and not to *Spaine*. And out of *Silius* his Verse, *Et celebre Oceanus, aliernis estibus Hispal*, to gather the *Beitike* Navigations to *India*, round about *Africa*, or to *Mexico* & *Peru*, argueth the Author to be *Hispalensis*; a *Beitike* wit, rauished with I know not what *beitike* fancies: as that also that *Salomons* raigning from Sea to Sea, must be from the Red Sea to the *Gaditan*, as if from *Ezion-geber* to *Ioppe*, were not from Sea to Sea.

From hence he turneth to the *Phanician* Navigations, which to mention here is more to our pur-

Strab. l. 3.

Circumnavigations of Africa rare

Herod. l. 4.

Plin. l. 2. c. 67.

Strab. l. 2.

Psal. 72.



purpose (they being *Salomons* Mariners to *Ophir*) then to his of *Tartessus*. *Plinie* and *Mela* applaud the *Phœnicians* for inuention of Letters, *Astronomie*, nauall and militarie Sciences. *Cams* posteritie first in the old World, & *Chams* in this, florished in Arts and humane Sciences. *Ioshuabs* conquest caused many of them, as *Procopius* and others affirme, to flee into remoter Regions, specially the Maritime parts of *Africa*. Commerce added *Spaine*, and whatsoever was fitting to that purpose of trade, Nauigation and riches, especially to the *Phœnicians*, both before and after *Carthage*. Their comming in and thorow *Spaine* is acknowledged by *Varro* also (in *Vniuersam Hispaniam peruenisse*) and they were the first discoverers of the Fortunate Islands in *Straboes* opinion, and before *Homers* age held the best places in *Africke* and *Spaine*, till the *Romans* dispossessed them. *Carthage* in *Africa* is knowne a *Phœnician* Colonie to schoole boies, and *Plinie* saith, that all the *Betike* coast was of *Phœnician* originall, or of the *Pani*, which in authors are often confounded with the former, of whom they proceeded, and as *Saint Ierom* obserueth, are called *Pœni quasi Phœni*, still in great part retaining that language; as is also the name *Carthaginian*, of whom *Polybius* testifieth that they possessed all *Spaine*, from the Strait to the *Pyrenean* hills. But he that will view a Map of the *Tyrian* greatnesse and the auncient *Phœnician* Nauigations, Traffiques and Discoveries, let him read the 27. of *Ezekiel*, with some good commentarie; and from the best euidence it shall appeare that all the best parts and Ports in *Asia*, *Africke* and *Europe* were then familiar to this Daughter of *Tharsish*. The *Betike* by *Strabo* are reputed the most learned of the *Spaniards*, vsing Grammer, Poesie, Antiquities, and Lawes as they said 6000. yeeres old, which agreeth with their *Phœnician* originall. To hunt the Legends of *Bacchus*, & *Osiris*, I here purpose not, as hauing little truth, and no mention at all of *Spaine*: nor is that more credible of the *Phœnicians* besieged by *Nabuchodonosor*, and relieued from their *Phœnician* Colonies in *Spaine*, and his reuenge vpon them therefore inuading the *Spaniards*. *Aldrete* a learned *Spaniard* rejects both, howeuer *Megasthenes* other where found fabulous, may make somewhat for them.

Yet I beleuee their commerce and *Phœnician* originall, and great trafficke; their Mines also of Gold and Siluer: but such as yeelded more to the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* then all the New World hath hitherto to the *Spaniard*, or many yeeres after *Goropius* his *biberto*, added by *Pineda*, *Credat Indans apella*. Yea still *Pineda* brings testimonies to proue it no lesse rich in Mines; which makes me not a little maruell at their wisdom to be at such cost to fetch so farre off that which they haue so plentifull at home; and that as the throate which swalloweth all the meate and nothing staies there (it would cause suffocation) so the *Spaniards* before *Columbus* his time were so poore and quiet accordingly; and that at that time there appeared so little monie or credit, that the Queene pawned her Jewels to borrow a small summe of 2000. Duckets, or little more; and that since, *Spaine* hath (except soone after the returne of the *Indian* Fleete) so little coine stirring but bale monies. Shall we thinke them miserable, miser-like, rich-poore, or is it that their Mines seeme wholly recollected in their mindes? they being, if you beleuee *Pineda*, a Nation *opum tam contemtrix quam lucratrix, ingenio acuto (hoc quorundam exterorum ineptissima inuidia suspiciosum & callidum vocat, saith he) ad magnas res nato (hoc sordida aliorum socordia superbiam & inmorem.)* I enuie not their happinesse to them so much chanted by this *Spaniard*, I wish that they were so contented therewith, that they disturbed not the quiet of others; and that as they haue their Nauies of *Tharsish* yeerely bringing Gold and Siluer (as for Apes and Peacocks they neede not goe so farre for them) so they would doe as *Salomon*, liue in peace with their neighbours and build the Temple at home: which had they done, much of this our paper Nauie of *Tharsish* had not beene, neither had their *Gaditane* *Tartessus* become a pray to Her Nauie of *Tharsish*, who in her daies was *filia Tharsish* indeede, not *Venus orta Mari*, but *Cui coniurati venere ad classica ventis*, who defended her owne at home, by home inuading, by hunting her enemies round about the World. Let vs leaue the *Spaniards* magnifying the present riches of their Mines, as that of *Gualcanal*, one of the best in the world by the Kings Treasurer reported in a Letter to our Author, dated 1607. and another of *Francisco Tesada* his Sonne, so farre extolling the *Spanish* (hee names diuers) beyond those of *Potosi*, that whereas a quintall (that is 1600. ounces) of *Potosi* Ore, or earth digged vp, yeeldes but an ounce and halfe of pure Siluer, most of the *Spanish* yeelde ten ounces of a quintall, some more to 15. 30. 60. Markes, each of eight ounces. It is fit in a long tractate, and as it were another Voyage to *Ophir*, to end with Mines: and fitter in *Salomons* *Ophir* to end with honorable mention of our *Salomon*, who without any *Hiram*s helpe, sent her seruants to *Ophir* and *Pern* too, and round about the vnuerse to repaire that Temple, and to defend the Faith, which a greater then *Salomon* had by her in *England* reitored from *Babylonish* captiuitie; which the greatest powers on earth sought in vaine to hinder, she sailing further by her seruants, raiging longer in her owne person, more glorious in her last daies, then *Salomon*, and leauing a peaceable *Salomon* to succede her; yea to exceede, with addition of another Kingdome; (not a *Rehobam*, to loose the greatest part of the former.) Him God defend to defend his faith long amongst vs, with *Salomons* vertue and *Ophirian* magnificence. Amen.



## CHAP. II.

*Mans life a Pilgrimage. The Peregrinations of Christ, and the first Encom-  
passing the habitable or then inhabited World by the holy Apostles  
and first planters of the Gospell.*

## §. I.

*Man by sinne become a Worldly Pilgrime; Christs Pilgrimage in the flesh  
to recouer him: Mans spirituall Pilgrimage in and  
from the World.*



**G**OD which in the beginning had made the World, and endowed Man with the Naturall inheritance thereof, whom also hee made another, a liuing and little World, yea a compendious Image of God & the World together: did in the <sup>a</sup>ful- <sup>a</sup> Gal. 4.  
nesse of time send his owne Sonne (by whom hee had made the World and Man) to be made a Man in the World, that he might make new and recreate the World and Man, now lost & vanishing to perdition. Which saluation first accomplished in the infinit worth and worthinesse of his person and passion, He committed to faithfull witnesses, giuing them charge to go <sup>b</sup>into all the world and preach the Gospell to euery creature, that by those Ministerial conduits (in the cooperation of his Spirit) his amiable and imitable Example might, as the load- <sup>b</sup> Marke 16.15  
starre of Christians be proposed; his sauing vertue as heavenly influence infused; his all-couering and al-curing merits imputed to his beleeuing members by spirituall grace to prepare them to supercelestiall Glory, whither Hee is before ascended as our Priest to make intercession, and as a King in humane flesh to take possession for Vs, by him made Kings and Priests vnto God.

<sup>30</sup> Thus haue we one Author of the World, of Man, of Peregrinations by men in and about the World. The first He made by his omnipotent Word, he commanded and in sixe dayes this huge Fabrike was both made and furnished. The second is vouchsafed greater indulgence, in preparation premised as of consultation, *Let vs make Man*; in the worke doing <sup>c</sup>, as of a Master-peece, <sup>c</sup> Gen. 1.26. &  
he formed, and builded; in the exemplar or prototype *in our owne image, after our likenesse*: in his <sup>2.7.22.</sup>  
bountifull portion, the Sea and earth with all their appurtenances, subiected to his regall possession, the heauens with their reall influence and royall furniture to his wise vn-erring con-  
templation.

<sup>40</sup> Thus at first; but the first became last, by setting the last first, and preferring the Creature to the Creator, and therefore is iustly turned out of Paradise to wander, a Pilgrime ouer the world: But therefore did his Creator (for medicines are of contraries) preferre this Creature to himselfe, by infinitenesse of humilitie to make satisfaction for his vnspeakeable pride; and hee which had before made Man after his image, makes himselfe after mans image, to recouer that which was lost. *Ω φιλαυτομία! O amanda & admiranda dignatio!* propitious, vnspeakeable, superadmirable bounty! The World he made that he might giue it Man. Man he made such as might be capable of the world, and gaue him now a double world, adding to the former greater, this lesser of Mans selfe. And when both these were lost, by wilfull Treason and voluntary actuall rebellion, that he might forgive the Traitor He gaue the Prince, who to Himselfe forgaued not the demerits of his seruant; nor was content to regieue the forfeited world of creatures, but added a world supercelestiall, where fallen regained Man might supply the roomes of fallen forlorne \* Angels: yea Hee restored lost Man to himselfe in a surer and nobler possession: and for the complement of Bounty <sup>50</sup> he gaue to this lost Creature the Creators selfe: *dedit se in meritum, dabit se in premium*. In this vnity giuen God hath obserued a Trinity of giuing. Hee gaue his Sonne vnto vs, doth giue his Spirit into vs, reserueth Himselfe for vs to be our exceeding & great reward, our *crown of glory & diadem of beautie* in that glory where we shall see him as he is, and God shall be all in all vnto vs. Nor was this a six daies worke, but he which made the world and man in sixe daies, vouchsafed to be made Man, indured to conuerse with sinners more then halfe sixtie yeeres; and not with a word commanded this new creation to be made, but the Word was commanded (*& dixit multa & gestis mira & pertulit dura*) God ouer all blessed foreuer was made obedient: to the death, euen the death of the Crosse, and was made <sup>60</sup> a curse for vs, to redeeme vs from the Curse, and to make vs heires of blessednesse.

This was indeede the greatest of all peregrinations, when the word was made flesh and (leaving palaties and Thrones to bee by Gods mercie recovered and repossessed by Men whom they had made sinfull, Christ victorious,  
<sup>d</sup> Ier 15.1. <sup>e</sup> Psal 28.3. <sup>f</sup> 1. Iohn 3. <sup>g</sup> 1. Cor. 15. <sup>h</sup> Ber. de dilig. Deo. <sup>i</sup> Phil. 2. <sup>k</sup> Gal. 3.

\* Folly and  
madnesse of  
enuee euen in  
those wisest  
creatures taken  
by a higher  
Wisdome in  
their owne  
craftinesse!  
who enuying  
man his Para-  
dise lost their  
owne Heauen,  
and God; yea,  
left thole  
Thrones and  
Principali-  
ties of Princ-



in a sort his heauenly Country, and his Fathers house) *dwelt amongst vs.* The next remote peregrination was his ascention from the lower parts of the Earth (where also his life was a certaine vncertaine pilgrimage, *farre m above all beaueus, to leade captiuitie captiue, and giue gifts to Men.* And he gaue some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Euangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers. By whom in the worke of the Ministry is effected a double remote Peregrination; one in vs, when we trauel from our selues, that each man might say to his corrupt corrupting flesh (as that traueller to his quondam Mistresse n, seeking after his returne to renew her dissolute acquaintance, and saying, when she saw him strange as if he knew her not, *Ego sum? Tis I: At ego non sum ego,* answered he, I am not I now) *I trauell in birth till \* Christ be formed in me, and, I liue o not but Christ liues in me,* that I may P deny my selfe and take up my crosse and follow him. The other is when wee put off our earthly tabernacle, and departing from *this house of clay, whose foundation is in the dust,* arriue in the faire bauens of Heauen, in the quire of Angels and triumphant societie of the Heauenly first borne. And thus is Mans whole life a Pilgrimage, either from God as *Cains,* or from himselfe as *Abels,* and all the Saints which confessed themselves Pilgrims on the earth, and to seeke another Country, that is, a heauenly. Vnto this spirituall and celestiall peregrination, was subordinated that bodily, of those first Euangelists vnto all Nations thorow the World to plant the Church and settle it on her foundation, which also in their 9 times was effected according to the Prophecie and precept of our Sauour, whose peregrinations, if wee had all the particulars, were alone sufficient to yeelde a large Volume of Voyages.

Christ indeede vouchsafed, euen in literall sense, to honour peregrinations in his owne person, whose blessed Mother soone after his conception trauelled from *Nazareth in Galilee,* into the hill Countries of *Iudea,* to her Cousin *Elizabeth,* and after her returne is by *Casars* Edict brought back that in an Inne at *Bethlehem,* this Pilgrime might in a Pilgrimage bee borne, the *Gouernour* of his people *Israel,* that is of spirituall Pilgrimes. And there from a remote place by Pilgrimes of the East is he visited; and how soone is his infancy forced to an *Egyptian* peregrination: how restless and manifold were his after-peregrinations in *Galilee, Samaria,* the *Wilderneses* and *Cities* of *Iudea* in the Coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon,* in *Decapolis* by Sea, by Land, *going about all the Cities and Villages, teaching and preaching, and healing euery disease among the people,* till the Heauens receiued him into a certaine rest. But my Pen is vnworthy to follow his foot-prints.

## d. II.

## How Apostles differed from Bishops: their preaching the Gospel to all Nations.

How Bellarmine contradicts himselfe touching the Pope and Bishops succeeding the Apostles. See Torti Torti p. 248. and how improperly Gregory is called, our Apostle 325. a Acts 10. 18. b Acts 10. 18. c Acts 10. 18. d Acts 10. 18. e Acts 10. 18. f Acts 10. 18. g Acts 10. 18. h Acts 10. 18. i Acts 10. 18. k Acts 10. 18. l Acts 10. 18. m Acts 10. 18. n Acts 10. 18. o Acts 10. 18. p Acts 10. 18. q Acts 10. 18. r Acts 10. 18. s Acts 10. 18. t Acts 10. 18. u Acts 10. 18. v Acts 10. 18. w Acts 10. 18. x Acts 10. 18. y Acts 10. 18. z Acts 10. 18.



Is Apostles as they differed from others in immediate vocation, to Euangelicall Ministry, and infallible reuelation of the Euangelicall mysterie; so in the vnbounded limits of their Mission vnto all the world: whereas other ordinary commissions and callings are (though of God, yet) by Men; nor haue priuiledge of vnerring illumination; and must take heede to the seuerall flocks over which the holy Ghost hath a set them overseers: whence also Episcopall Churches are called *Cathedrall,* and sees, from their sitting<sup>b</sup> or teaching (that being the preaching posture of the ancients both *Iewes* and *Christians*) in their speciall places of charge.

Well therefore did Saint *Gregorie* Bishop of *Rome* hold the title Oecumenicall incompetent to a Bishop, and Antichristian: and as ill haue his Successors in that See swelled ouer all Episcopall bankes into Titles, and vniuersalitie Apostolicall.

The Apostles were not all in all places, and sometimes as in consideration of diuine blessing vpon *Pauls* Ministry amongst the *Gentiles,* as of *Peters* amongst the *Iewes,* they did especially employ themselves where they saw their labours most fruitfull, in which respect some settled their longer abode in certayne Cities, and some scarcely departed from *Ierusalem,* while others of them went forth and preached euery where, and the Gospel was in all the World (not virtually, but actually) and was fruitfull, and was preached vnto euery creature vnder Heauen, that is in Saint *Matthewes* phrase, to all Nations, or to all sorts of men. After which Embassage accomplished, the Temple as *CHRIST* had prophesied, and all the Legall Ceremonies, which dyed in the death of our Sauour, receiued a more solemne then honourable Funerall, by the reuenging *Romane;* Diuine Prouidence ordering that *The fall of the Iewes* (should bee the riches of the World, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; and preventing the reuolting of weaklings, which seeing those things to remaine, which the Prophets had built, and God had ordayned, might in a Iudaizing retire, embrace the shadow for the bodie, and preferre the dazeling lustre of carnall shewes to the synceritie of faith and spirituall truth: *Nimirum id Dominus ordinante dispositum ut legis seruus (saith Sulpitius) a libertate fidei atq; Ecclesia tolleretur.*

And



And that this was accordingly in the Apostles daies effected, we haue not onely generall testimonies of the Ancients, but the particular Regions and peoples mentioned and acknowledged elsewhere by that generation, which in the question of Antichrist hence raise a demonstration, (no lesse still serues them, their Geese are all Swans) that he is not yet comen, because the Gospel is not yet preached thorow the World. Neither doe we seeke aduantages of the word *World*, as it is vsed in opposition to the narrow limits of *Iudaea*, where the Church in her nonage was impounded, and as it were swaddled in that cradle of her Infancy (so you euen now read the fall of the *Iewes* the riches of the *World*.) Nor in a *Roman* challenge, wherein *Rome* pretends her selfe *Head of the World*, in the stile of her quondam Emperours (succeeded and exceeded therein by her Moderne Prelate) one of which decreed in the Edict about intimated, That *all the World should bee taxed*; which *World* was no more then the *Roman* Empire, as since also the petty Councells Papall are called *Oecumenicall* (euen that of *Trent*) and the Church of Christ, in a strange *Babylonian* contradiction, *Catholike-Roman*: Nor yet in a figuratiue Hyperbole, as that seemes spoken of the *Iewes* at *Ierusalem* of every Nation under Heauen, which heard the Apostles in their seuerall Languages, uttering the great things of God. But their sound went ouer all the Earth, and their words to the ends of the World, is true of the heauenly Bodies, and these heauenly Messengers; Neither can any of the World bee shewed then inhabited, that is, no Nation of the World, whereof wee haue not plaine History, or apparant probability, that the Gospel had there sounded before that generation of the Apostles passed. Whereof as wee haue alleadged Diuine both prophetic before, and testimonie after the fulfilling: so our Ecclesiasticall Authors are herein plentifull. Thus doth Saint *Chrysostome* interpret that prophetic of our Sauour, *Matthew* 24. to haue beene fulfilled before the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and proues it by the fore-alleadged places, *Romans* 10. 18. *Colossians* 1. 6. and 23. So *Theophilact* after him. So Saint *Hilarie* Cum uniuersis fuerit cognitio Sacramenti celestis inuenta, tum Hierusalem occasus & finis incumbit: Then shall bee the end of *Ierusalem*, when the knowledge of the heauenly Myserie hath beene carried to all men. So *Tetullian*, *Beda*, *Euthimius*, *Lyranius*, *Tostatus*, *Iansenius*, *Barradius*, and others cited by the Reuerend and learned Bishop *Downam*, to whom I referre the Reader. And how else had they executed their commission to all Nations, if this mission had not succeeded? For if by succession of after Popes or Bishops; then ought that gift of tongues to haue continued or beene restored, and that of immediate reuelation, whereby the glory of the Worlds conuersion might be Gods peculiar, and not diminished by the arts (not by the acts and labours alone) of Men. Ad quid enim necessaria lingua gentium nisi ad conuersionem gentium? And *Genebrard* accordingly affirms that whiles the Apostles liued, in thirtie yeeres space at most, the Gospell (which hee calls the Faith of the *Romans*) was diuulged thorow the World, euen all the most remote Nations and barbarous. Hereof he citeth witnesses (besides the former) *Clement Alexand.* *Iustin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and the Prophecie of *Esaie*. c. 66.

1 Bell. de Rom.  
Pont. 1.3. c. 4.  
Lectus de Antich.  
d. 8.

m Rom. 11. 12.

n Luk. 2. 1.  
α' ε' ο' γ' παρ' ε' θ' α' ι'  
π' α' σ' α' ν' τ' λ' ο' σ' ι'  
κ' α' ν' α' λ' ι' σ'.

o Acts 2. 5.  
p Rom. 10. 18.

q Chrys. in Mat.  
hem. 76.

r Theoph. in  
Mat. 24. 21.  
s Hilin Mat.  
Can. 25.

t Terul. de re-  
sur. carnis c. 12.  
vid. Down. de  
Antich. part. 2.  
ad Lectij. dem. 8.  
who also citeth  
Euseb. Hieron.  
Ambros. Theod.  
Ignat. us, &c.  
u Bern. de Pen-  
tec.  
x Geneb. Chron.  
An. 44.

§. III.

The peregrination of Saint PETER.

WE see the persecution which began against Stephen proceeded to the dispersion of the Disciples into the Regions of *Iudaea* and *Samaria*, and *Phenice*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch* (where they first heard the name *Christians*.) Peter also warned by vision, breakes the partition wall, and preacheth to *Cornelius*, and other *Gentiles*, vnto whom soone after *Paul* and *Barnabas* receiue larger commission. Saint Peter also (as Ecclesiasticall writers testifie) besides *Palestina*, *Syria*, and the Regions adioyning to *Iudaea*, preached the Gospell in *Antiochia*, and after in *Rome* (in both which places they constitute and celebrate his Episcopall Chaire) in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, *Bithynia*, to whom is inscribed his former Epistle, that is, to the dispersion of the *Iewes*, in those Regions, he being principally the Apostle of the Circumcision. For the *Iewes* were diuided into three sorts, the *Hebrewes* (which were the inhabitants of *Palestina*) and the *scattered strangers*, which were either *Hellenists*, διασπορά Ἑλληνιστῶν, or διασπορά Βαβυλωνίων, the remainders of the *Babylonish* deportation which still continued in those parts, when others returned, and from thence were occasionally dispersed afterwards. The Metropolis of these was *Babylon*, of the former *Alexandria*. Of this sort were the *Italian*, *Egyptian* and *Grecian Iewes*, which vsed the *Greeke* tongue in their Synagogues, in which also they read the Scriptures translated by the seuentie two Interpreters: yea they were ignorant of the *Hebrew*, as *Scaliger* affirms of *Iosephus* and *Philo*, two of their most learned: they had a Synagogue at *Ierusalem*, (called of the *Alexandrines*) of which were those Disputers against Stephen. Of the *Babylonian* dispersion were the *Iewes* in *Asia*, to whom Saint Peter wrote that Epistle from *Babylon*: And although *Baronius* and our *Rhemists* out of diuers Ancients labour to proue by *Babylon* in that place of Peter, to bee ment *Rome*, that some Scripture might testifie his beeing there

a Acts 8. 1. &  
11. 19.  
b Acts 10. 13.  
c Gal. 2. 6, 7.  
d Acts 6. 1. &  
1. Pet. 1. 1.  
e 10. 7. 35.  
vid. 10. Scal.  
Annot. in Euseb.  
p. 124. & Can.  
Isag. pag. 278.

e Scal. cont. Se-  
rar. trib.  
f Acts 6. 9.  
g Baron. 10m. 1.  
an 45.  
1. Pet. 5. 13. &  
Rhem. Annot. om  
those words  
(the Church at  
Babylon saluteth  
you)



Bellarm. de R. P.  
 Kibera in Ap.  
 &c.  
 i See this  
 largely proued  
 in Conf. Rainold.  
 Ch. 6.  
 k Onuph in Plat.  
 diu. 3. vit. Pet.  
 l Mar. Scot. an.  
 72. Babyloniam  
 verbo predica-  
 tionis illustrare  
 m Euseb. hist.  
 Eccl. 1. 2. ca. 14.  
 n Vtricus Vele-  
 nus his booke  
 is extant with  
 B. Fisher his an-  
 swer, printed at  
 Antwerpe 1522.  
 n Gul. 2. 6.  
 p Niceph. Cal.  
 Eccl. hist. 1. 2. c. 35.  
 q Metaphr. 29.  
 Iun.  
 r Onuph. ad Pla.  
 in vita Petri.  
 s In Choropisco-  
 pos sine coadiu-  
 tores suos insti-  
 tuit. peregrinati-  
 one deinde per  
 totam fere Eu-  
 ropam suscepta.  
 t Hier. de script.  
 Eccles. in verbo,  
 Clemens.  
 u Iren. 1. 3. c. 31.  
 x Euseb. Chron. &  
 hist. 1. 3. c. 19.  
 y Iren. ubi sup.  
 z Rufin. prefat.  
 recognit. Clem.  
 ad Gaudent.  
 a Epiphanius 27.  
 \* So Damasus in  
 Pontif. saith  
 that Peter or-  
 dained Linus &  
 Cletus ut presen-  
 tialiter omne  
 ministerium sa-  
 cerdotale exhi-  
 berent. And Ge-  
 nebrard. An. 81.  
 saith of Linus &  
 Cletus, eos Pe-  
 trus chorepisco-  
 pos sine coadiu-  
 tores ascriuit. &  
 Marianus Scotus  
 An. 59. Linus  
 coepiscopus sub.  
 Petro Apostolo  
 exterior acura-  
 uit. An. 70. Cle-  
 tus coepiscopus  
 successit. after  
 the ptoote  
 hereof, out of  
 Pope Leo, ads  
 Post Petrum,  
 imo cum Petro,  
 primus papa S.  
 Clem. Romanam  
 regit eccles.

there at least (though little could thence be inferred a 25. yeeres Episcopality, and lesse, Aposto-  
 like succession, and least of all an approbation of later nouelties successively hatched in the last and  
 worst ages) yea the current of the Jesuites argue (not say onely) that Rome is the mysticall and Ap-  
 pocalypiticall Babylon, and cry out vpon vs for vnholiest partiality, that there acknowledge it:  
 here in Peter disclaime it, not considering what a hooke they swallow with this baite: yet be-  
 cause that Epistle of Saint Peter is deliuered in litterall and not mysticall forme, like the Apo-  
 calyps, and because that opinion of Peters five and twenty yeeres Bishopricke deliuered by Euse-  
 bius, is manifestly repugnant to the Scriptures; and because that some of the Romanists them-  
 selues differ from the receiued opinion as incredible, as <sup>1</sup> Onuphrius and Genebrard, and Maria-  
 nus Scotus also alleadgeth out of Methodius that Peter preached at Babylon, to which hee also ad-  
 deth Corinth and almost all Italie, and because the Ancients receiued that conceit of Papias, a  
 man of no great iudgement, as appeared by the Millenary fancie deriued from his tradition:  
 though I will not meddle with that controuersie, whether Peter were euer at Rome, or no, the  
 negatine whereof in whole bookes Velenus and Bernard haue written, yet I cannot beleue but  
 that he wrote that of and in the Chaldaea Babylon. The rather because that was the Metropolis  
 of the Asian dispersion (as is said) & that it wel agrees with the prime Apostle to execute his Apo-  
 stolicall mission to remote and many Nations, especially to the Circumcision (whose peculiar A-  
 postle he was) in all Countries where they were scattered, as appears by his care of the Helle-  
 nists and Alexandria their Mother Citie, where he placed, as Authors affirme, Saint Marke the  
 first Bishop; and because Ecclesiasticall writers affirme that he preached *ubique fere terrarum*, al-  
 most all the world ouer (so p Nicephorus) *breuiter in totius Asia & Europa oris, omnibusque adeo qui*  
*in dispersione erant Indis & Gracis &c.* q Metaphrastes affirmeth that after the Church of Rome  
 and many others set in order, Saint Peter went to Carthage in Africa, & Onuphrius acknowledg-  
 ing his Roman See, yet will haue him a Non resident (if not an Apostle rather) not to abide there,  
 but findes him in that five and twenty yeeres space at Ierusalem, after that at Antioch, seven yeers  
 together, whence he came to Rome and reformed that Church, constituted Linus and Cletus his  
 Suffragans or Coadiutors; and traouelling thence thorow the most part of Europe, at his returne  
 to Rome, was there crucified.

Thus in a larger sence of the word Bishop, might Peter bee stiled Bishop of Rome, as hauing care  
 to ouersee that as a principall Church, not neglecting meane while his Apostleship, to which  
 properly belonged the care of all Churches. And hence is that different reckoning of the Roman  
 Bishops, Hierom reckoning Peter the first, Linus second, Cletus the third, Clemens the fourth. But  
 Irenaeus nameth Linus the first Bishop, Cletus the second, &c. The like difference is in the See  
 of Antioche twixt Hierom and Eusebius, the one beginning with Euodius, the other with  
 Peter, which sheweth their opinion that Peter preached in both places as an Apostle, not as Bi-  
 shop in proper sence. So Irenaeus, the two Apostles (Peter and Paul) hauing founded the Ro-  
 man Church, committed the Bishoply charge thereof to Linus: and Rufinus, that Linus and  
 Cletus were Bishops while Peter liued, that they might haue the care of the Bishoply charges (E-  
 piscopatus curam) and he might doe *Apostolatus Officium*, the dutie of the Apostleship: & Epiphanius, in Roma fuerunt primi Petrus & Paulus Apostoli idem ac Episcopi, deinde Linus, &c. Peter  
 and Paul were both Apostles and Bishops in Rome; and after other wordes of doubt touching  
 Clemens his being Bishop in the times of Linus and Cletus, all of them liuing in the same times  
 while Peter and Paul were Bishops, saith, *propterea quod Apostoli saepe ad alias terras ablegabantur*  
*propter Christi predicationem, non potuit autem urbs Roma esse sine Episcopo*, That the Apostles went  
 often into other Countries to preach Christ, in which meane while Rome could not bee without  
 a Bishop. For the Apostolicall function enioyned an vniuersall; the Episcopall, a particular charge.  
 And as the greater Office includes the lesse, as the Office of the Lord Chancellour, or Lord Cheefe  
 Iustice, or any Councillor of State, containeth the authority of a Iustice of peace in each shire,  
 with larger extension and intension of power, and a diocesan Bishop the Ministeriall function  
 in any pastorall charge in his Diocese, which the Parson or Curate must yeelde to him being pre-  
 sent, and pleased to supply and execute: so, and more then so, the Apostolicall comprehends the  
 Episcopall commission, as lesse: and the Apostles were in this respect Bishops wheresoeuer  
 they came, not by ordinary constitution, but by a higher and extraordinary function: to  
 whom other Bishops are successors not in the Apostleship strictly taken, but as Bishop to Apo-  
 stles, as Iustices of peace in their limits to the higher Commissions either ordinary as of Itine-  
 rant Iustices, or extraordinarie by speciall commission on speciall occasions constituted, in part, not  
 in all their authoritie.

We shall launch into a Whirle-pool if we proceede to declare Peters Successors (as some call  
 the Bishops of Rome) the Fathers themselues disagreeing in their Catalogues. So farre off were  
 they from making Papall succession an essentiall either Note of the Church, or ground and rule of  
 Faith. But for their preaching the Gospell thorow the World, all Bishops are all Apostles suc-  
 cessours, these in their limited, those in an vniuersall Commission; which either they performed,  
 or not: if they did not, it was disobedience, as in Sauls expedition against Amalek: if they  
 could not, it was impotence, and the command of preaching to all Nations, impleadeth defect



in the Commander, who is the *wisdom of God, and the power of God*. His wisdom appeared also together with his power in giuing them *tongues*, and not onely healthfull constitution of body, but miraculous transportation and power, Natures defects not hindring the effects of Grace, as appeareth in the story of *Philip* and the *Eunuch*, *Acts* 8. of *Pauls* suruiuing a stoning, *Iohn* the scalding in *Oyle*, and others other difficulties, mentioned in part, both in *Diuine* and *Ecclesiasticall* History, Neither haue Miracles and tongues necessary to such a conuersion, euer since happened, nor haue we promise that they euer shall. Nor was it euer meeter that the New King should be proclaimed, then when hauing led *captiuitie captiue*, he ascended on high, and tooke possession of his supercælestiall throne: the Apostles herein doing that, for the heavenly *Salomon* with spirituall magnificence, which *Nathan*, *Zadock*, and others had done for the typicall *Salomon*, by *Dauids* appointment. The vniuersall Ceremonies being the same in the whole Church, and such as no generall Councell could determine, argue the vnitie of the spirit in the Apostolicall preaching, Thus as we haue partly shewed in all, and particularly shewed in *Peter* for his part, we will declare of the rest.

## §. IIII.

Of Saint ANDREW, IOHN, the two IACOBI, PHILIP  
and SIMON ZELOTES.

**A**ndrew the brother of Saint *Peter*, as *Dorotheus* and *Sophronius* <sup>b</sup> testifie preached to the *Scythians*, *Sogdians*, and *Saca*, and to the inner or Sauage *Ethiopians*; was buried at *Patra* in *Achaia*, being crucified by *Ageas* Gouverneur of the *Edesens*. *Nicéphorus* <sup>c</sup> writeth that he trauelled into *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*, and thence to the Countrey of the *Anthropophagi*, or Man-eaters, and to the Wilderneses of the *Scythians*, to both the *Euxine* Seas, and to the Southerne and Northerne Coasts, as also to *Byzantium* now called *Constantinople*, where hee ordained *Stachys* Bishop: after which, hee went thorow *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Thessalia*, and *Achaia*. That hee was sent to the *Scythians*, *Baronius* prooueth out of *Origen*, <sup>d</sup> and *Eusebius*; and out of *Nazianzene* <sup>e</sup> his descent into *Gracia* and *Epirus*.

**S**aint *Iohn* his banishment into *Patmos*, and Epistles to the seuen Churches of *Asia* (which *Tertullian* <sup>f</sup> calls *Ioannis alumnas Ecclesias*) are extant in his owne Writings. *Irenæus* <sup>g</sup> and many other mention his labours at *Ephesus*, *Prochorus* <sup>h</sup> (his supposed Disciple) hath written a Historie of his *Asian* Peregrination, his actions at *Ephesus*, his passions at *Rome*, whither hee was sent, and in other places; but his authoritie is no better then of a Counterfeit, as *Baronius* <sup>i</sup> hath also branded him. Of this nature we find many counterfeit Gospels and Iournals, or Histories of the Apostles acts, censured by the Ancients, the Deuill then labouring to sow his tares in the Apostolicall Historie, which in after Ages, Antiquitie might countenance with venerable authoritie. *Metaphrastes* <sup>k</sup> relateth his acts in *Phrygia* and *Hierapolis*: That he preached in other Regions of the East, *Baronius* <sup>l</sup> affirmeth, especially to the *Parthians*, to whome his first Epistle was inscribed in ancient Copies: that hee conuerted the *Bassora*, is still holden by Tradition amongst them.

**I**ames the brother of *Iohn* was put to death by *Herod* to please the *Jewes*, <sup>m</sup> a wicked Generation not pleasing God, and contrary to all men. It is reported of some, that before his death he trauelled as farre as *Spaine*, and there preached the Gospel, at least to the dispersed *Jewes*. *Baronius* in his Martyrologe <sup>n</sup> produceth a Booke of suspected faith attributed to *Isidore*, testifying his preaching to the Nations of *Spaine*, and of the Westerne Regions; and the *Breniarius* of *Toledo*, in which are these Verses, *Regens Ioannes dextra solus Asiam, Et laua frater positus Hispaniam, &c.* the testimonies also of *Beda*, *Turpinus* and others. All the Churches in *Spaine*, hee saith, <sup>o</sup> hold the same opinion. Yet is he vncertaine, and so leaues his Reader, because of that vntimely timeliness of his death. It is not likely that the Apostleship and office of preaching to all Nations, and the name of the *Sonne of Thunder* was giuen to him by Him, which as easily infuseth the vertue as imposeth the name, and foreknew the times and seasons of his life and death, but that the sequell was answerable.

His hastie death argues his forward courage, as of him which stood in the forefront of the battle. That hee preached to the dispersed Tribes <sup>p</sup> hath many authors: that his bodie was brought from *Ierusalem* to *Spaine*, the *Romane Martyrologe*, and the Popes *Callistus* and *Innocentius* are cited by *Baronius*.

**T**he other *Iames* called *Alphai*, and *Oblis*, and *Iustus*, and the brother of our Lord (either because he was the sonne of *Ioseph* by a former wife, according to *Eusebius*, <sup>q</sup> or because his

a Dorat. Synopf.  
b Ap. Hieron.  
c Catol. scrip. Eccles.  
c Nic. hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 39.

d Orig. in Ge. l. 3  
Euseb. hist. l. 3. c. 3  
e Greg. Naz.  
Orat. in Arian.  
f Tert. 4. cont.  
Marc.  
g Iren. l. 3. c. 3.  
h Prochor. in  
hist. S. Ioan. in  
Biblioth. pat. l. 2. c. 1.  
i Baron. to. 1.  
An. 44.  
k Metaph. in 5.  
Septem.  
l Relat. ex Ep.  
Iesuit. an. 1555.

m Act. 12.

n Bar. Mart.  
Iul. 25.

o Annal. to. 1.  
an. 44.

p Duodecim  
tribus in di-  
spersis consti-  
tutis. catalog.  
Hieron. Dorab.  
Synopsis. Mer-  
manni thea-  
trum. &c.

q Euseb. hist. l. 2.  
c. 1. Vid. Epipha-  
nar. 78. Abd. l. 6.



x Hier de script.  
Ecclef.  
f Iof. Antiq. l.  
20. c. 8.  
t Talmud. Bab.  
de Idol. c. 2. Hier.  
rosol. Sciabboth.  
c. 14.  
\* So Hierom.  
but Euseb. l. 2. c.  
22. hab. una  
cum ceteris A.  
postolis.  
u Euseb. bi. l. 5.  
c. 17.  
x Plin. l. 5. c. 14.  
longe clariss. ur-  
bium Orientis  
non ludæ modo.  
y Mat. 4. & 5.  
z Ps. 76.  
a Es. 2. 3.  
b Cl. Euseb. in  
1. Tim. 4.  
c Ec. 1. 7.

d Gal. 1. 19.  
e Act. 15.  
f The other  
general Coun-  
cels were ra-  
ther of the Ro-  
man, then the  
vniuersall  
World; assem-  
bled by Roman  
Emperors  
only.  
f Ep. l. 7. c. 8.  
g As the Pre-  
sident of Yorke  
for the whole  
Prouinces; the  
Vice-roy of  
Goa for all the  
Indies, &c.  
h Bar. p. 325. to. 1

i Rom. Mart.  
Mai. 1.  
k Baron. Mart.  
l Niceph. l. 2. c.  
40. & li. 8. c. 30.

Mother was sister to the Blessed Virgin, as Saint *Ierome* rather thinketh) was a man famous for Sanctitie and Denotion amongst the *Jewes* by the testimonie of *Iosephus*, which imputeth to his cruell and vniust murder, the terrible desolation which soone after befell that Nation. And the *Talmud* both of *Ierusalem* and *Babylon*, mention him as a worker of Miracles in the Name of *Iesus*.

*Hegeippus* a man neere the Apostles times, saith of him, *Suscepit Ecclesiam Hierosolyma post Apostolos frater Domini Iacobus cognomento Iustus &c.* Of which wordes this seemes the sense, That whereas the Apostles by common consent in a iust Aristocratie had gouerned the Church of Christ, residing at *Ierusalem*, vntill the time of their dispersion, to diuers parts of the World, (which as *Eusebius* citeth out of *Apollonius*, was the twelfth yeere after Christs Passion) they then betaking them to their severall Prouinces; iointly agreed to leaue *Iames* the Iust at *Ierusalem* for the regiment of the Church both there, and as from other places of the World occasions were offered thorow the Vniuerse. For as *Ierusalem* was faire, the famousst of the Cities of the East, not of *Iudea* alone, in other respects, as *Plinie* hath honoured it; so in Religion, it was by better testimonie called the *Holy Citie*, and the Citie of the great King, whose Tabernacle was in *Salem* and his dwelling in *Sion*; not in the time of the Law, but of the Gospel also; the Law of the Lord went out of *Sion*, as *Esay* had prophesied, and the word of the Lord from *Ierusalem*. This was the Staple of Christian Merchandize, Emporium *b fidei Christiana* (saith *Especeus*) the Mart and Mother of the Christian Faith, which therefore alway needed some graue Father to be the principall Factor in her Holy affaires: *Hierusalem* was before her destruction, the Center of Christianitie, whence all the lines of Apostolicall Missions were diffused and thither againe reduced; the Ocean, whence all the Ecclesiasticke streames of the Euangelicall waters of life issued, and whither they againe returned; Once, it was the Senate-house of Christian Counsels and Counsailes for all Prouinces of Christianitie, the confluence of others, but specially of the *Jewish* dispersions, which from all Countries comming to the Legal Feasts, might there freight themselues home with Festiuall wares of Euangelicall commodities. Necessarie it was therefore that some Apostolicall Senator and principall Apostle should there reside, with whom in all difficulties to consult, not so much as Bishop (in proper sense) of that Citie, as of the *Jewes*, yea and as opportunitie serued, of other Nations thorow the whole World. This was that *Iames* which wrote the Epistle bearing his name, whom *Paul* mentioneth to the *Galatians*, and the *Acts* often, especially in the fifteenth Chapter, where you see him President of the first Councell (if not the only in strictest sense termed Generall) of the Apostles, after their Prouinciall dispersions assembled at *Ierusalem*. For in his sentence the Councell concludes; and if the Apostles (as the Fathers concur) had committed to him being an Apostle, the gouernment of *Ierusalem*, to whom might the Presidenship of Councils in that place appertaine, rather then to this Apostolicall Bishop and Bishoply Apostle, to whom the Lord first committed his throne on earth, as *Epiphanius* testifieth. As a Deputie or President residess in one Citie, though his gouernment be not there confined, but extends to the whole Kingdome or Region, so was it with this Apostles Bishoprike at *Ierusalem*, from that high Pinacle to ouersee and prouide for the affairs of the Catholike and Vniuersall Church. From that high pinacle (in another sense also) was he cast downe, stoned, and at last with a Fullers Club brained by the *Jewes*, which were soone in a terrible desolation called to accounts for this and other Apostolicall and Prophetical bloud, yea of the high Prophet and Apostle of our saluation, which yet the *Jewes* attributed to this Martyrdom of *Iames*, as lately and neerely preceding. His Successour was *Simeon* his brother, in that See of *Ierusalem*, not *Simon* called the *Cananite*, one of the twelue, as *Baronius* hath also obserued.

Saint *Philip* is recorded to haue preached in *Asia superior*, and (as the *Romane Martyrolog* saith) almost all *Scythia*. *Baronius* supposeth the testimonie of *Isidore*, and the *Toletan Breuiarie*, that *Philip* conuerted the *Galls*, is fally written for *Galatians*, which yet, if *Nicephorus* Relations be true, needs no such correction.

*Simon* was called *Cananite*, as *Nicephorus* saith, for his birth at *Cana*, whose marriage was there celebrated when Christ turned water into Wine, and for the feruour of his Zeale, hee was surnamed *Zelotes*. His preaching peregrinations he relateth thorow *Egypt*, *Cyrene*, *Africa*, *Mauritania*, and all *Libya* euen to the *Westerne Ocean*, yea, to our *Britaine* Ilands. Hee preached last in *Phrygia*, and at *Hierapolis* was crucified.



§. V.

Of Saint THOMAS, BARTHOLOMEW, MATTHEW, IVDE,  
MATTHIAS: and of counterfeit Writings in the  
Apostles names.

**S**aint Thomas called Didymus, preached to the Parthians, as <sup>m</sup> Origen, and after him <sup>n</sup> Eusebius have written: Gregorie Nazianzene <sup>o</sup> addeth the Indians: Chrysostome <sup>p</sup> saith, he whited the blacke Ethiopians. Theodoret <sup>q</sup> reciteth the Parthians, Persians, Medes, Brachmans, Indians and the adioyning Nations: Nicephorus <sup>r</sup> hath the same, and addes the Iland Taprobana, which is now called (in the opinion of the most) Samottra: in Hieroms Catalogue is added out of Sophronius, the Germanes (of India) Hircans and Bactrians, and his death at Calamina. On the Coast of Choromandel, where the River Ganges is swallowed of the Sea called the Gulfe of Bengala, are diuers Christians from old times called S. Thomas Christians. Some of the Iesuits haue added China also to the labors of S. Thomas. Of these Christians, both in Narsinga, and Cranganoron that Sea where Indus falleth, and in diuers parts of the Indies you may read in <sup>s</sup> Osorius <sup>t</sup> Maffaus and others. His Feast day is celebrated at Malipur, (so they now call the Citie where he lyes buried) not by the Christians alone, but the Ethnikes also of those parts. The Eunuch of Candace <sup>u</sup> conuerted by Saint Philip, is amongst the Ethiopians in Prester Iohns Countreies honoured for Plantation of the Gospel in those parts of Africa; but by Dorotheus <sup>x</sup> said to haue preached in all the Erytbrean Coast, and the Iland Taprobana, before ascribed to Saint Thomas, and in Arabia Felix.

**S**aint Bartholomew (saith Chrysostome <sup>y</sup>) passed into Armenia Maior, and instructed the Lycaones; Sophronius <sup>z</sup> addes the Albanians, and the Indians termed Fortunates; Origen saith the hither India; <sup>a</sup> Socrates, India next to Ethiopia. Eusebius <sup>b</sup> testifieth, that Pantanus a Stoike Philosopher and Rector of the Schoole or Vniuersitie at Alexandria, was ordained Preacher of the Gospel to the Easterne Nations, and pierced to the Regions of the Indians. For there were at that time many <sup>c</sup> zealous imitators of the Apostles: of whom was this Pantanus, which preached to the Indians, amongst whom he is reported to haue found the Gospel of S. Matthew, in the hands of some Christians, which <sup>d</sup> had receiued the faith by S. Bartholomew, and left them the said Gospel in Hebrew, reserued till that time. Nicephorus <sup>e</sup> adioyneth S. Bartholomew, to S. Philip in his Plantations of the Gospel in Syria and Asia Superior, and after at Hierapolis, where he was crucified with Philip, but deliuered, and yet againe at Vrbano polis in Cilicia, died that ignominious death and glorious Martyrdome. This <sup>f</sup> Hebrew Gospel of Saint Matthew, Saint Hierome, both saw and copied out. It was reserued in the Library of Casarea.

**S**aint Matthew travelled into Ethiopia, that namely which adhereth to India, as Socrates <sup>g</sup> writeth. Nicephorus <sup>h</sup> addeth the Anthropophagi, and tels I know not what Legends, reiected also by Baronius. For such was the indulgent prouidence of God, not to burthen the faith of the Church with voluminous Histories of Apostolicall Acts thorow the whole World, which scarcely (as Saint Iohn hath of our Lord) the <sup>i</sup> whole world could haue contained. Vnto the faith of all, not to the curiositie of some, was written enough by those holy Penmen, the Secretaries of the Holy Ghost in holy Scripture. But the Deuill impiously prouident, hence tooke occasion to burthen the Church with so many vnworthy Legends, both presently after their times forged in their names, and since by Vpstarts deuised and obtruded on the Credulous world, as Lines, (lies) of the Saints, Histories, yea, Misfe-stories, Hisse-stories, by the old Serpent hissed and buzzed amongst superstitious men (missing worthily the right, and deceiued with lyes, because they had not receiued the lone of the truth; to make way to the succeeding mysterie of Iniquitie; out of which Babylonian Mint, wee haue lately that babbling and fabling Abdus, by Lazius his Midwifery borne after so many Ages, an Abortiue indeed, or Changeling, as the wiser <sup>k</sup> of themselves confesse. Hee can tell you instead of Saint Matthews life, many Ethiopian Fables, and intertayne you in a (Fooles) Paradise situate aboue the highest Mountains, with such delicacies, as shew that Adams children are still in loue with the forbidden fruit, and will lose, or at least aduenture the true Paradise to find a false. Inopes nos copia fecit. Their abundant labours and trauels which Came, Saw, Overcame, each so large portions of the World, left them no leisure to write Annales (whence some haue found leisure to write Aniles, olde wiuers Tales) and makes the conuersion of the World an obiect of our faith, rather in beleenuing the prediction and testimony thereof in the Scripture, then of humane credit, where the Apostles and Martyrs of their golden Actions and Passions, haue found such Leaden <sup>k</sup> Legends and wooden workmen, Makers or Poets, rather then Historians: which here once spoken may bee applied to the rest, of whole great workes so little is recorded.

Saint Augustine <sup>l</sup> complains of such Apocrypha Scriptures amongst the Manichoes, a nescio quibus

<sup>m</sup> Ori. en. in Gen. l. 3. c. 6.  
<sup>n</sup> Euseb. l. 3. c. 1.  
<sup>o</sup> Naz. hom. ad Arian.  
<sup>p</sup> Chrys. hom. de 12. Ap.  
<sup>q</sup> Theod. ad Gent. l. 9.  
<sup>r</sup> Nic. l. 2. c. 40.  
<sup>s</sup> Osor. de reb. Em. l. 3.  
<sup>t</sup> Maff. hist. Ind.  
<sup>u</sup> Act. 8.  
<sup>x</sup> Dor. Synops. sine.

<sup>y</sup> Chrys. hom. de 12. Apost. ex Bar.  
<sup>z</sup> Soph. ap. Hieron. de script. Ec.  
<sup>a</sup> Soc. l. 1. c. 15.  
<sup>b</sup> Euseb. l. 5. c. 10.  
<sup>c</sup> In the time of Aurelius and Commodus.  
<sup>d</sup> Nic. l. 2. c. 39.  
<sup>e</sup> Hier. ubi sup.

<sup>f</sup> Socra. ubi sup.  
<sup>g</sup> Nic. l. 2. c. 41.  
<sup>h</sup> Iohn 21.

Counterfeits  
fathered on  
Apostles, &c.

<sup>i</sup> Baron. c. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Vines and Canus com-  
plaine no 1. sc  
hereof, yea  
D. Hardung &c.  
1 Aug. cont. au.  
& cont. auer.  
leg. l. 1. c. 79.



quibus futoribus fabularum sub Apostolorum nomine Scriptas : and refuseth the like testimonies of  
 m Hier. de scrip. Iohn and Andrew produced by the Marcionites. S. Hierom<sup>m</sup> nameth five *Apocrypha* Bookes fals-  
 ly attributed to Peter; his *Acts*, his *Gospel*, his *Pradication*, his *Apocalypse*, his *Iudgement*. Some  
 n Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. also mention<sup>a</sup> *Itinerarium Petri*, which perhaps is the same with *Clements Recognitions*, ano-  
 o Epiph. her. 26. Vid. de his Ba- ron. an. 44. to 1. ther counterfeit. In *Pauls* name was published a *Gospel*, *Apocalypse*, his *Revelations*, his *Ascent to*  
 p Gel. in decret. de lib. Apoc. *Heaven* (which the *Gnostiks* vsed, as saith *Epiphanius*<sup>o</sup>) his *Acts*, & third *Epistles* to the *Corinthians*,  
 and to the *Thessalonians*, and one to the *Laodiceans*. Iohn is made a Father of other *Revelations*, and  
 of the *Virgins Departure*. Saint *Andrewes Gospel*, Saint *Thomas* his *Gospel* and *Apocalypse*. Saint  
*Bartholomews Gospel*, Saint *Matthews* Booke of *Christs Infancy*, receiued by the *Valentinians*, are  
 condemned by *¶ Gelasius*. Neither did *Matthias*, *Philip*, and *Thaddæus* want their *Gospels*, here- 10  
 ticall birchs iniuriouly laid at their doores : nor *Barnabas* also, nor *Marke*, no nor *Indas* the Trai-  
 tor, which the *Caians* acknowledged, as *Theodoret* and *Epiphanius* haue written, lettice futable to  
 such polluted lips. Wee might adde the *Acts* (so inscribed) of *Andrew*, of *Thomas*, of *Philip*, of  
*Paul* and *Thecla Iohns Circuit*. Yea the Colledge Apostolicall was made to father like Bastards,  
 as the *Doctrines of the Apostles*, the *Lots of the Apostles*, the *Praise of the Apostles*, besides other *Acts*  
 of the *Apostles*, and the manglings of the truly Apostolicall Pages by Addition, or Substraction.  
 What shall I say? Our Blessed Lord escaped not hereticall Impostures in his Name, as the Booke  
*De magia ad Petrum & Paulum*. And I thinke him rather prodigall then liberall, or iust of his  
 q Euseb. l. 1. c. 13. faith which subscribes to that story q of *Abagarus*. But it were endlesse no lesse then needlesse, to  
 intangle our selues in this diabolicall Maze and hereticall labyrinth of sacred forgeries, in that and 20  
 after Ages, the *Ennions mans superfeminations* to bewitch unstable soules, not contented with Gods  
*dimensum* and prouident allowance. If therefore of Saint *Matthewes Ethiopian* peregrinations, if  
 of Saint *Matthias* in *Ethiopia* also (for a great part of *Asia*, and the greatest of *Africa* were  
 stiled by that name) if of *Indas Thaddæus* his preaching in *Mesopotamia*, *Arabia*, *Idumæa*, and the  
 Regions adiacent, we haue so little recorded, it is no great maruell. It may be sufficient to vnder-  
 standing Readers, that wee haue out of the best Authors extant, named the most Countries of  
 the then knowne world. And if euery Region and People bee not mentioned, impute it to the  
 want of History of their seuerall *Acts*, who sought rather to write *Christs Passions* in the hearts,  
 then their owne *Actions* in the bookes, of Men; to produce deeds not wordes, and monuments of  
 Diuine, not their owne glory. Few places can be named in *Asia* or *Africa*, which wee haue not 30  
 mentioned in their prerigration and preaching : and faire probabilitie is for those not mentio-  
 ned by consequence of reason, which at least can proue nothing to the contrary ; and more then  
 probability is the Diuine testimony before obserued.

## ¶ VI.

### Of Saint P A V L : of Apostolicall Assistants : some doubts discussed.

a Gal. 1.

b Mermannii  
Theat. Conuers.  
gent.

c Bed. & Aug.  
Script. Niceph.  
l. 2. c. 20.

d Vid de his  
Dorothei Synopf.  
Merman. Baron.  
&c.



For Saint *Paul*, the Doctor of the *Gentiles*, he flew like a swift Fowle ouer the World: 40  
 wee haue his owne testimony of his Preaching in *Arabia*, his returne to *Damascus*,  
 and iourney after a three yeers to *Ierusalem*, thence to the Regions of *Syria* and *Cili-*  
*cia*; yea that hee (not sprinkled, but) filled *Ierusalem* to *Illyricum* with the *Gospel*; of  
 his preaching in *Italy* and *Rome*, of his purpose for *Spaine*, which some<sup>b</sup> say hee fulfilled after-  
 wards, adding thereto *Portugall* *France*, *Britaine*, the *Orchades*, the *Ilands* and Regions adioyning  
 to the Sea, and his returne by *Germany* into *Italy*,<sup>c</sup> where hee suffered Martyrdome, being by  
*Nero* beheaded. I force no mans credit, as neither to that of *Ioseph* of *Arimathea* his preaching  
 to the *Britons*, nor Saint *Denis* his Conuersion of the *Galles*, at least in all things written of them.  
 But for the *Acts* of *Paul*, as the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, the Scripture is more ample then of any  
 the rest, the greater parts of Saint *Lukes* History, being of *Pauls Acts*. 50

What should wee adde the labours of *Euangelists*, Assistants, and Co-workemen with the A-  
 postles in those first Plantations, sent by them in seuerall missions to diuers places? Such were *Bar-*  
*nabas*,<sup>d</sup> *Silas*, *Philip* the Deacon, *Siluanus*, *Timothee*, *Titus*, and others : some of which were after  
 Bishops (as is anciently beleueed) of particular Churches. *Epenetus* Saint *Pauls* disciple is said to  
 haue beene Bishop of *Carthage*, *Andronicus* another of them in *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*,  
*Amphyas* at *Odyssa*, *Urbanus* in *Macedonia*, *Iason* at *Tarsus*, *Trophimus* at *Arles*, *Crescens* at *Vienna*,  
*Aristobulus* in *Britaine*, *Asyncritus* in *Hyrcania*, *Hermes* in *Dalmatia*, and others in other places, a  
 Catalogue of whom in *Mermannius* his Theatre you may see at leasure. Saint *Marke* disciple of  
 Saint *Peter* hauing preached to *Libya*, *Marmarica*, *Ammonica*, *Pentapolis*, and *Egypt* ordained  
 Bishops in the new planted Churches. *Eutropius* another of Saint *Peters* disciples, is said to haue 60  
 preached in *France*: *Mansuetus* another of them, to some parts of *Germany*, as *Symon* of *Cyrene*,  
 to other parts. But it were too tedious, to bring hither all that Authors haue written of the se-  
 uenty disciples, and other Apostolicall Assistants, who spent and were spent, consumed and con-  
 summated their course in and for the *Gospel*.

But



HONDIUS his Map of Saint PAULS Peregrination.



- 40 But here some may say, that wee haue not named all Countries of the World, and of those named there is in Authors much varietie of report, in iudicious Readers much scruple to credit. I answer, that it were a farre harder taske to proue that any Countrey, not here mentioned, was neglected in this Ministry. Neither did the Geography of those times extend their suruey much further, then that wee haue here in their Iournalls expressed: although it much extended it selfe beyond the truth. Besides, who can wonder that the Apostles found not Pen-men, to record their Euangelicall conquests thorow the World, seeking to establish a Kingdome Spirituall and Internall, contemning the worlds glory, and of vaine-glorious worldlings contemned, when the great Conquerours, which sought to subdue the World by force, and plant Empires by Armes, haue left so obscure notice of their exploits, though dedicated to humane applaue and admiration? Of the Egyptian Conqueror Sesostris, Lucan sings, *Venit ad occasum mundi, extrema Sesostris,*
- 50 *Et Pharios curus regum seruibus egit!* Of Nabuchodonosor the Scripture witnesseth, that his greatnesse *reached to Heauen, and his Dominion to the end of the Earth*; Yet haue they neither Iournalls nor Annalls of their great Acts left to posterity, not so much as the names of their subdued Prouinces, not so much as wee haue here produced of the Apostles. Nay, what is left to memory of the long-lived Assyrian Monarchy, but shadows, glimpses, tables? Who hath left in Register the names of the one hundred twenty seven Prouinces, subiect to the Persian Monarchy from India to Ethiopia? Nay, how little and how vncertaine is remaining of the Greeke Alexander his Expedition, although then vnderaken, when Greece had arrived at the height of humane learning, and by him that was himselfe a famous Scholler of the most famous of Philosophers?
- 60 Did not hee deplore his owne unhappinesse in this kind, treading on the Tombe of Achilles? And had not Curtius and Arrianus long long after his death, written of him (I question not the certainty) how little should wee haue of Great Alexander? Great in his Acts and Arts, greater in his Attempts, greatest in the vnbounded Ambition of Greatest Rencume to latest posterity; yet how much more is left of the Acts of Humble Apostles, then of Ambitious Alexander?

c Dan 4.22

f Ester 8.9.

g Cic. pro Arch. Poet.



der? And now his Conquests are obliterated and forgotten, how are theirs written, not in Bookes and Lines, but in the minds and liues of Men, so great a part of the World still remaining the Volume of their Expeditions in their Christian profession?

And how much more did so, till the vnbeleefe and vnthankfulnesse of wicked men, prouoked Diuine Iustice to remoue his golden Candlestick from so many Nations thorow the World, which for contempt of *Christian* Truth, were againe abandoned to Ethnicke superstitions? Thus had God dealt with the *Iewes* before; thus after with the *Christians* in *Africa* almost generally in a great part of *Europe*, and in a great great part of *Asia* by *Mahumetan* madnesse, in which what that *Arabian* Canker-worme had left, the *Tartarian* Caterpillar did almost vtterly deuoure. Thus in *Marco Polo*, in *Rubruquius*, in *Odoricus* and *Mandauile*, yee may read of *Christian* Nations dispersed quite thorow *Asia* 1200. yeeres and more after Christ, ouerwhelmed with that *Tartarian* deluge, where the Name of *Christians* in the remotest parts is extinct, till Nauigation in the last Age reuiued it. And had not Nauigation and Peregrination opened a window, no Geographer had let vs know the names of Nations, which *Christians* of the West found, professing the same Christ in the vnknowne Regions of the East, at once seene to bee, and to be *Christian*. Yea, how little of the remote North and East of *Europe* and *Asia*, or of the South of *Africa*, was knowne to *Plinie*, *Ptolomey*, and other ancient Geographers, where their *Christian* light hath shined to vs with the first notice of themselves?

The reason of  
the name Pa-  
gan or Paynim.

Rom. 10. 18.

I inferre not, that the Gospells lightning kindled an Euangelicall flame, and obtained Episcopall entertainment in euery place where the Apostles preached: nor that euery Lord, Tribe, and Family heard this Diuine Message; nor that each Country was filled with the Gospel, or any with an vniuersall profession in the first Plantations, or in their times. The name *Paganus* which signifying a Pesant or Rustike, for this cause was altered to a Panime or Ethnike, because Religion could not, but in tract of time diffuse her bright beames and lines of light, from her Episcopall City Centre (that also not wholly *Christian*) to those ruder parts of her remoter circumference. This I say, that *their sound went into all the Earth, and their words unto the Ends of the World*, in some Countries and Nations more fully, in some more obscurely, in all by fame at least, if not by the Apostles presence, as the Spirit permitted vtterance, that some of all might be conuerted.

## §. VII.

### Of America, whether it were then peopled.

\* Sup. c. 1. §. 3.



And if any more scrupulous doubt of the New World, and of many places where no foot print of Chistianity is extant, I answer, \* (besides what before in our *Ophirian* Tractate is spoken) not onely that time eates vp her owne Children, and that none can proue that Christ hath not bene there preached in former times, because these are thereof ignorant; (for a deluge of opposing persecutions, another of ecclipsing superstitions and heresies, a third of warre and inuasions, extinguishing both the Religion and People also hath succeeded, in some the most renowned Churches of the World: and what then may time haue done in vnknowne places?) But who can tell that *America*, and many parts of *Asia*, *Africke* and *Europe* were then peopled with Men, the Subiects capable of this Preaching? Nay, may wee not in probabilitie think the contrary: how great a part of the World is yet without habitation? how great a part of the World is yet vnknowne? All the South Continent is in manner such, and yet in reason \* coniectured to bee very large, and as it were another New World; Also *Fernand de Quirós* saith hee hath discovered eight hundred leagues of shoare. Neither is it probable but that so temperate parts are inhabited (which in part, so farre as is knowne on the Shoares and adjacent Ilands, is apparant) nor is their likelihood of Chistianity, where the Nations euery way adioyning are Ethnike, that I say not Sauage on the parts of *Asia* and *America*: and both these and they seeme latelier peopled then the Apostles dayes. In the new Straits beyond the *Magellane*, the stupidity of the Fowles argued they knew not the face of Men, which they not at all dreaded. And many many Ilands not yet inhabited, this ensuing Discourse will manifest. Yea in large Tracts of the Continent of *Groenland*, & other parts vnto *New-found-land*, it is found that eyther there are no people, or they but for some time in the Summer, and for some purpose, as of hunting or fishing, not certaine and settled dwellers: a name scarcely fitting to the people in *Virginia* and *Florida*. Euen in our old World it self, how new are the eldest Monuments & Antiquities, in al the North, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Finland*, *Lapland*, the *Samoyeds*, *Tartars*, yea the Northermost *Russes*, *Lithuanians*, *Linonians*, *Poles*; how new their Arts, their Aets, their Lawes, Gouvernement, Ciuility and Fame? Which therefore must needs as the World increased, bee euacuated from Countries neerer the Sunne, by necessitie inforced to harder Climates. Of *Iceland* our story will shew, it was but yesterday inhabited.

\* See Bre-  
woods Book of  
Lang. & Acofia  
de temp. nou. l.  
c. 18.

See my Pilg. l.  
c. 10.

The *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* of the ancient are more Southerly; and well may we reiect the fables of *Hyperboreans*, and I knowe not what deuised Northerne Peoples and Monsters, the Creatures.



Creatures and Colonies of idle busie braines. These Northerne people, scarcely worthie the name of a People, did God vse when the sinnes of the *Roman* Empire were full, to punish their pride by so bale instruments, in *Gottish*, *Vandall*, *Hunnish*, *Saxon*, *Franke*, and other names, in iudgement remembring mercy to the chastised Children, and to the chastising Rod, not therefore cast into the fire; except to refine them, but by conquering *Christian* Nations, themselves disposed by diuine hand to become a *Christian* Conquest, and to submit themselves to that God, to that Religion, whose looser Professors they ouercame with an ouerwhelming inundation. *How unssearchable are thy wayes, O God, and thy iudgements passing knowledge, which of Stones raisest children to Abraham, and bringest Lions into the Sheep-fold in hope of prey and spoyle,*

- 10 where thy discipline transforms them into Lambes: and persecuting *Saul* turnes a Prophet?
- The remotest Northerne and Southerne parts of *America* are yet thinly inhabited, and in great part not at all, as before is obserued, whereas *Mexicana*, and *Peruiana* were abundantly peopled at the *Spaniards* first arriual, with the Ilands adiacent. Two great Empires were there erected, one \* in *Mexico*, the other of the *Incas* in *Cusco*; but neither of them ancient. Nor let any impute this to their illiterate barbaroulnesse. For they had meanes to prelerue memorie of their acts by computation no lesse certaine then ours, though more troublelome: and thereby is the *Mexican* *Epocha*, or first beginning, then beginning to bee a People, the Deuill imitating the *Israelites* in their *Exodus* towards the Countries which they after possessed, apparant to haue beene aboue seuen hundred yeeres after *Christ*: as that of the *Incas* some hundreds later. For it
- 20 is most likely that *America* was first peopled from the North of *Asia* and *Europe* in her neerer and Northerne parts, whence by secret instinct, and hopefull allurements they were inticed to remoue neerer the Sunne, and from the *Mexican* to passe to the *Peruian* Continent. Neither can probable reason be given of peopling *America* but from thence, as by the Discourses of *Acosta* and Master *Brerewood* appeareth: neither did those Northerne parts receiue Inhabitants till the Regions of the World neerer *Noas* Arke, and of more commodious habitation were first peopled, whence the East and South parts were soone after *Noas* time replenished: the colder and worse successiuelly, and the extreme North by later compulsion and necessitie, the better being peopled before: and there exceeding their iust proportion, they emptied themselves partly by returning into the South by Conquests to ouer-runne ciuill Nations, and partly were forced to seeke further, as vicinitie of Seas and Lands afforded, till *America* was also peopled.
- 30 For (besides that those Northerne parts were as fertile in the wombe, as barren in the soyle, numerous beyond due food) whole rough, cold mountainous habitations yeelded like constitution of body and vnquietnesse of mind strong and able to indure, bold and forward to aduenture greatest difficulties, still pressing (where worse then the present could hardly befall) and following their hopes till neerer propinquitie to the Sunne, Climates more temperate, richer Soyle, content of Elements and Aliments bred content to their mindes and more prosperous concent of Fortunes, which softned their rigid dispositions, and by degrees disposed them to thinke on mechanickall and politike Arts, further to humanize their society, and to polish their cohabitation with Politie. This we see soone done in *Egypt*, and *Babylonia* presently after the Floud: but how long
- 40 before the *Persians* were ciuilized? how long after before the *Macedonians*, or *Romans*? yea, how long before there were *Romans*?

Nature infused the first cares of necessary being, which being by the fertile habitation and industrious culture richly supplied, in the settled standing the Milke of humane wits yeelded the flower or creame of Arts for flourish and beautie, which vnsettled and discontented estates weary of the present, and pressing still forwards cannot produce; neither can a rolling stone gather mosse. And thus we finde the *Germans* now a ciuill Nation, which many ages after *Christ* were barbarous. Yea, where more feritie and sauage rudenesse then this our *Britaine* yeelded not long before the birth of our Sauour, for their painting, nakednesse, and other rude demeanours worse then the *Virginians* now, and like some more barbarous *Americans*? What hath *America* sauouring of Antiquitie? what besides the former, not sauouring of the Cradle, and later transmigration?

- 50 Those memorials which they haue of the Floud might passe with them by Tradition euen from the Arke it selfe thorow all their remoues and transigrations. And no lesse might be said of that *Ticfiniracocha* mentioned by *Acosta*, (whom *Vega* obserueth to haue many things not so truly) like to Our Men, and preached amongst them many good lessons with little effect, and after many miracles amongst them was slaine; whose picture some of the *Spaniards* had seene, resembling those of our Saints. *Vega* tells another and more likely storie of *Viracochas* apparition in that habite, which no doubt was the Deuill. The like is recorded by *Lerius*, of a tradition amongst the *Brasilians*, that innumerable Moones before, there came a *Muir* or Stranger, clothed
- 60 after the *Christian* manner, and bearded, which preached vnto them the knowledge of God, but none would beleue him: after whom another came which deliuered them a Sword, since which time they haue vsed to slay and eate one another. These things, as they may be true, so may they be the New actions of the old Serpent ambitious of Deitie, or may by Tradition flie with them thorow all their habitations; or if any shall thinke it there happened (which I can-

\* As *Canaan* was in *Abrahams* time nothing so populous as in *Isaiah*.

\* *Acosta* reckons the *Mexican* beginnings out of their owne histories, about *An. 900*: and *Garcilasso de la Vega* born in *Cusco* and of the stocke of the *Incas*, begins the first *Inca* after *A.D. 1100*. which were before most sauage.

*Acosta* de procur. Ind. Sal. l. 1. c. 2. *Vega* com. 2 lib. 7. c. 13. pag. 1454. *Lerius* hist. Nau. in Bra. c. 16.



Kniets Jour-  
nall.

P. Ph. L. 8. 2.

not beleue) yet are they rather to interpret it of the Apostles (& so further confirmeth our opinion) then of any other, seeing no such men could there haue access, and their speech be vnderstood, but by miraculous dispensation. As for the Rocke in *Brasil* called *Esouca* (where, as Master *Kniets* affirmeth, Saint *Thomas* preached) conuerted out of Wood into Stone, the Fishes being his auditors, who seeth not a Frierly supereminence in the report: we reade in *Theophrastus* or *Aristotle*, or whosoeuer else be Authour of that Booke *De Mirabilibus Auscultis*, of a fertile desert Island found by the *Carthaginians*, abounding with Woods and Rivers nauigable, and other bounties of Nature, distant many dayes sailing from the *African* Continent: some of the *Carthaginians* intended there to inhabite, but were repelled, and all men prohibited on paine of death, lest the Soueraigne power and weale publike of *Carthage* might thence be endamaged. This is by some interpreted of the *West-Indies*, or some Islands thereof; which if it be so, confirms our opinion that those parts were not then inhabited. Nor did any ciuilitie appeare in *America* to argue ciuill Progenitors, but that which was of later memorie. *Plato's Atlantis* wee haue elsewhere shewed to be allegoricall, at least no historicall truth: nor any likelihood in other ancient Nauigations mentioned in *Plutarch*, *Diodorus* and others to point at these parts.

If the multitudes of people found thereby the first *Spaniards* seeme to pleade for a longer habitation then that we allow; let it be obserued that a thousand and foure hundred yeeres (for the first Discouerie was 1492, after *Christ*) might well fill a world with people, especially considering their Polygamie, or many Women, their simple Diet, and that which attended the same, healthfull Constitution and long Life (in some places admirable) their easie course of life contented with a little, not fearing to exceed their meanes and maintenance by numerous issue; where Nature yeelded home-spunne or rather womb-spunne attire, and the Mother Earth with little importunitie or labour yeelded food sufficient; where Plagues, Morraines, Famine, were scarce heard of; where Couetousnesse the root of all euill had so little worke; Ambition scarcely knew to diuertise titles of honor; and warre (the enchanted circle of death, compendium of misery, Epitome of mischiefe, a Hell vpon Earth) had not Iron, Steele, Lead, nor Engines, Stratagems, Ordinance, nor any humane Arts of inhumanitie to fill those parts of the World with emptinesse, and there to erect Theaters of Desolation and Destruction. Nor did Nature yeeld many deuouring Beasts, but reserued all her sauenesse to the Men.

a Gen. 46. 27.

b Ex. 12. 37.

c Num. 1. 46.

d 2. 32.

d Num. 26. 51.

64.

e Diatrib. de  
Europaeor. ling.  
Ios. Scalig.  
P. Merul. Cos-  
mog. part. 2. l. 1.  
cap. 8.

\* Acoffa l. 1.

cap. 21. & l. 4.

6. 34.

f Ouedol 15. c. 1.

A few Horses

also and mares

left by the Ri-

uer of Plate so

encreased, that

since they haue

aine them

only for their

tailes, to sell to

the Negros.

Of Conies

strange en-

crease, see l. 2.

6. 1. 5. 2.

To let passe the peopling of the World before and after the Floud, in no great time, we see that in *Egypt* in the midst of heauy burthens, inhumane butcherie, and intolerable tyrannie, the *Israelites* were multiplied, in the space of two hundred and ten yeeres, from seuentie persons to about two millions, as may be ghesed, in that there were 600000. men, besides children, and besides the females also as appeareth in the second numbring by *Moses*, and in the third by him and *Eleazar*, when all those but *Caleb* and *Ioshua* were dead. Allowing therefore the male children not much lesse, as that third numbring euinceth, and the females in probabilitie as many as the males (the rather for that *Pharaohs* cruell Edict touched not them) you cannot but find about 2000000. Now this their encrease was by naturall meanes though by singular prouidence, and therefore might as well happen in *America*, those impediments remoued, and many other furtherances annexed, in libertie, plenty, and largenesse of Territorie, all elements conspiring to multiplication. Neither can any thing but Diuine prouidence (which none can denie in *America*, and had many more easie and visible meanes, fewer lets then in *Egypt*) be alledged for the one more then the other. This I may say, that if any list to examine the proportion, and suppose like prouidence, in that time of 1400. yeeres may follow a more numerous inundation of people, then euer *America* (perhaps the whole World) may probably be supposed at once to haue numbred, although large deductions be allowed both for ordinary mortality and some more dilimal accidents. Neither is it likely that the first plantations were so few (if volutarily seeking, & not by accident forced to those habitations) as 70. persons twice told: nor that *America* at once or from one place receiued her first Colonies, as by the diuers languages, statures, habits of men may appeare, although time, custome, accident, be allowed no litle power in these things. This we see amongst our selues, where one *Dutch* or *Tentonike* hath yeelded not onely a distinction of higher and lower, but the *English*, *Danish*, *Sweden*, *Norwegian*, *Islandish*, *Nordalbing*, *Frisian* (besides the subdiuersified dialects which each of these multiplieth) Languages, Peoples, Rites, so much differing, and the elder both tongues and customes (as in our *Saxon*) by Variation and succession after a few Centuries in manner extinguished. So vaine a thing is Man. Let me conclude this discourse of multiplication in *America*, by an *American* example of cattell transported out of *Europe* thither, especially Kine, which as they beare no more at a burthen then a woman, nor oftner, so are they shorter-liued vsually by two third parts: yet haue they so increased there, that one man the Bishop of *Venezuela* had about 16000. yea they haue growne wilde, their numbers exceeding the care of owners, and euery man at pleasure killing them for their hides. And one man, the Deane of *Conception*, had of one Kow liuing 26. yeeres, in her life time the increase of 800. Sic canibus canulos similes. These *Indians* which respected in generation little else but sensuality, and in manner of life resembled brute beasts rather then ciuill (that I say not Christian) Men, enjoying like priuiledges of Nature in other things, might in this also.



## §. VIII.

*The glorie of Apostolicall Conquests: the hopes of enlarging the Church in  
this last Age, by knowledge of Arts and Languages  
through the benefit of Printing and  
Navigation.*

**E**t me conclude this Discourse of Apostolicall Peregrinations with consideration, with  
collaudation, with admiration euen to extaie and astonishment, of Their (shall I say  
or Gods?) Exploits, and renowned Acts. Little are the Acts of Great *Alexander, Pom-*  
*peius Magnus, Fabius Maximus,* and other *Great and Grandes* of the World, who by  
Armes and Arts military, by Fire, Sword, Famine, Massacres forced the bodies (the least part) of  
Men to a compulsive subiection, shaken off with the first opportunitie. But how shall I adorne  
your noble Conquests, Yee Diuine Apostolicall Worthies? who *walking in the flesh, not war-*  
*ring after the flesh,* without, yea, against the force of *carnall weapons, pulled downe strong holds, cast*  
*downe imaginations, and euerie high thing that exalted it selfe against the knowledge of God, and brought*  
*into captiuitie euerie thought to the obedience of Christ?* Herein they vied not assistance of other Na-  
tions by confederation, nor mustered multitudes in pressed and trained bands of their owne;  
nor receiued supportation by Subsidies, nor made inuasion by force, nor obtained an vnwilling  
conquest of Bodies (the shell without the kernel) nor entertayned close intelligence, nor wrought  
by close Treasons, nor diuided to themselves the spoiles; nor erected Forts, established Garrisons,  
imposed taxations, transplanted inhabitants, depressed Nobles, shared new Prouinces into *Timars,*  
tithed Children, planted Colonies; nor had their counsels of Warre at home, or warlike customes  
abroad, Engines, Stratagems, Combats, Sieges, Skirmishes, pitched Fields, Ships, Horses, Cha-  
riots, Tents, Trumpets, Munition, nor that worst Baggage of Armies, Crying, Spoyleing, Sack-  
ing, Wounding, Mayming, Killing with Multiformities of Cruelties, as if the nethermost Hels  
had mustered and euaporated the most and worst of Her Fumes and Furies into Our world, which  
might therefore take, that they might destroy, the shapes of Men, by humane inhumanitie. But  
a few poore Fishermen, and Tent-makers ouerthrow the Worlds Wisemen, in the most flouri-  
shing times of worldly learning, subdue the Scepters of greatest Kings and Monarchs, ruine the  
gates of Hell, & vndermine the deepnesse of Satan, supplant the profoundest, subtlest, mightiest of  
Satanicall combinations with the whole World of Men against a handfull; and maugre their vni-  
ted Forces, preaching a Crucified God, and teaching the Crosse as the first Principle of Christian  
Learning, to overcome the edge of the Sword with suffering it, to stop the mouthes of Lions  
with their flesh, to quench the violence of fire with their blood; to forsake all Goods, good Name,  
Wife, Life, Childe, to deny themselves, to plucke out their right eyes, to cut off their right  
hands, to pray for their persecutors, to recompence hatred with loue, and overcome euill with  
goodnesse, looking for no other reward then what the World can neither looke on, nor for; they  
inuade with innocence, and with Sauing overcome, the World; and whiles it most resisteth, per-  
secuteth, ouercommeth, incline it to willingnesse, calmenesse, subiection; write their conquests  
not in the blood of the Conquered but of the Conquerors; erect Trophees, not in Obeliskes, Py-  
ramides, Arches, by others industry, but in their owne Funerals, Crucifyings, Stonings, Martyr-  
domes; solemnize Triumphs not with their owne Armies, nor with captiued troupes, attending  
in greatest pompe the *sublime Triumphall Chariot,* but by being led forth with out-cries, shoutes,  
clamours, to the basest and most ignominious deaths. Those of *whom the World was not worthy,* re-  
puted vnworthy of the World; haue the *Panegyrikes* of their prayses, written not by the pens  
of Parasites or Poets, nor in the lines, (as is said) but in the liues of men; the Christian World  
(as before is obserued) remayning not written, but reall Annalls of the Apostles Acts, who *being*  
*poore made many rich, and hauing nothing possessed all things.* The *Solacismes* b of Fishermen dissol-  
ued the *Syllogismes* of Philosophers, and where but a few of any Nation could be wonne, to pro-  
fesse themselves the Disciples of any Philosophicall Sect, though graced and admired by the  
World, yet the World becomes Christian in despite of the Worlds disgraces and persecutions: nor  
could the immane cruelties of some, or superfine subtleties of other, subuert, nay they conuerted  
men to the Gospel; the seed, the fatning of the Church was the Blood of her flaine Martyrs; all  
ages, sexes, sorts of men, euen women, euen children, euen women-children, out-brauing the grea-  
test, the fiercest, the wisest of Satanicall instruments, by suffering, conquering, and at once over-  
comming the Deuill, the World, Themselves. *Euen so O Father, because it pleased thee.*

And be not angry Reader, if the passed, present vnto my contemplation future things; and if  
the consideration of diuine assistance in Tongues, Reuelations, Miracles immediately contered  
for the first Plantation of Christianitie, occasion my thoughts to a more serious suruay of future  
hopes in the propagation and reformation thereof. In the first foundation of *Mosaicall Rites,*  
God raysed *Bezaleel,* and *Aholiab* with others, by diuine instinct inabled to curious workman-  
ship, fitting that Oeconomie of the Tabernacle, whiles that *Iewish Church* was as it were rocked  
in the Cradle, and God vouchsafed to dwell amongst those Tent-dwellers in a Tent. But after  
that

2. Cor. 10. 3, 4, 5

Ap. 2.

2. Cor. 6. 10.

b Theo. 1. 6. 11.

Ex. 31. 1. 6. 11.  
35. 30.



1. Cor. 10. 11.

ταῦτα δὲ παρ-  
τα τούτοις συμ-  
βαίνοντες ἐκείνοις.

that State was settled, and the Church flourished in the Reigne of *David* and *Salomon*, God did not againe infuse Sciences by Miracle, or by miraculous disposition (as before the *Egyptians* were spoyled) provided materials to that Worke; but furnished *Salomon's* wisdom, with helpe of the two *Hirams*, the one a cunning workman in Gold, Silver, Brasse, Iron, Stone, Timber, to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every devise, the sonne of a *Tyrian*, by an *Israelitish* woman; the other his Matter, the King of *Tyrus*, a man furnished with a Nauy of ships and store of Mariners, by whose meanes the Temple and Court might be provided of necessities from remotest *Ophir*, as well as the neerer *Lebanon*. I implore not, I importune not any unwilling assent or follower of my apprehension and application hereof to what I now propound in like differing states of the Christian Church. *Omnia contingebant illis in figura*. This was likewise founded, and as it were a Tabernacle built for Christ by the Apostles, men wholly enabled by immediate graces and gifts of the Spirit to so diuine a Worke. A Tabernacle I call the Church, not only as being yet militant, and therefore abiding in Tents, but in comparison and respectiue to that externall splendour which followed long after the Apostles times, when Kings became her Nursing Fathers and Queenes her Nursing Mothers, subiected their Crowne to the Crosse, shining in the highest top thereof. Albeit therefore in puritie of doctrine and manners the Apostolicall times had their spirituall preeminence (as the Tabernacle also exceeded the Temple in the ordinary Cloud, Pillar of fire, Manna, Miracles, sincerest worship by *Moses*, and the like.) Yet when the World became Christian, and the Crosse became the Imperiall Banner for the Church, before persecuted, now reuiued vnder *Constantine*, *Iouianus*, *Theodosius*, and other Religious Monarchs, and Kings, seemed to renew the Golden reuolutions and settled returnes of Christian *Dauids* and *Salomons*; and they which before had not a Smith in *Israel*, scarcely a Bishop or Temple to be seene, had Temples, Schooles, Bishops, Councils, whence Religion was propagated and established in the seuerall Realmes and Nations of Christianity; not now by Miracles as before by the Apostles, but by the Ministry of Bishops and Priests of ordinary calling and gifts; and hee himselfe was now the greatest Miracle that beleued not, the whole World beleeuing and wondering at infidelitie as a Monster.

Psal. 37. 4.

And as the Temple and state of Religion declining was repaired and reformed by godly Kings, as *Ioash*, *Hezekiah*, *Iosiah*; and Zealous Priests such as *Iehoiada*; and after the ruines thereof was rebuilded by Princes and Priests, *Zorobabel* and *Ioshua*, *Nehemiah* and *Ezra*: so hath God stirred vp good Kings & Pastors in the declining age of the Church, as *Charles* the Great, King *Alfred* and many others in Histories mentioned; & after the deportation therof into Mysticall Babylon, when shee seemed in her truest members fled out of the Worlds easie view into the Wildernesse, hath God raysted vp the Kings of *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmarke*, and other Christian Princes, States, and Potentates with Religious Bishops and Ministers to repaire the desolations of *Sion*, and restore *Ierusalem* with the Temple, if not to her first splendour, yet from her late Captiuitie, where shee had smal pleasure to sing the Lords song in a strange land, & babble her holies in the vnknown Language of *Babylon*. As therefore the first Plantation of the Tabernacle was by miracle and immediate instinct; the erection of the Temple, and succeeding reparations were by the art and humane industry of such Heroike spirits as God raysted vp and sanctified in euery age: so the Christian Church planted by Apostles, hath bene since watered by faithfull Pastors, exalted by pious Emperours, depressed by Heretikes and Persecutors, captiued by Popes, and in her diuersified changes and chances, rather expecteth extraordinary blessing vpon the ordinary helps, functions, and graces, then meanes meerly extraordinary and miraculous. Amongst all which helps by humane industry, none (in my mind) haue further preuailed then those two, the Arts of Arts, Printing and Navigation, both in manner giuen at once to the World by diuine goodnesse, this for supply of matter, that other of forme, to this Spirituall Reedification of Gods Sanctuary. And as *Hiram's* Art improouing natural wit by diligent industry, succeeded the infused Sciences of *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab*; so to that Apostolicall gift of Tongues, in the foundation of the Church hath succeeded for reformation thereof, the principall Tongues and Languages of Nations, *Ebrew*, *Greeke*, *Latine*, *Syriake*, *Arabike*, and the rest, partly refined, partly renewed by humane industrie, through the benefit of Printing. For how were the learned and remoter Tongues buried and vnknowne in these parts, till that Art brought in plentie, facilitie and cheapnesse of Bookes, whereby Languages became the Keyes, Bookes the Treasuries and Storehouses of Science; whiles by those men found access into these; and Printing yeelded admittance to both in plentie and varietie? And thus was vnuailed that mystery of Iniquity in the age before vs, which had captiued so many Ages in worse then *Egyptian* darknesse. This mystery at first arose in a myst from the bottomlesse pit, in a time of barbarous ignorance, occasioned by irruption of *Barbarians* into all parts of Christendome, successiue like wild Bores out of the Forrest, rooting vp Gods Vineyard, and preparing a way to the *Romish* Foxes to spoile the Vines, to corrupt and deuoure the fruits thereof. The *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Hunnes*, *Herules*, *Lombards*, *Saracens*, in *Spaine*, *Afrike* and *Italy*; the *Frankes*, and after them the *Saracens*, *Danes*, and *Normans* in *France*, and the places adioyning; the *Picts*, *Saxons* and *Angles*, and after them the *Danes*, in these parts; the *Auares*, *Saracens*, *Tartars*, *Turkes* in the East and South; with other deluges of Ethnikes hating learning, burning



Libraries, killing learned men, in these and other parts seconded with factions, treasons, and ciuill vnciuill combustions of Christians amongst themselves, made easie way first, and strong confirmation after to the Papacy apprehending all opportunities to aduance it selfe, first in spirituall things, after also in temporall.

But what illiterate ignorance little discerned, not muth withstood, renewed literature hath exposed to the view of all, and by reuiued Arts hath discerned the Arts of that painted *Iezabel*; whose fouler wrinkles, her *Iezabelicall*, *Iesuiticall* Parasites still labour with renewed and refined Arts also to playster and fill vp a fresh; but hereby whet the industry of others to improoue their Arts and industry on the other side, in more eage search and diligent inquisition to take  
 10 those wise in their craftinesse, and to let men see that the materials of this later *Babylon* in the West are turfes of earth, which humane wits haue baked into bricks, and with slime of Policy, haue raysted to so superadmirable a frame and structure.

And lest so great a bleissing procured by Printing, should rest and rust amongst our selues in this Westerne corner of the World, God hath added that other Art of Nauigation, as that other *Hiram*s assistance to *Salomon*, and of *Nehemiah* to *Ezra*, the Prince and Priett, learning and power combined. This Art was before obscure and rude, but by the industry of the *Portugals* lifted vp to higher attempts, with care of their Kings (employing Astronomie to her better furniture) enabled to new Discoueries in *Africa*, and after that in all the East; whose example the *Spaniard* following happily encountred a New World, and first of all men vnloosed the Virgin Zone of the

20 Earth, encompassing the whole Compasse of this vast Globe. And thus hath God giuen opportunitie by Nauigation into all parts, that in the Sun-set and Euening of the World; the Sunne of righteousness might arise out of our West to illuminate the East, and fill both Hemispheres with his brightnes: that what the Apostles, by extraordinary dispensation sent, by extraordinary providence protected & conducted into all parts, by extraordinary gift of Tongues were able to preach to all sorts of men; this latter Age following thole glorious Fathers and Founders (though farre off, *non passibus aquis*) might attempt and in some sort attaine by helpees of these two Artes, *Printing* and *Nauigation*, that Christ may bee *saluation* *c* to the ends of the Earth, and all Nations may serue him; that according to the Scripture innumerable numbers of all Nations and Kin-

30 dreds, and peoples, and Tongues, may be clothed with the white robes of the Lambe. I am no Prophet, nor sonne of a Prophet, instructed in future reuelations, but one with all others praying, *thy Kingdome come*; neither dare I take vpon me the reuelation of the Reuelation in that Prophecie of the holy *Ierusalem* descending out of Heauen from God, newly measured with a golden Reed, to apply it to the reformation of the Church in the last times; which howsoeuer some haue interpreted only of her glorious and celestially estate, others haue included the terrestriall also, after the calling of the *Jewes* (which Saint *Paul* calls *life from the dead*, as if it were the Resurrection of the World; and consequently in spirituall respects, a new Heauen and new Earth) alleading many Arguments, seeming altogether to this purpose not improbable. And least of all, will I, lesse then the least of all, take vpon me the reducing of the *Jewes* into I know not what externall pompe and policie, and exalt them in splendour aboue all other Nations and Monarchs (the very stumbling

40 stone of their downfall; this dreame of a glorious *Messias*, prouoking them to crucifie the Lord of glory, whose *Kingdome* is not of this World, though prefigured by types, and painted in shadowes of Secular glorie) I meddle not with Secular States, but pray for the conuersion and spirituall regeneration of all men. And Nature it selfe preacheth thus daily: if the Sunne daily, shal not the Sunne of righteousness once, enlighten all the World? It is the Holy Ghosts resemblance. If the Fathers *d* of old did expect a further conuersion of Nations by the Gospel; if the *Sybil* line Oracles promise as much; if the Papists make this a demonstration that Antichrist is not yet come, because the Gospel is not yet preached to all men, which they hope hereafter shal bee effected; if the Prophecies of the glorious state of the Church mentioned in *Esay* and *Zacharie*, shadowed in *Ezekiels* Temple, and destruction of *Gog* and *Magog*, renued in the Reuelation,

50 seeme not yet to haue taken their full effect, but to promise some better future estate, as euen those many Ancients also conceited, whose full sayle and forward gale carried them beyond the Truth into the *Millenary Error*: if our Church prayeth for all *Jewes*, *Turkes*, and *Infidels*, that they may be one sheep-fold vnder one Pastor: then I may also with the Streame bee carried into expectation of that dilating the Churches Pale, and a more Catholike enlarging of her bounds, specially in those parts of the World, where though we grant the Gospel preached by the Apostles, yet little fruit in comparison followed in many Countries; nor any generall conuersion of Nations, except of the *Romane* Empire with the adioyning Regions, and some few, scarce a few Prouinces annexed, hath hitherto happened. And how little to the rest of the World is all that which is called Christendome, or that also which in any settled flourishing estate of a Church hath

60 euer yet bene Christian? Pardon therefore this Charitie extended to all men, to pray and hope for the remotest of Nations no more remote from Christ in Nature or promise, then our selues.

And (to returne to our Nauigation) the present Nauigations, Missions, Preachings, of *Iesuites* *Norwegians*, *Danes*, *Russes*, and other Northerne people most of them lately added to the Church; & the *Abassines* on the South, & some handfulls on the East; Christianity hath rather bin disperfed in Nations then publicly and generally professed. God grace (if it be his will, for I rather make it an Article of my Charitie then of my faith) a larger Christendome.

Of this im-  
provement of  
Nauigation  
read the next  
Chapter.

c Ps. 1. & 22.  
Luke 2.  
Apoc. 7. & 9.

Forbis, Bright-  
man, Bernard,  
&c. in Apoc.  
Rom. 11. 15.  
d Psal. 19.  
Rom. 10.  
c Aug. Ep 78.  
80. vid. Prosp.  
de lib. arbit.  
Syb. Or. 43. & 6.  
Bellar. Lessius,  
&c.  
Vid. Acoft. de  
Proc. Ind. fab. 4.  
c. 2. & de temp.  
nouis. l. 1. c. 17. & 18  
Colle Son  
Good Friday.  
Except in the  
quondam Ro-  
man Empire &  
the Countries  
next adioy-  
ning, viz the  
Sweden, Poles,



d The greatest  
and plausiblest  
arguments of  
Papists drawn  
from the au-  
thority, &c. of  
the Church,  
may be with  
fairer shew &  
lurer ground  
applyed to the  
Iewish Church,  
which yet apo-  
statize.  
e English and  
Dutch.  
Apoc. 17. 13, 16.  
2. Reg. 9. 22.  
Apoc. 17. 5.  
Exploits of  
Spaine.

Apoc. 17. 6.  
Apoc. 18. 6.

Vid. Prefat. Mo-  
nit. Regis Iacobi.

FROM. 21. 11.

Ex. 29. 19.

Ex. 27. 6. Ap. 12

\* So some in-  
terprete Gog &  
Magog.  
Apoc. 20. 8. &  
Ap. 9. &c.  
\* Acts 15.  
Ep. ad Gal. Col.  
Phil. Heb. &c.

and Friars in the Heathen Nations of the World, seeme to present vnto my minde that state of the disperied *Iewes* before Christs comming in the flesh. *He came to his owne, and his owne receiued him not*, which yet by their Scriptures, Synagogues, Rites, in their many many disperfions, had vnwitting prepared a way vnto him amongst the *Gentiles*. Let none contemne this figure of the *Iewish Church* (which yeelds <sup>d</sup> in most obiections of Popery touching Viſibility, Succeſſion, Antiquity Vniuerſality, Conſent, Pontificall Priuiledges, and moſt of their vulgar and popular flouriſhes, reall and experimentall reſolutions, by paraleling the *Iew* and *Romanist*; this being inferior in euidence, ſuperiour in arrogance) if herein alſo we ſee them like; and thoſe later Phariſes, *compaſſing Sea and Land to make Proſelytes*, by preaching ſome Chriſtian verities amongst their Traditionary chaſſe, become Apparitors and Harbengers of a future purity, which yet themſelues crucifie as Hereticall. *Spaine* hath as is ſaid, in Nauigation beſt deſerued (in leading the way to others, ſome of which haue <sup>e</sup> ſince in the Art equalled, in attempts perhaps exceeded her) and by diuine Providence hath bene bountifully rewarded in the Eaſt and Weſt, both ouerſhadowed vnder her wings: is alſo one of the *ten hornes* (as the current of our Interpreters agree) which together with the beaſt receiue power as *Kings*, out of the ruines of the *Romane Empire*; of which it is prophesied *that the ten hornes ſhall hate the Whore, and ſhall make her deſolate and naked and ſhall eaſe her fleſh and burne her with fire. For God hath put into their hearts to fulfill his will, &c.* God put into their hearts to be thus truly *Catholike*, and able to diſcerne the *whoredoms and many wiſchcrafts of their mother Iezabel, the mother of fornications of the Earth*; enable them to ſee that *Catholike-Roman* is the Language of *Babel*, where men but babble, and the word (like *Eſau* and *Iacob* ſtriving in the wombe) ſupplants the next preceding; that the now-*Roman* is but new-*Roman*, and therefore *Catholike* no more in time then place, no more in ſound apprehenſion of truth, then in round comprehension of the Vniuerſe. And that God which hath giuen them to chaſe the relikes of the *Moors* out of *Europe*, to chaſtiſe them in *Aſrik & Aſia*, to find that New World of *America*, with her *two armes of Nauigation* from *Liſbone* and *Sinill* yeerely, to embrace the whole Globe, and to haue greater oportunities for ſo *Catholike* a worke then yet is granted to any other Nation; put into their hearts with other Princes and Chriſtian Nations to fulfill this his will againſt that *Whore*; which the Propheſie enforceth to beleue ſhall bee done, and their King in our Fathers dayes gaue inſtance how eaſie. I ring not, ſound not an alarme, nor ſtrike vp a march for warre, I determine not the particular way or inſtruments of that deſolation. I delight not in imprecations, nor to that *Whore* drunken with the bland of *Saints* and Martyrs with any bloody reward of my ſelfe: but God himſelfe hath foretold *denouncing her fleſh and burning her*, and enioyned alſo, *in the cup which ſhe hath filled, fill to her double*. Which howſoeuer it ſhall bee effected, I doe not preſcribe, nor doe I tingle out that Nation to this purpoſe, but ioine them with others in my Prayers for the execution of that Propheſie, both to goe out of *Babylon*, and to goe againſt it in iuſt reformation, *that it may bee no more ſannd at all*; at leaſt by making her naked of that protection which thence ſhe receiueſh, and redemanding their owne, may detayne the ouer-flowings of *EUPHRATES* *that the way of the Kings of the Eaſt may bee prepared to exterminate Babylon* out of the World. And is it not better thus to pray for them that they may haue an honorable part in that Propheſie, that *Babylon* may further fall by their falling from them, then that they ſhould fall with her? or to reckon vp the bloody effects of their Inquiſition in *Europe*, and their inhumanity in *America*, and number them amongst the *Kings of the Earth*, who *ſhall bewaile and lament Romes ruines*; or to thoſe *Ship-maſters, Ship-companies, Saylers and Traders by Sea, and Merchants of the Earth* weeping for her deſolations? Once, I ſay not that they of all men haue the moſt eminent oportunity to ſubuert *Babylon* by their *Italian* neighbourhood and Territories; I pray that they endeouour to conuert the *Eaſterne and Weſterne Indians* making that beſt uſe of their Nauigations, giuing them Gold refined and truly ſpirituall for their temporall. And though they now of all Nations ſeeme moſt enamoured of that *Roman* (therein truly *Catholike*, that is, common) Harlot, yet *Hee which hath the heart of Kings in his hand at the riners of water, can turne it, when and whither ſoeuer he will*: can effect this alſo by others, without, yea againſt them: can reward (as ſometime hee did *Nebuchadnezzar* for his ſeruiſe done at *Tyrus*, with the land of *Egypt* for the wages of his Armie, and the *Iſraelites* at their departure with *Egyptian* ſpoiles) can reward I ſay both thoſe which at his command go out of, or when his Providence ſhall diſpoſe, againſt this *Babylon* (which for captiuing the people of God is called *Egypt*, for filthineſſe *Sodom*, & for the Staple of ſpirituall Merchandize, is alſo reſembled to *Tyrus*) with the ſpoyles of the ſpirituall *Egyptians*, with the *Turks* deſtruction (which litterally poſſeſſe *Egypt*) with the riches of the *Gentiles* brought to the Church, beſides their own and the Churches liberty. And as *Ieruſalem* (to return to our ſimilitude) being demolished by the *Romans*, the Church became truly *Catholike*, not looking any more to walls of a Temple, to carnall Sacrifices, to the petty pinfold of one Nation, to one City, as the Mart & Mother of *Chriſtian* Religion and diſcipline (how much had the Apoſtles to doe whiles *Ieruſalem* ſtood, to withhold \* *Chriſtians* from Iudaizing?) ſo is it to bee hoped and prayed, that this Myſticall *Babylon*, which now by vſurpation challengeth to bee Miſtreſſe and Mother of the Church, arriuing at that prophesied irreuerable downefall, *Catholike-Roman* (vniuerſall-particular) may no more bee heard, but true *Catholike*.



tholicisme recouering her venerable and primary Antiquitie, may without distracted faction, in free and vnanimous content, extend her Demesnes of Vniuerſalitie as farre as the Earth hath Men, and the light of her truth may shine together with the Sun-beames, round about the habitable World: that as Salomon by Hiram's Mariners fetched materials, Gold, Gemmes, Almuggim Trees, to the Temples ſtructure, which by the other Hiram's Art were brought and wrought into due forme, ſo the Heauenly Salomon, the LORD IEſvs, may by this his gift of Nauigation ſupply thoſe remote fieldes, white vnto the Harneſt, with plentie of labourers, to bring into the Societie of the True Church thoſe rude Ethnikes, of them to frame pillars in the houſe of God, veſſels of ſanctimony in the ſanctuary finer then the Gold of Ophir, enlightned with ſpiritual wildome and vnderſtanding of holy things, richer then Rubies, and the moſt incomparable Jewells: that theſe may by the art of Hiram, the ſon of an Iſralitiſh woman by a Tyrian father, that is by the Miniſtery of Paſtors & Doctors, learned in diuine & humane Literature be inſtructed, baptiſed, ediſed and diſciplined; that in the places where yet is no Chriſtian, may no Humane or Cruell People, it may be ſaid vnto them, yee are the Sonnes of the liuing God; that there may be one Paſtor and one ſheepfold, one Saluation, Redeemer and Aduocate, to Iew and Gentile, IEſvs CHRIS T the light of the Gentiles and the glory of his people Iſrael: whom my Diſcourſe hauing now obtained to embrace, ſhall here confine it ſelfe with a Nunc Dimittis, and end with Amen, to that Amen, in whom all the promiſes of God are yea and Amen. Euen ſo, Amen LORD IEſvs.

Prou. 8.

Hof. 1. 10.

20

HONDIVS his Map of, the Chriſtian World.





## CHAP. III.

Of diuers other principall Voyages, and Peregrinations mentioned in holy  
Scripture. Of the trauells and dispersions of the Iewes;  
and of Nationall transmutations.



Paradise.

Ez. 37.31.

Babel.

Abram and Lot

Abraham and  
Isaac.

Jacob &amp; Ioseph.

Moses & Aaron.  
Israels peregrina-  
tion in the  
Desert. See it  
before in Map.Tit. 3.5.  
Exod. 13.

Matt. 7.

Matt. 16.24.

Saul. David.

Ieroboam.

Captiuitie.

Matt. 2.

Iob. 1.

1. Pet. 5.

Having premised the two former Tractates, as the two Eyes of Peregrinations  
most faire Face, I shall be as brieue in the following, as I haue in them beeps te- 10  
dious and discursive. The first voyage of Mankind was out of Paradise into the  
curled parts of the Earth, thence with sweat and labour to get his living, *Cains*  
restlesse wandrings, and yet still dwelling in the Land of *Nod*, that is of *agi-*  
*tation and vexation*, neuer being still (there is no peace saith my God, to the wic-  
ked) and *Henochs* contrary walking with God, I need not mention. And I haue already mentio-  
ned the first Ship and voyage by water, *Noahs* Arke, and the first earthly Peregrination after to  
the Plaine of *Shinar*, where *Babels* building was with mutuall babbling or confusion of Langua-  
ges confounded; which gaue occasions to the dispersion of Mankind ouer the Earth, that is, to the  
planting and peopling of the World, of which I haue giuen account somewhat largely before, in  
the first Booke of my Pilgrimage. *Abram* is called out of *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, and trauells with 20  
*Lot* to *Haran* first, and after into *Canaan*: thence Famine forced him into *Egypt*; after hee sets  
forth for the recovery of *Lot* in a Martiall Expedition against foure Kings, returning by *Melchi-*  
*sedek* King of *Salem*. *Abraham* after many tent-wandrings comes to *Gerar*, and after *Isaacs* birth  
and blessed hopes conceiued of him, is sent on the most difficult iourney to *Morab*: at *Hebron*  
he burieth his Wife and fellow Traueller: sends his seruant to *Mesopotamia* for *Rebekah*: and ha-  
uing sent his multiplied issue by *Keturah* vnto the East Countrey (as before *Ishmael*) hee ended  
his earthly Pilgrimage. *Isaac* inherits the promises, and yet trauelleth of them by traueilling, not  
founding Cities but dwelling in Tabernacles, as did *Jacob* also, before and after his long seruice in  
*Padan Aram*, till at last hee descended into *Egypt*, whither God had sent *Ioseph* in a former Pe-  
regrination. These both died in Faith, and gaue charge, the one for his dead body, the other for his 30  
*bones* to trauell to *Canaan* the type of their hopes.

Out of *Egypt* God called his *Sonne*, now multiplied into an Armie as is before obserued: which  
yet are not presently in *Canaan* after the passage of the *Red Sea*, but are Pilgrims fortie yeeres in  
the Wildernesse. Wee also after wee haue escaped the bondage of hellish *Pharao*, and scene him  
vanquished in the *Red Sea* of Christs blood, whereinto wee are baptised, must liue the life of Faith,  
passing thorow the wildernesse of this World, hauing no more sustenance to our soules  
from our meere naturall powers, then there their plowing and husbandry yeelded their bodies:  
but as their food and raiment, were the effects of Gods grace, and not humane labour; so not by  
the workes of righteousness, which wee haue done, but according to his mercy hee saueth vs: and by his  
Word and Spirit as a pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night trauelleth with vs, till *Ioshua*, the 40  
true I E S V S (for *Moses* brings not into *Canaan*, nor can the Law iustifie) set vs in possession of  
the heauenly *Canaan*, where *Iericho* is battered not by warlike Engines, but by the power of faith  
in the Word and Couenant of God; and the houses which our workes builded not, and vineyards  
which our merits planted not, euen the Thrones which Angells lost, are made ours for euer by free  
grace and meere mercy. This is that rest, into which none but Trauellers can enter, and that by  
crowding so hard into that narrow gate, that they must leaue themselves behind; nor take pos-  
session of, but by losse of life it selfe, passing that *Jordan* which floweth the way of all flesh into the  
*Dead Sea*, before they can liue with God.

Nor need men thinke much to trauell, where God himselfe was a Mysticall Traueller in the  
Tabernacle, til *Salomon* built him an House adorned by *Ophirian* Navigations. *Saul* before this had 50  
trauelled to seeke lost Asses, and stumbled on an earthly Kingdome: *David* by keeping of Sheepe  
and following the Ewes with yong was initiated, and after by many many trauels trained to the  
Mysteries of Royalty, which with diuersified trauels hee exercised all his dayes. *Ieroboams* tra-  
uels to *Egypt* taught him those caluish deuotions, which made *Israel* trauell into many *Assyrian*  
Plantations; and *Iudah* also was carried captiue to *Babylon*, restored by a trauell from thence to  
*Ierusalem* vnder *Zorobabel*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*; a mystery of that mystie deportation of the  
Christian Church, by ignorance and superstition, and her reformation by Godly Princes and Pa-  
stors. *Hirams* Mission, the *Queene of Shebas* Visitation, *Jonahs* Iourney to *Ninive*, intimate the  
calling of the Gentiles, whose First-fruits were the *Wisemen of the East*, which came to farre a voy-  
age to salute the New borne King of the Iewes.

The Deuill also is a Traueller, and continually compasseth the Earth to and fro, and goeth about 50  
as a roaring Lyon seeking whom to deuoure; traueilling of mischief, and conceiuing lies. Such were  
the *Assyrian*, *Syrian*, *Persian*, *Babylonian*, *Egyptian*, and other trauels of the Churches Enemies; theirs  
also which in blind zeale compassed Sea and Land to make Pharisaicall Profelites. In *Mordecais* time,  
you



you ſee in the Booke of *Eſther* the *Jewiſh* diſperſions thorow all the one hundred and twenty ſeuen *Persian* Prouinces, euen from *India* to *Ethiopia*, long after the returne vnder *Zorobabel*, which multiplied no doubt in Ages following accordingly.

*Eſt. ult.*

But why looke I for Trauellers and Voyages there, where the Church was tied to one place, to trauell thither three times a yeere, and therefore ordinarily not to bee farre from thence? The *Babylonian* and *Alexandrian* diſperſions, after the Captiuitie we haue already mentioned; whereby the World was ſtrewed with *Jewes* (not to mention the *Iſraelites*) as Apparitors to the *Meſſias*, and preparers thereof to *Chriſtianitie* in the Apoſtles preaching. Then indeed the *Jewes* were Trauellers from all parts to *Ieruſalem*, & as men were more religiously affected, *There dwelled at Ieruſalem Jewes, devout men out of euery Nation vnder Heauen*, which being of *Jewiſh* Parentage, were by the place of their birth, *Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, Meſopotamians, Cappadocians, of Pontus and Aſia, Phrygia and Pamphilia, Egypt*, and of the parts of *Libya* about *Cyrene*, Strangers of *Rome, Jewes and Proſelytes, Cretes and Arabians*.

*Deut. 16.*

*Act. 2. 5, 9, 10, 11*

This was after that imprecation of theirs, *His bloud bee on vs and on our children*: ſo did God ſeeke to ouercome their euill with his goodneſſe: but when they which had before perſecuted the ſeruants, and crucified the Lord of glory himſelfe, now reſiſted the holy Ghoſt, being vncircumciſed in hearts and eares, and iudged themſelues vnworthy of eternall life; God let out his Vineyard to other Husbandmen, and the fall of the *Jewes* became the riches of the World. Then came the wrath of God on them to the vtmoſt, and they became a trauelling Nation indeed, trauelling

*Matt. 27.*

*Act. 7. & 13.*

now about 1500. yeeres from being a Nation; and *Moses* his prophecie was verified in their ſcattering from one end of the World to the other. Eleuen hundred thouſand are ſaid to haue periſhed in *Ieruſalem* alone (where Chriſt had been crucified) beſides all other ſlaughters in all other parts of *Iudea*, in that fatall warre vnder *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*: 97000. were ſold to be diſtracted ſlaues thorow the world, *Galatinus* ſaith 200000. thirty of them for one piece of Siluer, which had giuen thirty pieces for him which came to make them free. Yet had not the Land ſpued out all her Inhabitants, but grew ſo queaſie and full of qualmes, that the remainders in *Adrians* time entertained *Bencochab* for their *Meſſias*, who with 200000. *Jewes* in his Army, is ſaid to haue rebelled and bred ſuch combuſtions, that this *Sonne of the Starre* (ſo his name ſoundeth) was after called *Barchosba*, the *Sonne of Lying*. It were prodigious\*, not hyperbolicall alone, to tell what the *Jewes* tell of their following ſlaughters: 700000. ſlaine in *Egypt*, and in *Iudea*, ſo many as paſſeth all mo- deſty to relate after them. *Dion Nicæus* tells of fifty Caſtles and nine hundred and eighty of their beſt Townes rased, 580000. ſlaine, beſides innumerable multitudes which periſhed by famine, fire, diſeaſes, and other Baggage of Inuading Campes.

*Deut. 28.*

*Jof. de Bel. Iud.*

*1. 7. c. 24.*

*Gal. Arcan. 1. 4.*

*21.*

\* See my Pilgrimage 2. c. 10.

*Dion Adrian.*

*Elus Adrianus* baniſhed the *Jewes* from *Cyprus* and *Iudea*, erected a new City inſtead of *Ieruſalem*, called of his owne name *Elia*, and ſet Images of Swine ouer the Gates as Porters to keepe out the *Jewes*, yea prohibited by Ediſt the *Jewes* to looke toward it from any high place. *Traſian* before was intigated by their rebellion, to deſtroy many thouſands of them in *Egypt*, *Cyrene*, and *Meſopotamia*. And euer ſince, thoſe which are contrary to all men, haue found all men contrary to them; and haue liued (if ſuch ſlavery and baſeneſſe be a life) like *Cain*, wandring ouer the World, branded with Shame and Scorne. *Spaine, England, France, Germany, Poland, Italy, Turkie*, all the *Indies* as farre as *China* haue had them Inhabitants; haue had indeed, for many haue giuen them terrible expulſions, the reſt vſing cruell and vnkind hospitalitie, ſo that they are ſtrangers where they dwell, and Trauellers where they reſide, ſtill continuing in the throwes of trauell both of miſery and miſchiefe. But I haue handled this matter more fully in my Pilgrimage, and both *Beniamin Tudelenſis* a Trauelling *Iew*, and other Trauellers in the following Relations, will giue you ſtrange trauels of theirs thorow *Aſia, Africa*, and *Europe*; in all their diſperſions to this day retaining their bloud, name, rites, as diſpoſed by a higher and moſt mercifull prouidence, which in his time will ſhew mercy on them, to ſee him by the eye of Faith, whom by the hand of Cruelty they had crucified, and all *Iſrael* ſhall be ſaued, and returne to the Church by a more generall Conuerſion then hath yet beene ſeene; and as their reſection hath proued the reconciling of the World, ſo the receiuing of them ſhall be life from the dead.

*Jewes diſtructions.*

*Jewes diſperſions*

All times are in Gods hand, but hee which hath promiſed is able to performe: and perhaps if *Rome* the Spirituall *Babylon* bee captiued and ruined, which hath obtruded ſo long on them the monſters of Image worſhip, Tranſubſtantiation, worſhipping of ſo many Saints, with other ſeemings of refined Ethnicisme, and impoſeth on Conuerſes the loſſe of all their ſubſtance; the way ſhall bee made more plaine for them: which wee hope is growing to ſome ripeneſſe in this Age, when about ſo many yeeres haue paſſed ſince the calling of the *Gentiles*, as from *Iacobs* Family in *Egypt*, growing to the face and proportion of a People and Nation, vnto their deſtruction: and full out as many as were from *Iosephs* death in *Egypt*, to the deſtruction of the Temple vnder *Titus*, and more then from *Moses* his *Exodus*, to that other *Exodus* and extermination vnder *Adrian*. We are no Prophets, and muſt learne by euent the certainty of Gods (before ſecret) counſells. In meane while let vs pray, *Hallowed be thy Name, thy Kingdome come*, that this trauelling Nation may one day trauell in birth of Chriſt till he be formed in them, and with the prodigall Sonne, may trauell from their wandrings, and at once returne to their Father and to themſelues, that we may all

See my Pilg. 2. c. 21.

*Rom. 11. 26.*

*Rom. 11. 15.*

*Gal. 4. 19.*

*Luc. 15. 17, 18.*



meet in the unity of Faith, and Gods will may bee done in Earth, as it is done in Heauen, there being but one Shepherd and one Sheepsfold, Amen. As the Jewish Nation hath been literally Trauellers, so the Christian Church is alway traueilling spiritually to her home, and from her selfe; and the Jewish deportation to Babylon, was a figure of the Antichristian Captiuitie in Romish and Popish superstition, of which wee haue taken occasion to speake more fully elsewhere\*.

\* To. 1. 18. 6. 6.

Dent. 2. 9, 12, 10

Varro distinguished Relations of times into *αἰώνιον* *μυθικόν* *ὑποκρινόμενον*: that is, Fabulous, Obscure, and Historicall.

As at first the World was peopled by peregrination successiuelly from Noahs Arke, and Babels Tower: so in the worldly vicissitude of all things, a world of peregrinations haue happened in the World, and that of worlds of men together, in Nationall inuasions, plantings, supplantings, Colonies and new alterations of the face of the world in each part thereof. Thus the Israelites supplanted the Canaanites & dwelt in their rooms; as did the Moabites to the giantly Emims, the Edomites to the Horims, the Ammonites to the Zamzummims, and other Nations to others. To recite these were to recite all Stories in manner of the World: *Lazius de Migrationibus Gentium*, and others haue in part vnderaken it. For euen in Palestina alone how many successions haue beene, of Canaanites, Israelites, Assyrians (after called Samaritans) and Jewes together? Of those which the Romans placed or permitted, of Saracens, of Franks, or Westerne Christians in so many millions as two hundred yeers space sent out of Christendome thither; of Drusians, Syrians, & a very Babylon of Nations (none and all) euer since? This Britaine of ours, besides those which first gaue it name (whose remainders still enioy Wales) hath admitted Romane sprinklings and Colonies, and after that a generall deluge of Saxons, Iutes, and Angles; tempests and stormes out of Denmarke and Norway, and lastly the Norman mixture and combination. Neither is there any Region of ancient Note, which hath not sustained chance and change in this kind. But wee mind not such neere peregrinations, as these vsually were, but longer Voyages and remoter Trauels. And such also we haue already mentioned in Sesostris the Egyptian, in the Phœnicians, in the Assyrians, vnder Semiramis to India, besides Eudoxus and other priuater persons; and such are the Fables or outworne Stories of Ethnike Antiquity, touching the Atlantines, Osiris, Bacchus, Hercules, Perseus, Daedalus; and those which retaine some more truth, though obscure enough, of the Argonauts, Ulysses, Menelaus, Aeneas, Hanno, Himilco, Iambolus, and others; some of which shall follow in the following Relations. That of Alexander is more renowned, and first opened the East to the West, and to Europe gaue the Eyes of Geography and History, to take view, of India and the Regions adiacent. And here is the first solid foot-print of History in this kind, though heere also Trauellers haue beene as farre from the truth, as from their homes, and haue too often traueled of Vanitie and Lies.

### CHAP. III.

*Fabulous Antiquities of the Peregrinations and Nauigations of BACCHVS, OSIRIS, HERCVLES, the Argonauts, Cadmus, the Græcian Nauie to Troy, MENELAUS, VLYSSES, AENEAS and others.*



It is not the fable or fallshood which wee seeke in fabulous Antiquities, but that truth which lieth buried vnder poeticall rubbish. For nothing but nothing can rise of nothing. Some truth therefore gaue occasion to those fables, as *Thamars* and *Dinahs* beautie occasioned their rauishment; the Deuill (a Lier from the beginning) lusting to defloure that beautie, and then like *Ammon* adding a second force, in hatred turning her as much as he may out of the World. Hence the fables of Poets, Idolatries of Ethnikes, dotages of Rabbins, phrenies of Heretikes, phancies and Legends of Papists: to all which, when Histories cannot make them good, Mysteries are sought to couer their badnesse, and bald nakednesse; and were they neuer so bad before (like the shearing of a Friar, or vailing of a Nouice Nunne) suddenly they are heereby become errant honest persons, nay venerable and religious. And thus hath that Impostor, not only insinuated and procured admission and credit to lies, but thence hath raised the very Faith of Infidels, which worship they know not what; and obtruded I know not what *Pias fraudes*, and religious Lies, forsooth, vpon vnchristian and Anti-christian Christians; to whom because they receined not the loue of the truth to be saued, God hath sent the efficacy of error, that they might beleene a lie. This is the Devils triumph, and Mans madnesse; out of which confusion, if wee cannot try out the pure truth, yet those Diuine Relations and Reuelations premised, will appeare more louely and admirable from these Ethnike Fables.

John 4.

2. Thess. 2.

Trauels of Bacchus.

I may here mention *Saturnes* Trauels into *Latium*, being eielected Heauen: *Iones* fabled fine encompassings of the World; *Apollos* daily circuit; *Mercuries* frequent Messages to all parts, who was also the Trauellers God, and had his Statues in High-ways; *Innos* iealous wandrings; *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were renowned by the Poets for their Peregrinations, perhaps (as before is obserued) no other but *Salomon* and *Hiram*s Ophirian Voyage. *Bacchus* (they tell) was the sonne of



of *Jupiter* and *Proserpina*, who being torne in pieces by the *Titans*, *Jupiter* gave his heart to *Semele* to drinke; and thereby conceived of this other *Bacchus*; whereupon ieaious *Inno* transformed into the shape of *Beroe Semeles* nurse, perswaded her to desire *Jupiters* company in Maiesticall appearance, as hee accompanied *Inno*, which was her destruction; the babe taken out and sewed in *Jupiters* thigh, and after put to *Nysus* to nurse, whereupon he was named *Dyonisus*. I should distrust you to tell the disagreeing tales of Poets touching his birth and life (for lies neuer agree) as also his Miracles, which euer make vp the greatest part of a Legend. Tigres, Ounces and Panthers, with *Pans*, *Nymphs*, *Sileni*, *Cobals*, and *Satyrs* were his companions and attendants. Hee was drawne in a Chariot by Tigres, and held a *Thyrus* in his hand for a Scepter (which was a Speare or Iauelin, adorned with the Leaues of Vines and Iuie) and marched thus madly both to

*Hygin. Fab. 167.*  
*Eurip. in Bac.*

- 10 *India* in the East, and to *Spaine* in the West, which of *Pan* was called *Pania*, whence *Spania* and *Hispania* haue beene deriued. A learned *Spaniard* saith, that in the eight hundred and tenth yeere, before the building of *Rome*, *Bacchus* inuaded *India*, moistned it with blood, filled it with slaughters, polluted it with lusts, which before had beene subiect to none, and liued content and quiet in it selfe. Some apply that of *Noah* to him, and make him the Inuenter of Wine, Hony, and Sacrifices: say also that hee reigned at *Nysa* a Citie in *Arabia*; some adde other Kingdomes, and that hee had *Mercurius Trismegistus* his Counsellor; and leauing *Hercules* his *Egyptian* Lieutenant, *Anteus* in *Lybia*, *Busiris* in *Phoenicia*, conquered all the East, built *Nysa*, and erected Pillars in the Easterne Ocean, as did *Hercules* on the Westerne. His story is also confounded with that of *Osiris*, this being the name which the *Egyptians* gaue him, as *Herodotus* affirmeth. And *Diodorus* relateth his Epitaph in hieroglyphicall Letters in these words, *I am Osiris the King, which tra-*  
20 *uelled thorow all the world to the Indian Deserts. Onid* also singeth;

*Oros. l. 1. c. 9.*

*Her. Euterpe.*  
*Diod. Sic. l. 1.*  
*Fab. l. 3.*

*Te memorant Gange, totoq; Oriente subactis*  
*Primitias magno seposuisse Ioui.*

*Cinnama tu primus captinaq; thura dedisti*  
*Deq; triumphato viscera tosta bone.*

His journey they describe first thorow *Ethiopia*, and then *Arabia*, and so to *Persia*, *Media*, *Bactria*, and *India*: after his returne, to *Hellepont*, *Lidia*, *Phrygia*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, and whither tra-  
uelling witts please. Wee shall lose our selues to follow him further; as they doe which with worst prophaneesse celebrate his drunken Holies daily.

*Strab. l. 1.*  
*Eurip. &c.*

- 30 *Theseus* and *Hercules* liued in one time, of which *Theseus* is famous for his Acts in *Crete*, *Thebes*, *Theffaly*, with the *Amazons*, and his descent into Hell, with other his Voyages and Navigations: But farre farre more famous is *Hercules* for his Trauells, and for his twelve Labours, his Peregrination being another Labor added to each of them. The *Nemean* Lion, *Lernean* Hydra, *Phrygian* Bore, *Arcadian* Hart, *Angean* Stable, *Cretan* Bull, *Thrasian* Diomedes, with his man-eating Horses, *Celtike*, *Alexia*, *Alpine* passage, *Italian* Tenths, *Symphalide* Birds, *Amazonian* Belt, *Atlantike* Dragon, *Balearian* Geryon, *Lybian* Antaeus, *Egyptian* Busiris, *Lydian* seruice to *Omphale*, *Theffalian* Centaure, and *Tartarean* Cerberus, proclaime his trauells ouer and vnder the World; as his Pillars; to the end of the World, and his helping *Atlas*, that the World trauelled on him. Neither trauelled hee by Land alone, but by water also hee nauigated with those famous *Argo-*  
nauts, which make vs another Voyage to find them.

*Theseus & Hercules.*

*The Argonauts.*

- 40 *Hyginus* hath registred their names: *Iason* a *Theffalian*, *Orpheus* a *Thracian*, *Asterion* of *Peline*, *Polyphemus* of *Larissa*, *Iphictus*, *Admetus*, *Eurytus* & *Echion*, *Ethalides*, *Ceneus*, *Mopsus* the Soothsayer, *Pirithous*, *Menaeus*, *Eurydamas*, *Amponitus*, *Eribotes*, *Ameleon*, *Eurytion*, *Ixition*, *Oileus*, *Clytus* and *Iphitus*, *Peleus* and *Telamon*, *Butes*, *Phaleros*, *Tiphys* the Master of the Ship, *Argus* the Ship-maker, *Philiastus*, *Hercules* and *Hylas* his companion, *Nauplius*, *Idmon*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Lyncus* (which could see things hidden vnderground, and in the darke) and *Idas*, *Perichymenus*, *Amphidamus* and *Cepheus*, *Ancaus*, *Lycurgi*, *Augus*, *Asterion* and *Amphion*, *Euphemus* (which could runne dry-foot on the water) *Ancaus* *Neptuni*, *Erginus*, *Meleager*, *Laocoön*, *Iphictus* *Theffaly*, *Iphitus* *Naubo* *Zetes* and *Calais* (sonnes of *Aquilo* with winged heads and feet, which chased away the *Harpyes*) *Focus* and *Priapus*, *Eurymedon*, *Palamonius*, *Actor*, *Thersanon*, *Hippalcinnos*, *Asclepius*,  
50 *Atriacus*, *Mileus*, *Iolans*, *Deucalion*, *Philoctetes*, *Ceneus* sonne of *Coronis*, *Acastus*, voluntary companion to *Iason*: These with their Countries and Parentage *Hyginus* hath recorded. Their Voyage was to *Colchos*, but many of of them came not thither. *Hylas* was stollne by the *Nymphs* in *Mafia*, whom *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* seeking, were left behind. *Tiphys* died by the way, & *Ancaus* son of *Neptune* succeeded in his Masters place. *Idmon* was slain by a Bore; *Butes* threw himselfe into the Sea, allured by the *Syrens* Musick. In their return also *Euribates* was slain in *Libya*, *Mopsus* died in *Africa* of a Serpents byting.

*Hygin. Fab.*

- Now for the Voyage of the *Argonauts*, they say that *Pelias* *Iasons* Vncle was commanded by Oracle to sacrifice to *Neptune*, to which if any came with one shooe on, the other off, then his death should not bee farre off: *Iason* came thither, and wading thorow the Riuer *Eubenus*, left one of his shooes in the mire, which he stayd not to take out, for feare of comming late to the Holies. *Pelias* seeing this, asked *Iason* what hee would doe, if hee had a prophecie that any man should kill him. I would send him, said hee, To fetch the Golden Fleece. This was the Fleece of the *Ram* (which some say was the name of a Ship hauing a Ram on the Beake, that had carried  
60 *Phryxus*



\* Diod. Siculus addeth the deliverance of Hefione from the Whale, the killing of King Laomedon and taking of Troy in their return for breaking his promise of Horses to Hercules. l. 4. Harpyes. \* Diod. maketh Medea and Circe sisters, daughters of Hecate. l. 4.

g Timens saith that they went to Tanais and thence crossed over land to the Ocean, and sailed about by Cades into the Straits. Odyss. 14.

h Strab. l. 1. speaking of the Poets Argonauts saith in quibusdam cum historia consentit, quaedam etiam affingit, morem servans & communem suum. Cum historia consentit quando Aetam nominat & Iasonem & Argo &c. Grecian Navies against Troy.

Phryxus to Colchos, who sacrificed the Ram to *Impiter*, and hanged vp the Fleece in the Grove of *Mars*) and thus *Pelias* out of his owne mouth sentenced him. *Argus* made the Ship which of him was called *Argos*, which they say was the first ship of long fashion. These first came to *Lemnos*, where they were so kindly entertained, that *Iason* by *Hypsipila* the Queene had two sons, and staid till *Hercules* chode them away. Next they came to *Cyzicus*, \* in *Propontis*, which liberally feasted them; and being gone thence, by foule weather they were put backe in the night, where *Cyzicus* mistaking them for enemies was slaine in fight. Thence they sailed to *Bebrycia*, where *Amycus* the King challenged them to a single encounter at whorle bats, in which *Pollux* slew him. *Lycus* a neighbour King was glad hereof and gaue the *Argonauts* entertainment, where *Iphis* or *Tiphis* died, and *Idmon* was slaine.

*Phineus* the Son of *Agenor* a *Thrasian* was blinded by *Impiter* for reuealing the gods secrets, and the *Harpyes* set to take the meate from his mouth. The *Argonauts* consulting with him of their future luccesse, must first free him of this punishment, which *Zetes* and *Calais* did, chasing them to the *Strophades*. *Phineus* shewed them how to passe the *Symplegades*, following the way which a Dove sent forth of the Ship, shewed them. Thence they came to the Ile *Dia* where the Birds *Symplegades* shot quills which killed men, whom by *Phineus* his precepts they feared away with sounds (such as the *Curetes* make) and vsed thereto shields also and speares. Thus being entred the *Euxine* Sea to *Dia*, they found poore, naked, shipwracked, the Sons of *Phrixus*, *Argus*, *Phryonides*, *Melas* and *Cylindrus*, which traueiling to their Grandfather *Athamas* there encountered that misfortune. *Iason* entertained them, and they brought him to *Colchos* by the Ruer *Thermodoon*; and comming neere *Colchos* caused the ship to be hidden, and came to their Mother (*Calcioppe* sister of *Medea*), to whom they related *Iasons* kindnesse, and the cause of his comming. She brings *Medea* to *Iason*, who as soone as she saw him, knew that it was the same whom in her dreame she had seene and ioued, and promiseth him all furtherance.

*Aeta* had learned by Oracle that hee should so long reigne as the Fleece which *Phrixus* had consecrated, remained in *Mars* his Temple. He therefore imposeth on *Iason* to yoke the bras-footed firebreathing buls to the plow, and to sow the Dragons teeth out of the Helmet, whence armed men should suddenly be produced and kill each other. This he did by *Medeas* helpe, and likewise cast the Dragon into a sleepe which guarded the Fleece, and so tooke it away. *Aeta* hearing that *Iason* and his Daughter *Medea* were gone, sent his son *Abysrtus* in a ship with touldiers after him, who pursued him to *Istria* & in the Adriaticke Sea, where *Alcinous* compounded their quarrel so little to *Abysrtus* his liking, that following him to *Memnus* Ile, *Iason* slew him, and his followers builded there a Citie called of his name *Abysrtis*. Some tell of the *Syrtes* which the *Argonauts* passing carried their ship on their shoulders twelue daies. But the varieties are inextricable and innumerable. After his returne, by *Medeas* helpe he made away his Vnckle *Pelias* (to whom she had promised to restore his youth) and gaue his Kingdome to *Acastus* his sonne, which had accompanied him to *Colchos*. The exile of *Medea* and the rest of the tale you may haue amongst the Poets. I am more then wearie with relating so much. This voyage was so admired of Antiquitie that this *Argo* which *Homer* calleth *παιμύλοσ*, was not onely praised to the stars by the Poets, but placed amongst the stars by their *Minerua*, and the constellation famous to these times. The *Argonauts* after this instituted the *Olympian* games. The Poets are full of such *Chymeras*, mixed lye-truths, not sparing any of their Gods or Heroes. *Impiter* hauing stolne *Europa* transformed into a Bull, or as some say in a ship of that name, or hauing a bull in the Beke, *Cadmus* and *Thasus* her brethren were sent by *Agenor* their father to seeke her. The *Phenician* Naue is diuided betwixt them. *Thasus* hauing long sought in vaine, returned not, but in the *Aegean* Sea built a Citie of his name. *Cadmus* built *Thebes*, and after that! But what and why doe I while you in these vncertainties? Yet haue I touched a little of his storie who is famed the first inuenter of the *Grecian* Letters, and of *Historie*. But we will turne your eyes to the most fabled of all Poeticall fables, and in a peece of an houre with a swift pen will dispatch ten yeeres worke with 1000. ships.

The Princes in the *Troian* siege and their ships are these: *Agamemnon* brought from *Micena* one hundred ships: *Menelaus* his brother from thence also 60. *Phenix* of *Argos* 50. *Achilles* of *Scyros* 60. *Automedon* his Chariot driuer 10. *Patroclus* of *Phthia* 10. *Ajax* of *Salamine* 12. *Tencor* his brother as many, *Vlisses* of *Ithaca* 12. *Diomedes* of *Argos* 30. *Stenelus* of *Argos* 25. *Ajax* the *Locrian* 20. *Nestor* the *Pylion* 90. *Thrasymedes* his brother 15. *Antilochus* sonne of *Nestor* 20. *Euryppylus* of *Orchomene* 40. *Macaon* of *Attica* 20. *Podalirius* his brother 9. *Tlepolemus* of *Mycena* 9. *Idomeneus* of *Crete* 40. *Meriones* from thence as many, *Enmelus* of *Perrhebia* 8. *Philoctetes* of *Melibaa* 7. *Penelous* of *Boetia* 12. *Pylus* a *Boetian* also as many, and his brother *Chronius* 9. *Arcefilas* 10. *Prothenor* 8. *Iadmenus* of *Argos* 30. *Aescalaphus* 30. *Schedius* 30. and *Epistrophus* his brother 10. *Elephenor*, *Calchodontis* and *Imenaretes* (all likewise of *Argos*) 30. The sonne of *Menaeus* from *Athens* 50. *Agapenor* from *Arcada* 60. *Amphimachus* of *Elea* 10. *Enrychus* of *Argos* 15. *Amphimachus* of *Mycena* 19. *Polyfenes* from *Aetolia* 40. *Mege* the *Dulichian* 60. *Thoas* 15. *Podarces* his brother 10. *Prothous* the *Magnesian* 40. *Cyrenus* the *Argine* 12. *Nireus* from thence 16. *Antiphus* the *Theffalian* 20. *Polyboetes* the *Argine* 20. *Leophites* of *Sicyon* 19. You see the particulars amount farre about the thousand vsually named. The Voyage was too short, and the Siege too long for this place.

Menelaus



Menelaus hauing recovered his eye. *faire Helena*, is said to haue beene eight yeeres wandring the world, and Vlyffes longer. Menelaus his errour was about Cyprus, Phania, Egypt, and the neighbouring Ethiopians and Arabians (so Strabo expoundeth Homers Erembs in his first Booke, and in his sixteenth, yet there addes also the Troglodites) he produceth some which place the Sidonians in the Persia Gulfe, I know not how iustly. Homers Verses, where Menelaus relateth his trauels to Telemachus are :

Trauels of Menelaus.  
Strab. l. i.

Odys. p.

Κύπρον, Φοινίκην, καὶ Αἴγυπτον, ἰσχυρόν  
Αἰθίοπας δ' ἰνδολογῶν, καὶ Σιδωνίους καὶ Ἑρμουσί, καὶ Λιβύαν.  
Cyprus, Phania, Egypt hauing past,  
Th' Ethiops, Sidons, Erembs, I went at last. And Libya —

Trauels of Vlyffes.

Arifonius the Grammarian, and after him Eustathius, interpret it of sailing round about Africa, as is said of Endoxus and others before (περιπλῶντας τὸν Ὠκεανὸν διὰ τῆς Γαδύρου μίξις τῆς Ἰνδίας) a thing to mee altogether improbable, and easier to be sailed by the Poet or his Commenters in an Inkie Sea with a quill Mast, then by the ruder Sea-men of those times. Menelaus his errours we see continued more then eight yeeres, yea are not yet ended, but breed new trauels in Grammarians braines. *Tantum uis erat infans reducere scortum.*

Vlyffes returning from Troy, came to the Ciconæ, the Lotophagi, and after that to Polyphemus the Giant, with one eye in his forehead, thence to Aeolus, to the Lestrygonæ, to Ænaria infamous by Circes charmes, to Auernus, to the Syrenes, to Scylla, Sicilia, Charybdis, to Æea, to the Phæaces, and at last to Ithaca. The like fables Grammer-schoole boyes can tell you of Æneas out of Virgil, and other Poets. I am weary of traueilling in such a loose sandy soile, where so few footprints and paths of truth are to be found. And for Æneas his trauels, I will present you them in another fashion as Hondius hath in his Map described them.

I might adde Dædalus his flight from Athens, his sleight for Pasiphae in Crete, his acts in Sicilia, his arts euery where in his trauels. As for his, and his sonne Icarus his flying, the truth is found

HONDIVS his Map of the Navigation of Æneas the Troian.





See of al these  
in Photius his  
Bibliotheca. He-  
liod. & Achilles  
are extant.

in taking away the first letter, except you flye to Mysteries. And this is the false too ordinary in all the Poets fables, *Perseus*, the *Atlantides*, and others, which I forbear to relate.

Other fabulous Relations of Trauellers we haue, meerey fained, as that of *Heliodorus* his *Æthiopike* History, *Achilles Tattius*, *Iamblichus*, all in Loue-stories; *Lucius Patrensis* his *Metamorphoses* (whence *Lucian* had his *Lucius*, and thence *Apuleius* his *Asinus*). *Antonius Diogenes* his *Thule*, and other like, they are not fabulous Histories but Parables, Mysticall Fables and Poems in Historicall forme, as *Utopia* and *Arcadia*; that I adde not more then a good many others amongst vs of worse note, which idle wits haue made both Mothers and Daughters of Idlenesse, or fruitlesse foolish businesse without braine or heart.

I haue more mind to giue you a History, though euen here wee cannot secure *Quicquid Gracia mendax Andet in Historia*. Some things are vncertaine in the best, yet better a tattered truth then nothing.

The Philosphers and Wisemen of *Greece* were Trauellers for knowledge (of which some trauelled with knowledge also, and haue left Geographickall Monuments) Merchants for gaine, and mightie Potentates for Dominion and Glory. The Merchants had their reward in that which they sought, the other for better knowledge of times, deserue more leisurely view.

## CHAP. V.

A briefe recitall of the famous expeditions mentioned in ancient Histories, of the Assyrians, Egyptians, Scythians, Æthiopians, Persians, and others.

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These last haue bin told by Poets as fables, that is truths eeked and wrought vpon by their wits for greater delight, so the stories of the first *Assyrian* Monarchie and *Egyptian* Dynasties haue little more solidity. *Ninus* by the Greeke and Latine stories is renowned for his ambitious marches, and trauels thorow all *Asia* from the Red to the Euzine Sea, and thorow *Scythia* to the *Bactrians*. Hee conquered (saith *Diodorus*) the *Armenians* and their King *Barchanes*, *Pharnus* also King of *Media* and all *Asia* from *Tanaïs* to *Nilus*, the *Egyptians*, *Phanicians*, *Syrians*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Misia*, *Lydia*, *Troas*, *Propontis*, *Bythinia*, *Cappadocia*, the *Barbarians* vpon *Pontus*, *Cadusians*, *Tapyrans*, *Hircans*, *Dranges*, *Derbici*, *Carmani*, *Coronei*, *Rhomni*, *Vorcans*, *Parthians*, *Persians*, *Susians*, *Cassians*, and many others. *Arians* the *Arabian* King was his Colleague in armes in these expeditions. After which he built *Ninus* or *Ninive*, the wals one hundred foot high, broad enough for three Carts to passe together on the tops, with 1500. Turrets 200. foote high, the squares vnequall the two longer 150. furlongs, the two shorter 90. Hee made a second expedition against the *Bactrians*, and then married *Semiramis* a *Syrian*, which he tooke from her husband *Menon*, who hanged himselfe in foolish griefe.

Ninus.

P. Orof. l. 1. c. 4.

Diod. sic. l. 2.

Ninive builded.

Semiramis.

The Scripture more truly ascribeth Babylon to Nimrod, Ninive to Asshur.

Theutamo. Memnon.

Ios. Scal. Note ad Enseb. Chron.

Vexores the Egyptian. Tanaïs.

*Semiramis* succeeded, and exceeded his exploits: She inuaded *Ethiopia*, and whereas (if you beleue *Ctesias*) *Ninus* had with him in his last expedition against *Zoroastres* the *Bactrian* 1700000. footmen and 200000. horsemen with 10600. hooked chariots: She builded (as they say) *Babylon*, with a stupendious Garden in *Chaona*, and Pallace at *Ecbatana*, cut out highwaies in *Persia*, passed thorow *Egypt* to *Libya* to the Oracle of *Iupiter Ammon*, subiected *Ethiopia*, and made three years provision to inuade *Staurobates* King of *India*, slew 300000. Bees of their Hides to frame counterfeit Elephants, and with 3000000. (it is *Ctesias* also which taleth it) of Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, and 2000. Ships, with Elephantine counterfeits carried on Camels, shee made that *Indian* inuasion, where *Staurobates* encountered her with greater numbers, threatening to crucifie her. On *Indus* was the Nauall fight, wherein the *Indians* had the worse, and lost 1000. Ships, but in the Field the *Assyrian* Armie was ouerthrowne. Thus they proceed in the *Assyrian* Empire for 1300. yeeres together, and say that at the warres of *Troy*, *Theutamo* the twentieth from *Ninus* relieved *Priamus* with 20000. Men, and 200. Chariots vnder the conduct of *Memnon*. As for *Sardanapalus* the thirtieth and last of them, the truth is, as in the former, a certaine vncertainty. *Ensebius* reckoneth the time of *Semiramis* to haue beene the same with *Abraham*, so that *Moses*, whom *Iosephus*, *Clemens*, *Africanus*, *Tatianus*, make to be 850. yeeres before the *Troian* warre, is by his more probable reckoning made much later, yet, as hee saith, ancienter then the *Greekish* Antiquities, and their Gods also: being borne, as *Scaliger* calculateth out of his Positions 394. yeeres before the destruction of *Troy*. Now what petty Kingdomes the World had in the best peopled parts in *Abrahams* time, the fourth Chapter of *Genesis* sheweth, euen of those Regions; which some therefore make but Vice-roys vnder the *Assyrian*, very daringly. *Ninus* his numbers saue of *Nimrods* *Babel*, which after Ages could make swel with such vanities. It may be a question (I thinke the negatiue out of question) whether the World had then so many soules so soone after the Flood, as those *Indian* and *Assyrian* Armies are said to containe.

The like may bee said of *Vexores* the *Egyptian* Kings Expedition, which conquered to *Pontus*,

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Pontus, and Tanais the *Scythians*, which conquered him and almost all *Asia*; some say before *Ninus*. *Vexores* by *Genebrard* is supposed to be *Osiris*, the first *Pharao*. And for *Sesostris* wee haue already in part acknowledged his greatnesse, and withall his latenesse in the time of *Rehoboam* the Sonne of *Salomon*. He is said to haue had in his Army 600000. Footmen, and 24000. Horse, 8020. Chariots of Warre, in the Red Sea foure hundred Ships. Hee conquered beyond *Ganges*, the *Medes*, the *Scythians* vnto *Tanaïs*, and the rest of *Asia*. Into *Europe* he passed as farre as *Thrace*, and left Pillars as Monuments for his victories, engrauen with the representation of a mans Priuities, if they were valiant; of a womans, if effeminate.

Diod. sic. l. 1.

Zerab the

Ethiopian.

2. Chron. 9. 14

2. Kin. 16. 6 17.

Thercon.

Strab. l. 15.

Megasthenes his

testimony of

old Expediti-

ons.

Nabuchodon-sors

Idanthyrsus.

Cyrus.

Dan. 2. 6 4.

Cambyfes.

Darius. Xerxes.

Her. 4. 7.

- 10 Not long after was that Expedition of *Zerab* the *Ethiopian* with a million of men, over-throwne by King *Asa*; as that of the *Queens* of *Sheba* (some thinke shee raigned ouer *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*) to *Salomon* a little before. *Tiglash Pileser* King of *Assyria* tooke *Damascus*, and *Salmanser* carried away the tenne Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*, and placed *Babylonians*, *Cutheans* and others in their roomes. *Senacherib* soone after inuaded *Judah*, but *Tirbakab* King of *Ethiopia* came out against him. This *Tirbakab* is thought to be that *Tearcon*, which *Strabo* mentioneth, where hee denieth that *India* had beene inuaded by any but *Bacchus* and *Hercules* before *Alexander*, denying that of *Semiramis*, and al- leading *Megasthenes* both to that purpose, and that *Sesostris* the *Egyptian*, and *Tearcon* the *Ethiopian* pierced into *Europe*, yea that *Nabucodonosor*, or *Nanocodrosor* (more celebra- ted by the *Chaldeans* then *Hercules*) came to the Straits or *Hercules* his Pillars; as did al-
- 20 so *Tearcon*: also that *Idanthyrsus* the *Scythian* pierced as farre as *Egypt*; but none of them went (saith hee) to *India*. *Megasthenes* acknowledgeth that *Cyrus* came neere the *Indi- ans*, in his Expedition against the *Massagets*, but not thither. As for *Nabucodonosors* *Asian* and *Egyptian* Expeditions, and his Dominion in manner ouer the World wee haue diuine te- stimony in *Daniells* Tree and Golden Image; of *Cyrus* also, whose Conquests are knowne, and large Peregrinations from the West parts of *Asia*, where hee captiued *Crae- sus* and subdued his, with the adioyning Dominions, and all the Regions thence thorow *Sy- ria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Persia*, to the *Massagets* and *Scythians*. His sonne *Cambyfes* added *Egypt*, and that foolish Expedition against the *Ethiopians*. *Darius* with 800000. men inuaded the *Scythians*. *Xerxes*, as *Herodotus* hath recorded, inuaded *Greece* with 1700000. Footmen, 80000. Horsemen, 20000. Chariot Men, one thousand two hundred and eight saile of Ships. *Ctesias* (which vseth elsewhere to say the most) hath but 800000. men besides Cha- riots, and one thousand Ships. As for other *Scythian* and *Amazonian* inuasions, with others of other Nations, for their vncertaintie I omit them. The *Greeks* also had their many, both Expe- ditions and defensue Warres against the *Persians* before *Alexanders* time. *Themistocles*, *Xenop- hon*, and many others of them are renowned, tam marte quam Mercurio. And thus the *Persian* Empire hath brought vs to *Alexander*, which succeeded it, of whose Expedition wee shall anon take speciall and more leisurely view.
- 30

- As for the later Empires of *Carthage* and *Rome*, to tell of their Trauellers and Trauels would proue a History of their States, and all their famous Captaines, especially the *Romans* when they began to spread their wings farre from their *Italian* nest, and flowed out of *European* Bankes into *Africa* and *Asia*. The *Scipios* in the *Carthaginian* warres, *Lucullus* in *Africa*, and after in the *Mithridatike* war; Great *Pompey* in his *European*, *Asian*, and fatall *African* Voyages & Expeditions; Greater *Iulius*, whose trauels procreated a Monarchy; Couetous *Crassus*, Cruell *Antonius*, Flourish- ing *Augustus*, Seely *Claudius*, Triumphant *Vespasian*, Gentle *Titus*, Proud *Domitian*, Glorious *Traian*, Witty *Adrian*, & in manner all the rest of their Emperors forced, or forcing on their Fron- tiers, & whose very Imperial progresse in their own State, were great voyages & peregrinations; yea their Empires (as before \* is obserued) was called by the ambitious title of the World: For better knowledge whereof I haue here presented the Map thereof. Seuerer *Seuerus* died at *Torke*, Christian *Constantine* arose a bright Sunne to the World out of our North; Apostata *Iulian* travel- led also and brought forth an incarnate Deuill, which after many peregrinations perished in the East, and left the Empire to Good *Iouian*. To set downe the Emperours trauels would be to giue you the Imperiall History from *Iulius*, till the times that the World fell in trauell with *Barbart- an* trauellers, *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Hercules*, *Hannes*, *Anares*, *Frankes*, *Saxons*, *Lumbards*, *Saracens*, which shared amongst them that vast Empire: especially the trauell of the Imperiall Seat from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, giuing the occasion both to a mysticall conception of Antichrist (which may seeme borne long after by *Phocas* midiwifery, and growing vp till *Gregory* the seuenth, when the Deuill was loosed from the bottomlesse pit, and in Christian names restored in great part the Ethnike Gentilisme) and to those inundations of *Barbarians* and Barbarisme, which like a smoake from the bottomlesse pit prepared the Papall way. *Pipine*, and especiall *Charles* the Great were great Trauellers also, and vnwitting much furthered the growth of that Monster, which after swallowed vp the Imperiall Eagle, and left but the feathers and shadow remaining. The *Danes* and *Normanes* were vnwelcome Trauellers, which perfected that, which others had be- gun: especiall the *Normanes* by their warres and greatnesse in *Italy*, growing out of the ruines of the Easterne Empire, and by that conspiracy of *Urban* and *Boamund*, which seeking to fish in troubled waters deuised the Expeditions of the *Frankes* to the *Hierosolymitan* warre, which set the
- 40
- 50
- 60

\* Sup. c. 1. §. 2.



## Hondius his Map of the Roman Empire.



world in travell 200. years together, the *Mahumetans* of the South and East, and the *Christians* of the North and West making *Palestina* the stage of fury & slaughter. After these the *Tartars* filled 40 the world with innumerable armies & mischiefs, especially all *Asia* & one halfe of *Europe*. But these are later things, and some of them follow in our Relations. For the *Parthians*, and later *Persian* Dynasty, and *Saracenicall* travells over, and both spirituall and temporall conquests thorow the world, and the *Ottoman*, *Sophian*, *Mogoll*, and other branches from that root, I have bin a large relater in my Pilgrimage.

## CHAP. VI.

## The travells of the antient Philosophers and learned men briefly mentioned.

50

\*Least Travellers may be greatest Writers. Even I which have writtē so much of travellers & travells, neuer travelled 200. miles from Thaxted in Essex, where I was borne: herein like a whet-



Now let vs examine the Voyages of Philosophers and Learned men, into remote parts for Wisdome and Learning. *Diogenes Laertius* maketh two kinds of Philosophy, the one *Ionike*, the other *Italike*: this began from *Pysbgoras*, the other from *Thales*, both which, with many of their Successors were great Travellers. As for *Thales*, his Epistle to *Pberocydes* a *Syrian* (another travelling Philosopher) is yet extant in *Laertius*, in which he mentions his & *Solons* travells, in these words: For neither are I and *Solon* the Athenian so foolish and mad, that when we have sailed to *Crete* & pierced into *Egypt*, there to conferrē with the Priests and Astronomers, we would not with like care saile to *Ithaca*. For *Solon* will come also if you thinke good. For thou being holden with liking of that place sel-dome passest into *Ionie*; neither art moved with desire of Strangers: but as I hope thou onely appliest thy selfe to writing. But wee which write nothing, \* travell thorow *Greece* and *Alia*.

None, which being blunt causeth sharpnesse; or a Candlestick holding many Candles, without which it selfe is vnseene in the darke; and as the Compass is of little compasse and motion, yet teacheth to compasse the World; or as the Pole-star is least moved of all, & most of all moving & guiding the Traveller. Enuy not a marginall roome to him, who hath vied Volumes so spacious to thee; in which, how little is the travell of the greatest Traveller; or how could a great Traveller have travelled of so much.

Thus



Thus haue you one testimony of two Grandees, *Thales* and *Solon*. This later, in his return from *Egypt* visited *Cyprus*, and after went to *Croesus*, who adorning himselfe in greatest glory & pompe, asked *Solon* if euer he had seene goodlier spectacle? Yes, laid he, Cockes, Pheasants, and Peacockes. *Croesus* being after by *Cyrus* sentenced to the fire, cried, O *Solon*, *Solon*, *Solon*, and being demanded the reason, answered, That *Solon* had told him, that no man might be accounted happy before his death: wherein *Cyrus* reading the mutabilitie of his owne fortunes, gaue him his life and a competent estate. Thence *Solon* went into *Cilicia*, and built *Solos*:

To *Croesus* is an Epistle also of *Anacharsis*, another trauelling Philosopher, borne in *Scythia*, and brother to the *Scythian* King, making some mention of his Trauells in these words: I, O King of *Lidians*, came into Greece to learne their Manners, Studies, and Instructions; and need not Gold, esteeming it enough to returne to the *Scythians* a better man, and more learned. Yet I will come to thee to *Sardis*, much esteeming thy friendship and familiaritie. Hee was *Solons* guest at *Athens*, whither he came in the fortie seuenth Olympiad. *Socrates* the first bringer in of Ethikes or Morall Philosophy, was a Traueller also, and followed the warres by Land and Sea. *Xenophon* his Scholler, was both in Arts, and Armes, and Trauells famous, and hath left Monument: thereof written by himselfe. His Voyage to *Delphos*, and thence to *Cyru*, and after his *Persian* iourney to *Agessilaus* King of *Sparta*, and with him against the *Thebans*, and after that to *Helis* and *Corinth*, are recorded by *Laertius*. In his daies *Ctesias* a Traueller and Historian liued, which writ the *Persian*, *Assyrian* and *Indian* Stories, but often trauells from truth.

Laert. l. 2.

Xenophon.

Aristippus.

*Aristippus* was a *Cyrenian* by birth, by studies an *Athenian*, as were many others of his Countrymen, by base flattery a trencher-worme to *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* Tyrant. *Ptolemus* an *Ethiopian* was his Scholler, and *Antipater* a *Cyrenean*. *Epitemedes*, *Parabates*, *Hegesias*, *Anniceris* were also *Cyrenaiques*, holding voluptuous opinions, as also *Theodorus* and another *Aristippus*, magnifying sensuall pleasures. The Ecclesiastike Histories of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, mention the trauells of *Empedocles*, which threw himselfe into the *Sicilian* Crateres, and of *Democritus* *Cous* which spent eightie yeeres in trauelling thorow diuers Countries. *Meropius* also, and *Merodorus* are mentioned with others. But wee will come to men better knowne: *Plato* is famous both for Philosophy and Trauelling. Hee trauelled to *Euclide* at *Megara*, to *Theodorus* the Mathematician, into *Italy* to the *Pythagoreans*, *Philolaus* and *Eurytus*, thence to *Egypt* to the Priests (and with him *Euripides* also) and intended to visit the *Persian* Magi, but was prohibited by the *Asian* warres. Returning to *Athens* hee set vp the *Academie*. Thrice hee trauelled in warfare to *Tanagra*, to *Corinth*, to *Delos*. Thrice also hee sayled into *Sicilia*. First to see it, at which time *Dionysius* the Tyrant displeased with his free speech, caused him to bee sold in *Egina*; but being freed, *Dionysius* writ to him not to reproach him. *Plato* answered, Hee had not so much leisure as to thinke on *Dionysius*. He sailed thither to the younger *Dionysius* twice. His Disciples were *Speusippus* the *Athenian*, *Xenocrates* of *Chalcedon*, *Aristotle* the *Stagirite*, *Dion* of *Syracuse*, *Amphilus* of *Heraclea*, *Timolaus* of *Cyzicus*, *Heracledes* of *Pontus*, and others of other Countries, his Schoole yeelding a prettie Geographickall Map of Countries. *Bion* was borne neere *Boristhenes*, but added honor to his Country by his studies. He was sold for a Slaue, and bought by an Orator which made him his heire: he sold al & went to *Athens*. After his studies there, he liued at *Rhodes*.

Plato.

Laert. l. 3.

Euripides.

*Lacydes* the chief of the *New Academie*, was a *Cyrenean*. *Carneades* was also of the same natio. *Clitomachus* was a *Carthaginian*, & his true name was *Asdrubal*. He went to *Athens*, & there became the scholler of *Carneades* & his successor. *Menippus* was a *Phenician* by birth, & liued a *Cynik* at *Thebes*. *Aristotle* was borne the first yeere of the 99. Olympiad: at seuentene yeers he became *Platoes* Scholler, and so continued twentie yeeres. After that hee went to *Mitylene*, and when *Alexander* was fiftene yeeres old, to King *Philip*, in the second yeere of the 109. Olympiad, and hauing commended the care of young *Alexander* to his Cousin *Callisthenes*, in the second of the 111. returned to *Athens*, and taught in *Lyceo* thirteene yeeres, and then went to *Chalcis* and there died. *Callisthenes* trauelled with *Alexander*, till the *Persian* Conquest had made him swell beyond the measure of a man, and some *Greeke* Foolosophers (Philosophers I dare not call them; but amongst the *Muses* some haue alway beene Hedge-whores, and the learning of some in all Ages hath licked the trenchers, and fly-blowed the sores of great men; with the basest of vices, Flattery, kissing the hinder parts, sucking \* the Emerodes, feeding on their excrements, themselves the excrements of Mankind: but whither hath passion transported mee?) *Agis* an *Argine*, and *Cleo* a *Sicilian*, some adde *Anaxarchus* also, *Et cetera urbium suarum Purgamenta* (saith *Curcius*) would needs open Heauen to *Alexander*, and preferre him to *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Castor* and *Polux*: *Alexander* stood behind the hangings, whiles *Cleo* made a speech to perswade the *Persian* Rites, and with them to deifie and incense their Kings. Which being grauely refuted by *Callisthenes* (for to him especially was the speech directed, that they which went before others in learning, should in this innouation also) that it was not for him and *Cleo* to make Gods, or for the King honor to bee beholden to them for his Diuinitie, which could not giue a Kingdome on Earth to him, and much lesse Heauen: *Alexander* concealed his malice, till vpon occasion of torturing some, which had conspired his death, he tortured also euen to death *Callisthenes*, giuing him that recompence for sauing his life, when hauing slaine *Cytus* in a drunken rage, hee would haue

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\* So the Barber of Levis the Eleventh. Arrian. l. 4. Q. Curt. l. 3. Plut. Alex.



added in a fullen and mad penance his owne death, and was by *Callisthenes* wiledome reclaimed. This was his preparation to the *Indian Expedition*.

Many other learned men followed *Alexander*, and writ his story, viz. *Marfjas*, *Pellani*, *Hecataus Abderita*, *Aristobulus*, *Clitarchus*, *Anaximenes*, *Onesicritus*, *Nearchus*, *Ptolemaus Lagi* after King of *Egypt*, *Antipater* another of *Alexanders* Captaines, and an Historian, *Aristus*, *Asclepiades*; *Vossius* addes *Archelaus*, *Strattis*, *Enmenes*, *Diodorus*, whose stories wee haue cited by *Arrianus*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, &c. But then the World trauelled of Trauellers of all sorts, learned and vnlearned.

Lact. l. 7.

L. I. 8.

Pythagor. 21.

Plin. l. 30. c. 1.

Iambl. pag. 39.

Strab. lib. 15.

Curt. 10.

Fr. Elian. &c.

Amb. Ep. 7.

Diod. Sic. l. 4. c. 9.

See Vossius of

Polybius, & Py-

thias. De hist.

græc.

Herod. l. 4.

Scyllax sent by

the Persian to

discouer the

Græcian Coast,

before that fa-

mous inuasion.

*Zeno* was a *Cyprian*, by birth of *Phenician* parentage, and at *Athens* began the *Stoike Sect*, whither hee came with Purple out of *Phenicia* to sell, and suffered shipwracke in the *Piræum*, vpon which occasion solacing himselfe with a booke, hee followed *Crates*. *Cleanthes* was his successor, & after him *Spharus* a *Bosphoran*, which trauelled also to *Alexandria* to *Ptolemaus Philopater*. *Heraclites* the *Ephesian* was a traueilling Philosopher, of whose acquaintance *Darius Hiftaspis* was ambitious and writ to him about it. But of all the Philosophers none were more famous, then the first founder of that name *Pythagoras*, either in traueills with, or for Science. He was borne at *Samos*, thence passed to *Lesbos*, and there heard *Pherecydes* the *Syrian*. Returning to *Samos*, *Polycrates* the famous Minion of Fortune, commended him to *Amasis* King of *Egypt*. Hee learned the *Egyptian Mysteries* and Language, and trauelled thence with *Epimenedes* into *Crete*, and after that into *Italy* to *Croton*, and there began the *Italike* Philosophy before mentioned. But who can tell his traueills? *Iamblichus* his Scholler, saith that *Pythagoras* learned his Philosophy, partly of the *Orphics*, partly of the *Egyptian Priests*; partly of the *Chaldees* and *Magi*. Learned *Plinie* saith of him, that to learne *Zoroastres* his *Magia*, *Pythagoras nauigauit, exilio verius quam peregrinatione suscepta*. Hee (doe you beleue it?) had beene *Ethalides* the sonne of *Mercury*, and after that had beene *Euphorbus* in the warres of *Troy*, who being dead, his soule passed into *Hermotimus*, and trauelled to *Branchida* to *Apollos* Temple, after whose death a new transmigration befell him into *Pyrrhus* a *Delian* Fisherman, and at last you haue *Pythagoras*. It seemeth hee had beene also in *India*, where the *Brachmanes* or *Bramenes* to this day oblerue the Rites and Opinions which the Western World ascribe to *Pythagoras*, as not eating of things which haue had life; transmigration of soules, and the like. *Hiftaspis*, the Father of *Darius* the King, is reported to haue trauelled into *India* and learned their *Magike & Philosophy*, which the *Magi* in *Persia* after professed. *Philostratus* hath written a long Legend of *Apollonius Tyanus* his Pilgrimage to the *Brachmanes* in *India*, to *Babylon*, *Egypt*, and *Arabia*, to *Nysa*, to *Taxilla*, to *Iarchas* the principall *Indian Brachmane*, to his *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian Gymnosophists*, &c. But *incredulus odi*. I reckon him an Hospitall beggar, with whom I will haue nothing to doe. *Pyrrho* an *Athenian* Philosopher Scholler of *Anaxarchus*, is said to haue trauelled both to the *Persian Magi*, and *Indian Gymnosophists*, and learned of them that hee could learne nothing; nay learned not so much, but doubred of that also. *India* also yeelded some traueilling Philosophers to the *Gracians*, of whom the most famous is that *Calanus* which followed *Alexander* to *Pasargada*, some say to *Babylon*, and there burned himselfe, an end sutable to his seuerer profession beyond the *Stoikes* austeritie. An Epistle of his is registred at large by Saint *Ambrose*. *Archimedes* also trauelled into *Egypt* and left famous Monuments of his Art in many parts of the World. But wee haue beene too long in trauell of this argument. More are wee beholden to the traueills of Historians, such as *Herodotus*, *Megasthenes*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Polybius*, and many others which trauelled into *Italy*, *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, *Greece*, *Asia*, and diuers parts of the World, that they might giue the World vnto posteritie. Herein also they deserue mention, which then were counted fablers, as *Pythias Massiliensis*, whom *Strabo* and others reiect: yet his reports of short nights, &c. are now knowne truths. Some haue written of traueilling and sailing by the Coasts, as *Arrianus* his Circumnavigation of the Red or *Indian Sea*, and of the Blacke or *Euxine Sea*; the *Periplus* & *Periplus* of *Marcianus Heracleotes*, published in *Greece* by *David Hoeschelins*, rare Iewells for knowledge of antient Geography, but not so fitting our common Reader. The like wee may say of *Scyllax Caryandensis*, mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Artemidorus* the *Ephesian*, *Dicearchus Meseinus*, *Isidorus*, *Conracenus*. The Learned know where to read them: the Vulgar would not regard them if they were here; Time hauing deuoured the very names by them mentioned, and not the Cities and Ports alone. Yet for a taste wee will giue you a Voyage of two of the Antients. And first that of *Hanno*.



CHAP. VII.

Phœnician Voyages, and especially that of Hanno, a Carthaginian Captaine.

**D**iodorus Siculus reporteth of the Phœnicians (of whose Navigations in the Indian and African Ocean, and Spanish Plantations we have spoken before) that say-  
 10 ling to diuers Marts, they planted many Colonies in Africa, and some also in the West parts of Europe: that they sailed also out of the Straits into the Ocean, and built on the European Continent the Citie Gadirra (or Cadiz) and therein erected a sumptuous Temple to Hercules, which to his dayes was holden in great reputation of Sanctitie, the Rites therein obserued after the Phœnician manner, wherein many famous Roman Commanders after their great exploits, haue paid to this God their vowed  
 20 Holies. The Phœnicians sailing alongst the Lybian shore in the Ocean, were many dayes carried with tempests vnto an Iland very great and fertile, with pleasant Champaines and Mountaines, goodly Woods, Gardens, Houses, Fountaines, wholsome Ayre, seeming to be the dwelling rather of Gods then Men. The Tyrrheni (which were strong by Sea) would haue sent a Colonie thither, but were forbidden by the Carthaginians, which feared lest their Citizens allured by the goodnesse of the Countrey should betake themselues thither: and besides, they would refuse it  
 30 for a place of refuge, if any aduersitie should happen to their Citie. Aristotle also in his Booke *de diuinatione ex aëre* hath some such thing of Carthaginian Merchants, which sailed from Spaine into the Westerne Ocean; but I thinke both may bee applied rather to some one of the Ilands of the Canaries, or Cape Verd, or Saint Thomas, or to some part of the African Continent, which they might thinke (not sailing further) to be an Iland, or to some fiction, then to America. Aristotle in that Treatise mentioneth Hanno, which Vossius thinketh rather to be the worke of the younger Aristotle, called Ponticus (Laertius mentions eight Aristotles) then of that great Oracle of learning and miracle of Nature. But of Hannos Periplus (as it was falsely termed) many Authors haue made mention. Plinie to speaketh of it, as if hee had sailed about Africa, in these words, *Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumuectus à Gadibus ad finem Arabia, nauigationem eam prodidit scripto; sicut ad extera Europa nascenda missus eodem tempore Himilco.* By which words it is apparant that Hanno and Himilco in those flourishing times of Carthage, were sent by  
 40 publike decree vpon discoueries, Himilco to the Coasts of France, Britaine, and other parts of Europe; Hanno Southwards to coast around the African shores. The like testimony he hath in his fifth Booke, *Fuere & Hannonis Carthaginensium Ducis commentarij, Punicis rebus florentissimis, explorare ambitum Africe iussi: quem secuti plerique nostris, ad alia quedam fabulosa, & vrbes multas ab eo conditas ibi prodidere, quarum nec memoria ulla, nec vestigium extat.* Whereby wee see that Plinie doubted of the truth of Hannos relations: yea it was a Prouerbe, as Athenaus, which Casaubon in his Notes vpon him, with Vossius also haue obserued; *Siquid eiusmodi Iuba refert, gaudeat Lybicis libris Hannonis ac erroribus:* as good a testimonie of Iuba and Hanno for  
 50 Historians as Virgils of Banius and Manius for Poets. Yet, as I will not altogether cleare him, so I thinke that ignorance of those places in those times made him seeme the more fabulous, as Marco Polo and others did till our Grandfathers daies: which appeareth in that they make that a circumnauigation about Africk, which reached not one quarter of the way from the Pillars of Hercules, to the Arabian Gulfe. Artemidorus the Ephesian doth mention it, and Mela also with Solinus. Mela came neere the truth, which saith that Hanno sailed a great part of the coast, and returned for want of prouision, not of Sea-roume. He, and Solinus and Plinie haue cited much out of him, which perhaps might receiue a better interpretation then Antiquity could giue, as appeareth by Ramusios annotations on that Voyage, and by helpe of a Portugall Pilot expert in those coasts, comparing Hannos with the present Navigations. We will first giue you the Text and then the Commentarie. But first we will adde out of Galiano touching Himilco, that hee is said to haue  
 60 sailed to Gotland and Thule, within 24. degrees of the Pole, where the day in Iune is two and twenty houres, and to haue spent in that discouery two yeeres: I know not what good prooffe he hath of that Relation. Plinie whom he citeth, saith that the Northerne Ocean was sailed for the most part by the procurement of Augustus, to the Cimbrian Promontory, and the Scythian coast, and that from the East when Selencus and Antiochus reigned, the North Sea about the Caspian was sailed, and called by their names Selencida and Antiochida. But that he ioyneth the Caspian with the Ocean, makes it lesse credible, being contrary to later experience. No better credit hath that report of Nepos touching Indians which had for trade sailed out of India and come about by the Northerne Ocean, and by tempest were brought into Germany, presented by the King of the Suenians to Quintus Metellus Celer then proconsull of Gallia, which haply were of some Nation in the Balticke Sea, by tempest loosing themselues, and not finding any which could vnderstand their language, were by some smattering Grammarians or trusty trauellers (which by daring ignorance would aduenture on applause for skill in Geography) or else by the Ciuier (which thought the mention of the Indian name would much commend his present) obruded on the no

D. Sic. l. 4. c. 7.  
 Sup. c. 1. § 12.

Gadira or Cadiz built by the Phœnicians.

Goodly Iland.

Galiano, Quiedd and others apply it to the American Antilles.

Gerardi 10. vof. de hist. Græ. l. 4.

Plin. l. 2. c. 67.

Himilco.

L. 5. c. 1.

a & alia quædam fab.

Qui Barium non odit, amet sua carmina Mani.

I. Solin c. 27.  
 Pomp. Mel. de sit. Orb. l. 3. c. 10.  
 Hanno Carthaginensis, cum per Oceani ostia exisset, magnam partem eius circumuectus, non se mari sed comitatu defecisse &c.

Plin. l. 2. c. 67.



lesse ignorant Spectators, for *Indians*: a thing easily said, and not easily disproved, where none had scene any *Indian*. But now to *Hanno*.

*The Navigation of HANNO a Carthaginian Captaine on the Coasts of Africa, without HERCVLES Pillars, which he dedicated, written in the Punick tongue in the Temple of Saturne, after translated into the Greeke, and now into the English, with brieve annotations.*

*Thymiatarium.*

THE *Carthaginians* determined that *Hanno* should saile without *Hercules Pillars*, & there build Cities of the *Liby-phinicians*. He set saile with threescore Ships of fiftie Oares a peece, conducting with him a great multitude of men and women, to the number of thirty thousand, with victuals and all other necessities. We arrived at the Pillars, and passed them, and having sailed without them two daies, we built the first Citie, calling it *Thymiatarium*. It had round about it very large Champaignes. After turning toward the West, we came to a promontorie of *Africa*, called *Soloente*, couered all ouer with woods. And having here built a Temple to *Neptune*, we sailed halfe a day towards the East, till we arrived at a Fen, which is situated not farre from the Sea, very full of great and long Canes: and there were in it feeding Elephants, & many other creatures. Then having gone about a daies saile beyond that Fenne we built Cities on the Sea coast, calling them by their proper names *Marus*, *Caricus*, *Gutta*, *Acra*, *Melitta* and *Arambis*. Departing from thence we came to the great Riuer *Lixus* which descends from *Africa*: By it there were certaine men called *Lixita*, feeders of Cattell, tending their flockes; with whom wee continued so long, that they became verie familiar. Moreouer vp in the Countrie about them the *Negros* inhabited, who will not traffique with any, and their Countrie is verie barbarous and full of wilde Beasts, and enuironed with high Mountaines, from which as they say, issues the Riuer *Lixus*, and round about the Mountains inhabit men of diuers shapes, which haue their abiding in Canes; they runne swifter then horses, as the *Lixians* report: from thence taking some Interpreters, we sailed by a desert Countrie towards the South two daies. And then wee vered one day towards the East, where in the bottome of a Gulfe we found alike Iland, that was five furlongs in compasse, which we inhabited, naming it *Cerne*, and by the way that we had sailed we iudged that that Iland was opposite to *Carthage*, for the Nauigation from *Carthage* to the Pillars, and from thence to *Cerne* seemed equall. Parting from thence, and sailing by a great Riuer called *Crete*, we arrived at a Lake, which had in it three Ilands greater then *Cerne*. From whence sailing the space of a day, we came to the further part of the Lake: there we saw very high Mountaines which overlooked all the Lake: where were sauage people cloathed in beafts skins, who chased vs away with stones, not suffering vs to land: sailing from thence we came to another great and large streame full of Crocodiles, and Riuer-horses. From thence turning backe againe, wee returned to *Cerne*. Sailing then twelue daies Southerly, not going farre from the coast, which was peopled with *Negros*, who vpon sight of vs fled away, and spake so, as the *Lixita* that were with vs vnderstood them not. The last day we arrived at a Mountaine full of great trees, the wood whereof was odoriferous and of various colours. Having now coasted two daies by this Mountaine, wee found a deepe and troublesome race of Sea; on the side whereof towards the land was a plaine, where by night we saw fires kindled on euery side, distant one from the other some more some lesse. Having watered here, we sailed by the land five daies, so that we arrived in a great Bay, which our Interpreters said, was called *Hesperus his borne*. In this there was a great Iland, and in the Iland a Lake, which seemed a Sea, and in this there was another Iland; where having landed, by day we saw nothing but woods, but in the night many fires were kindled, and we heard Pluses and the noise and sound of Cimbals and Drummes, and besides infinite shours; so that wee were exceedingly afraid, and our Diuiners commanded vs to abandon the Iland: then swiftly sailing from thence, we passed by a Countrie smelling of Spices: from which some fierie Riuers fall into the Sea, and the land is so hot that men are not able to goe in it; therefore being somewhat affrighted we suddenly hoised out our sailes, and running along in the maine the space of foure daies, we saw by night the Country full of flames, and in the midst an exceeding high fire, greater then all the rest, which seemed to reach vnto the Starres: but wee saw this after in the day time, which was a very loftie Mountaine, called *Σῶν ὄχνηα* that is, the *Chariot of the Gods*. But having sailed three daies by fierie Riuers, we arrived in a Gulfe called *Notuceras*, that is, the *South borne*: in the inner part thereof there was a little Iland like vnto the first, which had a Lake in it, and in that there was another Iland full of Sauage men, but the women were more; they had their bodies all ouer hairie, and of our Interpreters they were called *Gorgones*: we pursued the men but could take none, for they fled into precipices and defended themselves with stones; but we tooke three of the women, which did nothing but bite and scratch those that led them, and would not follow them. Therefore they killed them and flead them, and brought their skins to *Carthage*: and because victuals failed vs, we sailed no further.



It appears that *Hannos* wisdom for discovery in that infancy of Navigation\* about 2000 yeeres since, thought small Vessels fittest by which he might keepe neere the shoare, the edging whereof caused him to saile East or West, as the Land trended. The *Carthaginians* being of *Phoenician* originall from *Tyrus*, and *Lybian* habitation and Empire, called their Cities *Lybiphanician*: of which *Thymiatonium* seemes to the *Portugall* Pilot in *Ramusio*, to be *Azamor* in 32. and a halfe, where runneth a spacious Plaine to *Morocco*. The Promontory *Soloente* seemeth Cape *Cantim* in 32. degrees. After which the coast runneth in much Eastward, and the abundance of Rivers cause the great Fenne mentioned; beyond which they built those Cities, the same, or neere to those now in the Kingdome of *Morocco*, *Azafi*, *Goz*, *Aman*, *Mogador*, *Teshua*, &c. After they passe the Cape *Ger*, and encounter the River *Lixus*, where the Poets fables place *Hercules* his *Anteus* and the *Hesperides* Gardens. The Pilot thought it the River of *Sus*, which runnes into the Sea at *Messa* in 29. degr. 30. min. Beyond that begins Mount *Atlas* the lesse, which runneth Eastward quite thorow *Barbary*, and to which the *Romans* came, the sands prohibiting their approach to the greater *Atlas*. After this *Hanno* commeth to Cape *Non*, Cape *Boiador* and Cape *Blanke*; and then turning to the East, comes to the Ile *Argin*, which hee called *Cerne*: and thought to be as farre from the Straits in the course of their sailing, as it was betwixt those Straits and *Carthage*. For as for the height, it is plaine that they neither vsed compasse, nor obserued degrees. And for *Ptolemeis* degrees, they are almost euery where false or vncertaine, rather from his conjecture, then the Mariners calculation, and in transcribing made worse in so many barbarous and ignorant ages: his places are of more vse in shewing their bearing East or West, North or South, short, or beyond, or wide, then for exact gradations.

The Islands of Cape *Verd* in 13. are *Hannos Hesperides* (the *Canaries* or *Fortunate* Islands he could not see, creeping neere the shore) and for River *Horses* and *Crocodiles*, they are no rarities in *Africke*. From Cape *Verd* the race of the Sea might seeme terrible to their small Vessels, where the River of Saint *Mary* and *Rio Grande* in 15. degrees, hath troubled waters. Such fires as hee mentioneth are seene to this day of those which saile on the coast of *Senega* and *Guinea*, because the *Negros* eat little in the day time for heate, but at night haue their fires without doores and there refresh themselves: many of which a farre off present such lights at Sea; the merry *Negros* to fray away wilde Beasts and to expresse their mirth, making such musick with shouts and cries.

30 *Sierra Leona* is that chariot of the Gods in 8. degrees, the continuall thunders and lightnings at some times of the yeere presenting such a fierie spectacle as *Hanno* reporteth: yet augmented for greater wonder, as also are his fiery Rivers, that whereas the world talked of a fiery *Zone*, not habitable through heate, he might lye a little to saue his credit from imputation of a greater lye, if he had reported the temperature neere the line. The like humour of inclining to vulgar fancies appeareth in his tales of the *Gorgones*. And for the monstrous womens hairy skins, they might be of the *Baboones* or *Pongos* of those parts, some of which as *Iobson* and *Battell* our Countymen which trauelled those parts will tell you, are greater then women, & the *Pongos* nothing in manner differing from their shape. These were, as is probable within foure degrees of the line. The Island is thought to be that of *Fernando Poo*: but my learned friend Master *Hoelstin* a *German*, which is now preparing a learned treasury of Geographical antiquities to the Presse, supposeth that hee

40 passed not the Cape *Tres puntas* or that *de Palmas*.

\* Some make *Hanno* at least as auncient as *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*: *Vossius* thinks him to be that Capitaine which was sent against *Agathocles*, mentioned by *Trogus* (or his shadow *Isidore*) 1.22. *Liuy* mentions another, and *Pliny* 1.8. c. 16. of another *Hanno* that he was exiled for raiming *Lyons*.

See *Iobsons* voyage and larger notes. Inf. 47.

## CHAP. VIII.

*IAMBULVS* his Navigation to Arabia, and *Aethiopia*, and thence to a strange Island, from whence hee sailed to *Palimbothra* in India.

50 **I**F *Hannos* Voyage and Relations seemed incredible, much more may that of *Iambulus*, recorded by *Diodorus*. In what age hee liued is vncertaine, and as vncertaine what Island it was that hee is said to come to, which may seeme to some to be *Zeilan* or *Sana*, I rather thinke *Sumatra*. That it is wholly fabulous I cannot thinke, but that all is true therein, I were worthy also to haue my tongue slit, if I should affirme. Hee did mixe fables to the truth, to make his storie more plausible, and imitating the Poets; and without annotations the truth may easily be knowne from the fables of *Platoes* Republike and common women, and strange creatures, with other tales. But, if you will, thus the storie lyeth.

D. Sic. la.

60 *Iambulus* was learned from his child-hood and after his Fathers death (who was a Merchant) he exercised also Merchandizing. Passing through *Arabia* to buy Spices, he was taken by theues, with the associates of his iournie: at first with one of his fellow stoues, he was appointed to be a Keeper of Cattle: but after that, together with him hee was taken by certaine *Aethiopians*, and conuayed beyond the maritime *Aethiopia*. Seeing that they were strangers, they were taken for an expiation of that Country. The *Aethiopians* that inhabited those parts had a custome, which

*Iambulus* twice taken.



which they had anciently receiued from the Oracle of their Gods, and obserued it twenty Ages, that is sixe hundred yeeeres (for an Age is finished in thirtie yeeeres.) They had a little vessell prepared able to endure the tempests of the Sea, which two men might easily steere. They put into six months victuals for two men: bringing the men aboard, they commanded them to direct their vessell towards the South according to the answere of the Oracle: and told them that they should come to a goodly Iland and courteous people, that liued happily. And by that meanes, if they safely arriued in the Iland their Countrey should bee in peace and prosperity sixe hundred yeeeres. But if, being terrified through the length of the Sea they should retorne backe, they should bring, as impious and debauched perlous, great miseries to all their Nation. They report that the *Ethiopians* feasted diuers dayes by the Sea-side, and kept their holies, wishing them a lucky Voyage, and that the accustomed expiation were accomplished. After foure moneths sayle and many a storme, they were carried to an Iland of round forme, five thousand furlongs in compasse. When they drew neere to the Iland, some of the Inhabitants sent forth a Boat to meete them. Others running to them wondred at these new come strangers: and entertayned them very kindly and courteously: imparting to them such things as they had.

*Jambuli insula.*

Inhabitants  
described.  
as So doethe  
*Nairos* now.

Clouen  
tongues.  
Liers Em-  
bleme.

Temperate  
Aire.  
*Homer.*

This Reed is a  
just descriptio  
of Maiz, or In-  
dian Wheate.

Their Letters.

China forme of  
lines in writ-  
ting.  
Common wo-  
men.

Wondrous crea-  
tures.

The men of this Iland are not like to ours, either in their bodies or manners, yet all haue the same forme, but they exceed vs foure Cubits in stature. They wind their bones this way and that way as they please, like sinewes. Their bodies are stronger and nimbler then ours. For if they haue taken any thing into their hands, no man can pull it out of their fingers. They haue no haire, except on their head, eye-browes, eye-lids, and chinne: on the other parts of their bodies they are so smooth, that there doth not appeare the least downe. They are faire, comely, and haue well shaped bodies, the holes of their eares are much wider then ours, also their tongue differs from vs. For their tongue hath somewhat peculiar by Nature or Art. Nature hath giuen them a clouen tongue, which is diuided in the bottome, so that it seemes double from the root. So they vse a diuers speech: and doe not only speake with the voice of men, but imitate the singing of Birds. But that which seemes most notable, they speake at one time perfittly with two men, both answering and discoursing. For with one part of their tongue they speake to one, and with the other to the other. The aire is very cleere all the yeere long, as the Poet hath written, *That the Peare doth ripen vpon the Peare, and the Apple vpon the Apple, and the Grape vpon the Grape, and the fig vpon the fig.* Also they say the day and night are alwayes equall. About noone, when the Sunne is ouer their heads it maketh no shadow. They liue according to their kindreds and societies: which yet exceed not foure hundred. They dwell in Medowes, the earth bringing forth plentifully fruits freely without any tillage. For the goodnesse of the Iland and temperature of the ayre make the earth of it owne accord wonderfull fertill.

There grow many Reeds, bearing plentiful fruit like to a white Vetch; when they haue gathered these, they steepe them in water, till each of them be swolne to the quantity of a Doves Egge. Afterwards of these beaten they make bread, of a wonderfull sweetnesse. There are also in that Iland great Springs of water, whereof some flow forth very hot for the vse of Baths, and curing Diseases; and some are cold, very sweet and wholesome. They respect all kind of Learning, especially Astrologie. They vse Letters whereof they haue eight and twentie, according to the value of signification, yet but seuen Characters: each whereof is varied foure wayes. They liue very long, namely one hundred and fifty yeeeres, and for the most part without any sicknesse. If any haue a Feuer or be sicke in his bodie, they enforce him to dye according to their Law. They write not by the side, as we doe, but from the top in a straight line to the bottome. They haue a custome to liue to a certaine age, which being finished, they diuersly of their owne accord kill themselves. They haue a double plant: vpon which whosoeuer lyeth downe is brought into a sweet sleepe and dyeth. The women marry not, but are common to all. In like manner the Males are brought vp, and common to all. They often take away the children from the Mothers, that they might not know them, whereby it commeth to passe, that there is no ambition amongst them, or factious affection, but they liue peaceably without iarring.

There are small creature in the Iland, whose blood is of an admirable nature and vertue. Their bodies are round, and like to Tortoises, two streakes crossing one another on the middle of them: in the extremity of each of which is an eare and an eye: so that they see with foure eyes, and heare with so many eares: they haue but one belly wherein they conuey that which they eate. They haue many feet round about, wherewith they goe both wayes. The blood of this beast is affirmed to be of a wonderfull efficacie. For any bodie cut with gashes, while it breathes, sprinkled with this blood presently cleaues together. And in like manner, if a hand bee cut off, or any other member, while life lasts, the parts will bee ioyned together, if it bee applied to the wound while it is fresh. Euery Family nourisheth great Birds of a diuers nature, wherewith they trie what their sonnes will be. For setting their children on these Fowles, if they be not affrighted while they are carried through the Aire, they bring them vp, but if they faint through feare or cowardlinesse, they cast them downe as vnworthy to liue any longer, and vnprofitable for any exercise.

The eldest of euery Family, as King commands the rest, who all obey him. When hee is one hun-



hundred and fiftie yeeres old, they take away his life according to their Law: and the eldest next him takes the Principality. The Sea wherewith the Iland is enuironed is very tempestuous, and causeth great waues, the water is fresh. The *Bears* and many starres which appeare to vs are not seene of them. There are seuen Ilands of the like greatnesse, like distance betweene, and of the same people and Lawes. Although the earth doth bring forth food of it owne accord abundantly for all, yet they vse it moderately. They desire plaine dishes, seeking only nourishment: they eate their flesh roasted and boiled: they reiect the Cookes art, and all kind of sawces as vnprofitable. They reuerence the Gods, and that which containeth all things, and the Sunne, and the other heauenly Creatures. They take fishes and Birds of diuers sorts. There grow of their owne accord fruitfull Trees, Oliues, and Vines, from which they draw great plentie of Oile and Wine. The Iland produceth great Serpents, but harmelesse: whose flesh they eate, which is extraordinary sweet. They make their clothes of soft and shining downe, taken out of the midst of Canes: wherewith their Purple garments died with Sea Oysters are made. There are many kinds of creatures and such as will hardly be beleued: they obserue a certaine order of life, and eat but of one kind of meat in a day; for one day they eate fish, on another Birds, and then beafts; sometimes they feed only of oile. They are addicted to diuers exercises: some serue, some fish, others exercise their Trades, others are busied about other necessarie affaires. Some (except the old men) minister in common, or serue one another by turnes. On their Holies and Feast dayes they sing Hymnes in commendation of their Gods, and chiefly of the Sunne, to whom they dedicate themselues and their Iland. They burie their dead on the shore, heaping sand vpon the carkasse when the Sea flowes, that with the flowing and increasing of the water, the place may be made greater. They report that the Reeds from which they gather fruit, increase and decrease according to the Moone. The sweet and wholsome water retaines the heate of the Fountaines, vnlesse it be mingled with cold water or wine.

Some truths of  
the Countrey.

*Iambulus* and he which came with him tarried in the Iland seuen yeeres, and at length were forced to depart at their wils, as wicked persons, and accustomed to euill conditions. Therefore preparing their Boat and victualling it, they were compelled to depart. In foure monethes they came to a King of *India*, through sandie and shallow places of the Sea. The other perished in a tempest: *Iambulus* was driuen into a certaine Village, and carried by the Inhabitants to the King into the Citie *Palibothra* farre distant from the Sea. The King loued *Gracians*, and greatly esteemed their Learning; hee gaue him many things, and first sent him safely into *Persia*, and then into *Greece*. Afterward *Iambulus* writ these things, and many things concerning *India* before vnknowne to others.

*Iambulus* his  
returne.

## CHAP. IX.

Great ALEXANDERS Life, Acts, Peregrinations and Conquests briefly related.



King *Alexander*, as they report, deriued his Pedigree by the Father from *Hercules*, by the mother from *Aacus*; from the one descended his Father *Philip*, and from the other his Mother *Olympia*. Shee the first night of her Nuptials dreamed that she saw Lightning enter into her Wombe, and thence a great flame presently kindled. *Philip* also not long after seemed in his sleepe to seale his wiues belly, the Seale engrauen with a Lion. By these *Aristander* the Diuiner foretold that shee was with childe, because a Seale vseth not to be set on emptie things: also that shee should bring forth a child, who should haue the nature and spirit of a Lion. But when a while after *Philip* in the night saw through a cranie of the doore a Dragon lying by her, it abated his loue to her, fearing Magicall Charmes, or the familiaritie of some Deitie. Notwithstanding *Olympias* counselled *Alexander* that he would assume a minde worthy of his father. Others say, that shee said *Alexander* would make her (by challenging to bee *Iupiters* sonne) hatefull to *Inno*. On the Ides of August she was deliuered of *Alexander*, who although he were of a goodly feature, yet he bowed his necke somewhat to the left side, and a certaine whitenesse mixed with red beautified his face. Also such an odour issued both out of his mouth, and members, that his inner clothes did breath forth a wonderfull fragrant sauour. Which as it perhaps proceeded out of the temperature of his hot bodie, so surely he was by his naturall hotnesse giuen to Wine and anger. While he was young, he refrained himselfe from pleasures more then be seemed one of his yeeres, manifesting his couragious minde, who when his equals in yeeres asked, if he would willingly contend in the *Olympian Games*: willingly, saith he, if I were to contend with Kings. He greatly excelled in swiftnesse of foot. Hee alwayes meditated vpon some great and extraordinary thing, that he might purchase fame. Therefore the *Persian* Ambassadors not a little maruelled at the courage of the youngman: seeing he questioned no triuiall, or childish thing of them, but the situation

*Alexanders* Pedigree.

His birth.

His fragranie.

His youthfull magnanimitie.



tion of Countries and dangers of passages, and power of the King of *Persia*. He did seeme to bee angry at his Fathers victories; What said he, will my Father leaue for me to doe, if hee atchieue all noble exploits?

*Bucephalus.*

About those times, *Philip* bought *Bucephalus* for thirtie three Talents a very fierce Horse; stomackfull, vnmanaged, and abiding no Rider. Now when hee would suffer none to backe him, *Alexander* was angry with them, who could not through feare or ignorance tame the Horse, and offered himselfe to breake him. To whom his Father, if thou dost not, for thy boasting, what punishment wilt thou haue? then he answered, I will pay for the Horse: *Philip* smiling let the price: He seeing him moued with his shadow, turned his head to the Sunne; then letting goe his Cloke, laying hold with his hands vpon his mane, mounted him, still blowing and trampling the sands vnder his feet. Letting goe the reines, and crying out aloud, hee spurred him and made him runne. Then holding in the reines hee easily turned him. While the people shouted, his Father weeping for ioy, kissed him when he alighted, saying my Sonne, *Macedonia* cannot containe thee, thou must seeke a Kingdome competent. Afterward *Philip* noting the disposition of *Alexander*, that hee would rather bee induced to vertue by gentlenesse then rough dealing committed him to *Aristotle* to be instructed in the precepts of Philosophie. Wherein and in Physicke he so profited, that sometimes he helped his sicke friends. He learned *Homers Iliads* of *Aristotle*: calling it the Souldiers Knap-sacke, laying it with his Dagger alwayes vnder his Pillow.

*His arts.*

*His first martial acts.*

When he was seuentene yeeres old, his Father warring against the *Byzantines*, hee swayed the Scepter of *Macedon*. And when the *Megarians* rebelled, he discomfited them in battle, and expelling the *Barbarians*, called their Citie *Alexandropolis*. Hee first also broke through against the sacred band of the *Thebans*. Wherefore the *Macedonians* called him King; and *Philip* Emperour.

*Isthmus neere Corinth.*

*Diogenes, Delphos.*

*His expedition against the Persians.*

*Citus saueh his life. His victorie.*

Not long after *Philip* being slaine, *Alexander* being twentie yeeres old beganne to reigne, the *Barbarians* reuolting, many supposed that they were to bee appeased with clemencie and mildnesse. Then *Alexander*, we must not (saith he) maintayne our Dominions with gentlenesse, but force and magnanimitie, lest if we seeme to abate of our loftie courage, we be scorned of others. And gathering his troupes together, he repressed the mutinie of the *Barbarians*, chased away the King of the *Triballi*, ouerthrew the *Thebans*, sacked the Citie; and leuelled it to the ground. He sold thirtie thousand of the Citizens: fixe thousand that remained kild themselves. In the meane while, the *Gracians* hearing that the *Persians* would shortly inuade them, elected *Alexander* to be their Leader. Who as soone as hee came to *Isthmos*, where their Generall Parliament was assembled, went to *Diogenes*, whom hee found sitting in the Sunne. Then courteously saluting him, he demanded if he wanted any thing? But he answered only this, stand aside out of the Sunne. *Alexander* admiring the constancie of the man, departing said, if I were not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*. Thence he went to *Delphos*, to consult with the Oracle about his expedition. It was an *vnluckie day* wherein it was not lawfull to giue Oracles. *Alexander* notwithstanding, going in haste to the Temple, began almost by force to draw along the Priest of the Oracle with him. My Sonne, said the Priest, thou art vnconquerable. Hee being ioyfull at these words said, I haue no need of any other Oracle. And returning to the Campe, where abode the Army of thirtie thousand foot-men, and five thousand horsemen, hee did not goe aboard the ship before he had distributed all his Chattels, Lands, and Lordships amongst his friends. He to *Perdiccas* asking, what will you leaue for your selfe? answered, only Hope.

Hauiing sailed ouer the *Hellepont*, he went to *Ilium*. And then visited *Achilles* Sepulchre, and adorned his Statue with Garlands. Saying, O thou most happie, who hadst so faithfull a companion, liuing; and dead, so great a Poet to renoume thee.

In the meane while, the Chieftaines of *Darius*, the King of *Persia* hastening to passe ouer *Granicus* with a great power, *Alex.* met them at the banks of the same Riuer: and getting the higher ground, as soone as he had marshalled his bands, ioyned battle with the *Barbarians*. The fight waxing hot on both sides, *Rhesaces* & *Spithridates*, *Darius* his Captains, onewith a Speare, the other with a Battle-axe, with a full careere encountred *Alexander*, who was easie to be known by reason of his Target, and the Plume on his Helmet, being a great bush of white feathers. Auoyding nimble the one, he strooke *Rhesaces* with his Speare and with his Sword made at the other, who without delay, tooke away his Helmet, with his Battle-axe to his haire, but while he lifted vp his hand for another blow, he was strooke through with a Lance by *Cytus*. *Alexander* hauiing vanquished the Commanders, put the rest to flight. In which flight twentie thousand of the *Barbarians* (two thousand Horsemen) were slaine. But *Alexander* lacked not about thirtie foure Souldiers.

Hauiing gotten this victorie, he tooke the strong Citie *Sardis*, with other Townes, *Miletus* and *Halicarnassus*. Hauiing determined to try the vphot with King *Darius*, if he would ioine battle with him, he tooke *Phenicia* and *Cilicia*. From thence marching to *Pamphilia*, he subdued the *Pisidians* and *Phrygians*. After taking *Gordium*, where had beene of old King *Midæ* his Pallace, he ouercame the *Paphlagonians*, and *Cappadocians*. But King *Darius* relying on the number of his forces



forces (for he had an Army of sixe hundred thousand) remooued his Campe from *Susis*. His Diuiners had flattered him in the Interpretation of a Dreame of the shining of *Alexanders* Armie, and *Alexander* ministring to him, who entring into *Belus* his Temple, was taken out of his sight. He thought basely of him also for staying so long in *Calicia*. There was *Alexander* detained in great danger of his life, hauing washed himselfe in a cold Riuer, and fallen into a sudden sicknesse. When other Physicans gaue him ouer, *Philip* an *Acarnanian* promised to recover him in a short space: and although there came a Letter from *Parmenio*, warning him to take heed of *Phlips* Treason, who was corrupted by King *Darius*; yet he dranke vp the potion boldly, and with all deliuered the Letter to *Philip*. He read it very heauily, but bad *Alexander* to be of good cheere.

10 In the meane time, while the potion entred into his bowels, the King lay almost dead. But such was the efficacie of the medicine, that he presently recouered his former health.

*Darius* approaching, *Alexander* getting the higher ground, ordered his battell, and after a great slaughter put the *Barbarians* to flight: ten thousand were slaine, and many more taken. *Alexander* himselfe was wounded. *Alexander* got the Tent, Money, rich Staffe, Chariot, and Bow of *Darius*, all adorned with Gold. Moreover, *Darius* his Mother, Wife, and two Daughters Virgins were taken with the rest. To whom hee said, compassionating their fortune, seeing them weeping and lamenting, that *Darius* was aliue, and that they should haue no hurt. And indeed (herein was *Alexander* King of himselfe) they suffered no hardship or dishonor, but liued vnscene of any, as it were in sacred Cloysters, or Virginal Closets. *Alexander* did so refraine from them and all others, that he vsed to say in ieast, that the *Persian* Damsels were eye-sores. He was also very temperate in his diet, for betweene euery cup, hee accustomed to spend a long time in discourse.

20 Hauing diuided the spoyles, his next Exploit was the dominion of the Sea, and ouercomming *Cyprus*, he subdued all *Phenicia*, except *Tyre*, which hee besieged seuen monethes with Mounts, Engines, and two hundred Gallies, and at length after diuers skirmishes tooke it by assault. But when he had added *Gaza* and *Egypt* to his Conquests, he resolved to visit the Temple of *Iupiter Ammon*. A very difficult Iourney and dreadfull, by reason of the want of water, and store of sands: yet his good fortune preuayled, shewes making the sands firmer, and Crowes guiding him, he came thither without any harme; Whereas *Cambyses* his Armie had beene buried in the sands. Entring the Temple he saluted the chiefe of them, who answered, *All haile, O Sonne of Iupiter*, which he receiued so ioyfully, that euer after hee carried himselfe more haughtily. In *Egypt* hee founded *Alexandria* a Greeke Colonie.

30 After this the Ambassadors of the King of *Persia* came to him with Letters, proffering ten thousand Talents, and all *Mesopotamia*, and his Daughter in marriage, and *Darius* himselfe to become his friend and associate, if he would cease from Warre: such conditions, that if I were *Alexander*, said *Parmenio*, I would accept them: so would I said *Alexander*, if I were *Parmenio*. He had them tell *Darius*, that he should receiue all courtesie of the *Grecians*, if he would come to them, if he would not, let him know that we, wil he, nill he, wil come to him speedily. Then going out of *Egypt* into *Phenicia*, he took all the Country between *Euphrates*, and the second time remooued his Campe against *Darius*. And now the Armies came in fight each of other; wherein *Darius* had a Million of men. The battle was fought not at *Arbela*, but at *Gausancla*. The *Bactrian* Horsemen running vpon the *Macedonians* prouoked *Alex.* to fight, who encouraged his men and praying to *Iupiter* that he would giue him aide and victory, an Eagle is reported to haue been shewed him by *Aristander* his Diuiner flying aboue him ouer his head, and thence directing her flight against the *Persians*, which filled the *Macedonians* with hopes and cheerefull courage. Forcible was the impression, and *Alexander* pierced into the midst of the enemies Campe, where beholding *Darius* well guarded in the midst of his troupes, he gaue a terrible assault and routed them, many beeing slaine. *Darius* was of a tall stature, comely face, Kingly countenance, and sat aloft in a Chariot couered with Gold, which *Darius* leauing, leaped vpon a barren mare, seeking to saue his life by flight. The dignitie of this victory altogether ouerthrew the *Persian* Empire, and made *Alexander* King of *Asia*. Then he tooke *Babylon* and *Susis*, the royall Citie where he found fortie thousand Talents of siluer, with royall household-stuffe, and of *Hermionike* Purple kept one hundred and ninety yeeres still fresh to the value of fise thousand Talents.

40 Now did *Alexander* aduance into *Persia*, whither *Darius* had fled. There he found as much siluer as before in *Susis*, and as much royall furniture and goods as laded ten thousand yokes of Mules, and fise thousand Camels. Hee tarried foure moneths in his wintering Lodgings. And, as the report is, when he feasted vnder the golden rooffe of the Kings Hall, he said, That he had obtained the fruit of his labours, seeing he so magnificently banqueted in the Palace of proud *Xerxes*. *Thais* an *Athenian*, a beautifull Scrumper, being present; enticed the King with her flatteries, and said, *I were the happiest woman of Greece, if I might in this our mirth fire Xerxes Pallace, who sometime burnt my Athens*. The King smiling, the Harlot fired the House. The King bewitched with wine and her allurements, the rest furthering the flame, suffered such a goodly building to be consumed to ashes. *Alexander* was naturally munificent, and kept a kinde of stately magnificence in giuing: which he did illustrate with infinite testimonies of his bountie, lesse esteeming those

Second battle:  
*Alexanders* vi-  
Story.

His tempe-  
rance.

*Cyprus*.  
*Tyrus*.

*Ammons* oracle

*Alexandria*  
builded.

Embassage  
from *Darius*.

The third bat-  
tell with the  
*Persians*, and  
second with  
*Darius*.

*Alexanders*  
victorie.

*Babylon* taken;  
*Suse*.

*Persopolis* bur-  
den



Darius slaine by  
treason of his  
owne.

Hyrcania sub-  
dued.

Scythian ex-  
pedition.

Amazonian tale

Philotas and  
Clitus slaine.

Bucephalus.

those that refused then these that craved. About this time *Darius* had now the third time gathered an Army. *Alexander* in eleven dayes passed with great Iournies 3200. furlongs, conducting his Armie through rough places, that wanted water, so that the whole Armie well neere languished with thirst: a certaine common Souldier brought a Helmet full of water to *Alexander*; who looking vpon all of them panting for beate and thirst, gaue it him againe vntouched: thinking it vnfitting that he alone should cherish himselfe, and the others faint; whose continencie the Souldiers admiring, resolved to vndergoe any trouble, as long as they followed such a Leader. Then after a few dayes, the Armie of King *Darius* being gathered together, did flee as soone as they came in sight of the *Macedonians*. The *Persians* being thus discomfited, the *Macedonians* pursuing them, found King *Darius* in his Chariot stricken through with many wounds, and almost dead, speaking some few things. But when *Alexander* came thither by chance, hee tooke very bitterly his ignoble death, and casting his coate vpon his carcasie, and adding the Royall Ensignes, he gaue charge to carrie it honourably to his Mother. *Bessus* the Murtherer, *Alexander* caused to be tied to two trees brought by force together, which rent him in funder.

*Darius* being ouerthrowne, he brought into his subiection *Hyrcania*, and all the Cities adioyning to the *Caspian Sea*. After going into *Parthia*, hee attired himselfe in a habit, being a meane betweene a *Persian* and a *Mede*, that he might accustome the *Macedonians* the more willingly to adore him.

Passing ouer the Riuer *Orexartes*, which he thought to be *Tanais*, hee warred on the *Scythians*, and chased them one hundred furlongs. Thither *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus*, *Onesicritus*, *Antigenes* and *Hister* say, the *Amazon* came to him; which *Chares*, *Isangelus*, *Ptolemas*, *Anticlides*, *Philon*, *Philippus*, *Hecateus*, *Philippus Chalcidensis*, and *Duris* the *Samian*, say was a deuised Fable: and this appeareth to be true by *Alexander* himselfe, who writing to *Antipater* an exact Relation of all things, mentions the *Scythian* Kings offer of his Daughter in marriage, but hath nothing at all of the *Amazon*. It is said that *Lyfimachus*, when hee heard *Onesicritus* reading that Relation, smiled and said, *Where was I then?*

At length beholding the beautie and noble demeanour of *Roxanes*, *Darius* his Daughter, hee married her, that so he might perpetually tie the *Barbarians* to him; whom hee did also so reuerence, that he did not but solemnely enter in to her. But when hee proceeded to bring the rest of *Asia* to his obedience, he caused *Philotas Parmenio* his sonne a man of eminent place to be slaine. Also a little while after being drunke, hee stricke *Clitus* through with a Lance, a man of a noble courage, which had freed him from *Spathridates* Battle-axe: yet he presently repented, and snatching the Lance out of *Clitus* his wound, would haue turned it into himselfe; but was restrained by the standers by, and had died with griefe, but that *Aristander* the Diuiner, and the Philosophers *Callisthenes* and *Anaxarchus* perswaded him to patience. *Callisthenes* was as ill repaid as *Clitus*, which before we haue mentioned.

After this, *Alexander* sets forth towards *India*, and there perceiuing his Army by reason of the greatnesse of pillage to bee slow and dull, hee burned vpon the baggage of the *Macedonian* Campe. After which he became an inexorable and seuerer punisher of faults, and a terrour to his owne. Hee killed *Menander*, one of his greatest Familiars for neglecting his charge: And slue *Orsodates* hauing rebelled with his owne hands. He carried *Babylonians* (or *Chaldeans*) with him, whom hee vsed in superstitious expiations.

Neere the Riuer *Oxus*, *Proxenus* found a Fountayne of Oyle and fat liquor, resembling Oyle in colour and taste, whereas that Region knoweth not Oliues. This *Alexander* tooke as a diuine Miracle in his fauour. The Diuiners tooke it for a token of a difficult but glorious Warre. Hee tooke two strong Rockes in his way, which seemed impregnable. When the *Macedonians* refused to passe thorow the Riuer to lay siege to *Nysa*, hee tooke his shield and was readie to swimme ouer himselfe. But their Embassage for peace staid him. To *Taxiles* an *Indian* King, hee gaue a thousand Talents of siluer.

After that he warred vpon *Porus* King of a great part of *India* (some thinke *Rahanni* to be his Successour, and those parts which the *Reisboots* now hold in the parts, which whiles they please, acknowledge the *Mogoll*, to haue been subiect to him.) *Hydaspes* ranne betwixt both their Tents, and *Porus* by his Elephants (furnished also with twentie thousand foot, and two thousand horse) hindered the passage of *Alexander*, who therefore raised continuall alarmes, noyles and tumults in his Tents, and got ouer the Riuer with great difficultie, tooke the *Indian* Charets, and foure hundred of their Horsemen. In eight houres fight *Porus* lost the field and himselfe. Hee was foure Cubits and a handbreadth high, and rode vpon an Elephant, which fought valiantly for his Rider: and finding himselfe spent, kneeled downe gently to preuent his fall. *Alexander* asked his Captiue *Porus* what he would haue done if he had taken him: and *Porus* answered that he would haue done that which should haue becomed the Maiestie of either of them: because this fauoured of no barbarousnesse, he restored him to his Kingdome, adding a Region of a free State there subdued, in which were fifteene Nations and 5000. Cities, besides Villages. In this battle with *Porus*, or soone after it *Bucephalus* died, being thirtie yeeres old: for whose death *Alexander* did so grieue, that hee built a Citie vpon *Hydaspes*, calling it by his name, as another also to his

Dogge



Dogge Peritas. The Souldiers now being wearie of the trouble of daily warre, when they vnderstood that he determined to goe to the inmost parts of *India*, refused to passe over *Ganges*. For they heard that *Ganges* was thirty two furlongs broad and a hundred fathome deepe, and the bankes covered with troupes of Horsemen, Elephants and Footmen; viz. 80000. Horsemen, 200000. Footmen, 8000. Charets, and 6000. Elephants trained to the warres, by the *Gaudaritan* and *Persian* Kings. Wherefore *Alexander* seeing his desires could not obtaine their wished end, kept himselfe very sorrowfull in his Tent, and threatened that they should receive no recompense for that they had done, vnlesse they would passe over *Ganges*: at length ouercome by the entreaties and teares of his Souldiers, he desisted from his intended Iourney. But longing to see the Ocean, gathering ships together he came thither by the Rivers. Where taking many Cities he was almost slaine by the *Malli*, valiant men of *India*. For when hee had leapt into the Citie from the wall (which he first ascended) he was oppressed with such a multitude of the *Barbarians*, that vnlesse the *Macedonians* had speedily succoured him being grievously wounded with an Arrow and a blow with a Club vpon the necke, here he had in his rashnesse finished his dayes. But being freed from the perill of death, he ouerthrew Cities and many places, seven monethes being so spent. At last hee came to the Ocean with his Armie. Then contemplating the shoares, and finishing his holies, he intreated the Gods that no man euer after should goe beyond his bounds: he also had *Nearchus* tarrie about *India*, with a Navy. He went on foot to *Orchus*. But he was so distressed with the barrennesse of the Countrey, heate and diseases, that of a 120000. Footmen, and 15000. Horsemen, scarcely the fourth part liued. After sixtie dayes hee came to *Gedrosia*, where being honourably entertained by the Kings and Officers which had prepared against his comming, hee forgot all his passed troubles: so that he spent his time day and night

HONDIVS his Map of Alexanders Expedition.





in drinking, banqueting, singing and dalliance with women. After this *Nearchus* returning, presently he sailed downe *Euphrates*: and passing over *Arabia* and *Lybia*, purposed to goe to *Hercules* Pillars by the *Mediterranean* Sea. But because his armie was very impatient; being consulted by the tediousnesse of the way, hauing sent backe *Nearchus* to defend the Sea coast, he returned into *Persia*. And bestowing his money among all his women (for that was the Kings custome, as often as they entered *Persia*) he celebrated the Nuptials of his companions at *Susa*. He also married *Statyra* the other daughter of *Darius*. Making then a costly banquet to his companions, he had 9000. Guests, and gaue every one of them a golden cup. He opened the Sepulchre of *Cyrus*, whose Epitaph was this, *Whosoever thou art, and whence soeuer thou comest (for I knew thou wilt come) I am Cyrus which was the Empire to the Persians. Ennie me not this little earth, which coners my body.* *Calmus* also here burned himselfe, hauing taken familiar leaue of all; and told the King he would shortly see him againe at *Babylon*. He also paid the debts of his souldiers, which came to 10000. talents, lacking onely 130. He found 30000. *Persian* youths which hee had giuen order to be trained and instructed of manly growth and comely presence, which gaue plausible testimonies of their admirable actiuitie. This caused emulation to the *Macedonians*, which murmuring, he chose his guard of the *Persians*. Whereupon the *Macedonians* being grieved went to him, intreating him not to reject them as vnprofitable; for they did confesse that they had beene ingratefull, and desired pardon. At length *Alexander* pittying their teares and habit, sent them away abundantly rewarded with gifts. He entertained others according to their dignity. But when he went toward *Ecbatana* of *Media*, he gaue himselfe to plaies and spectacles, and about that time a feuer tooke away *Ephestion*, whose losse hee tooke so to heart that nothing could please him. Therefore to appease his griefe, he went to warre as to a man hunting: And so raced out all the Nation of the *Cossai*, as it were offering them in sacrifice to *Ephestio* his ghost. Those things being finished, he was admonished by some of the *Chaldeans*, that hee should not come to *Babylon*. But he went notwithstanding, where he was againe troubled with many Diuiners, and not onely suspected all his seruants but all his gods and deities. At length to recreate himselfe he went a little into a bathe, where he began exceedingly to sweate: And being carried to bed, after a few daies the Feuer increasing, hee gaue directions to his Princes concerning the Empire, and died. But before his body was buried, it lay a great while in hot places. And seeing it remained sound and vncorrupted, by this all suspicion of poison was taken away. We will end this Relation of *Alexander* with *Nearchus* his Voyage by him set forth.

*The Voyage of NEARCHVS and his Fleet set forth by ALEXANDER the Great, from the Riuer Indus to the bottomé of the Persian Gulfe.*

IN this History of Voyages I thinke it not a misse to giue some accounts briefly of the Fleete which *Alexander* set forth from *Indus* to the *Persian* Gulfe, commanded by *Nearchus*, gathered out of the eighth Booke of *Arrianus*, who had taken it out of *Nearchus* his owne discourse thereof. I had the whole Relation at large by me translated, as those also of *Arrianus* his sailing about both the *Erythrean* and *Euxine* Seas; but Time hath so altered the Names, ports and peoples, that I dare not giue you them at large. This briefly was thus:

*Hydaspes*, perhaps that which now is called *Bhat*.

*Alexander* provided his ships in *Hydaspes* (a Riuer which runneth into *Indus*) and manned them with *Phenicians*, *Cypriots*, *Egyptians*, men best skilled in Marine affaires. He chose also for Captains the Greek Islanders of *Ionia* and *Hellepont*, & diuers others; amongst the rest *Nearchus* which writ this Nauigation, of *Cretan* anceltry, an *Amphipolitan* by habitation, whom he made Generall of the Fleet. After things set in order, he sacrificed to the Gods of his Country and to such others as the Diuiners prescribed, to *Neptune*, *Oceanus*, the Sea Nymphes, and to the Riuer *Hydaspes*, and to *Acesines*, which floweth thereinto. He instituted also muscalle and gymnicall Games (prizes for maisteries) also, distributing the remainders of the sacrifices to the Armie. A hundred and 20000. souldiers followed *Alexander*, who himselfe went with the ships downe *Hydaspes*. He had 800. ships, some long, some of burthen. Being afraid to aduenture so long a Sea Voyage, as from *Indus* to the *Persian* Gulfe, lest his glorious lustre of victory and Fortune hitherto attending him might so be drowned; the *Monson* seruing (the *Etesia* then ceasing which there blew in Summer) he committed the Fleet to *Nearchus*, which put forth to Sea on the twentieth day of *Boedromion*, in the eleuenth yeere of King *Alexanders* reigne.

Riuer *Sinra*.

*Nearchus* sacrificed also before his departure, to *Iupiter* the Sauour, and likewise instituted Games; on that day of his departure he came to a great Riuer called *Sinra*, about 100 furlongs, and staid there two daies. On the third day hee came to another Riuer called *Cannana* thirty furlongs further, where the water began to be salt, and the tide ascended. Thence he sailed twenty furlongs to *Coreatis* within the Riuer. Mouing thence they saw the white frothy surge at the mouth of the Riuer, and in a ditch or channell made of five furlongs, he anchored his fleet when



when the tyde came 150. furlongs, thence he came to the Ile *Crotala*, neere to the which are the *Indian Arrabates*. Thence he remoued; hauing mount *Irus* on the right hand, and the Ile *Halitene* on the left, to a Port which he called *Alexanders Port*, before which is *Bubarta* a small Island. There he staid foure and twenty daies, and gathered Sea Mice and Oysters wonderfull great. The winde ceasing, he went sixtie furlongs neere the Ile *Doma*, where they were forced to goe twenty furlongs within land for fresh water. Hauing passed 300. furlongs the next day, they came to the Region *Saranga*, and fetched water eight furlongs within land. Departing thence hee came to *Sacalasis*, and passing two rockes so neere that the ships edged on them as they passed by, after 300. furlongs he anchored in *Morontoboris*, a round, deepe and safe harbour with a narrow entrance, called the *Womens Port*. The next day he left an Island to Sea ward of him and yet so neere the shoare that the Sea seemed a Gut or narrow ditch. That day he sailed sixtie furlongs. On that shoare was a wood and shade Island. The next day he sailed thorow a narrow channell, the ebbe hauing left a great part dry, and hauing passed 120. furlongs he came to the mouth of the River *Arabius*, where is a great and safe harbour. They fetched water sixtie furlongs vp the River in a Lake. At the harbour is an Island full of Oysters and all sorts of fish. This River confineth *India*; the next Regions are possessed by the *Orta*; their first anchoring on the *Orta*-shoare was *Pagali*, hauing sailed 200. furlongs neere a craggie rocke. The next day 300. furlongs to *Bacana*: and because the shoare was rockie, hee was forced to anchor farre from land. In this way three ships were lost in a storme, but the persons were saved being neere the shoare.

20 He sailed thence two hundred furlongs to *Comala*: and there went on shoare, and set vp tents to refresh his people wearied with their long Navigation, and desiring to haue some rest. Here *Leonnatus*, to whom *Alexander* had giuen Commission for the *Orta*, ouerthrew them in a great battell and slew 6000. The weatherbeaten ships being repaired, and ten daies provisions being taken in, and those sailers which were weary of the Sea, being left with *Leonnatus*, some of his company supplying their roomes: the Fleete proceeded 500. furlongs, and anchored at the River *Thomeros*. The Inhabitants dwelt in small cottages, and wondered at the Naue as a strange Noueltie: they came to the shoare with lances of six cubits sharpened and burned at the ends, easily chased by those which were sent on shoare against them, which also tooke some, which had hard and sharpe nailes wherewith they killed fish, and cut softer wood (for they had no vse of Iron) the harder they cut with stones: their garments were beasts or fishes skins. Here *Nearchus* staid five dayes, and repaired his Naue. Proceeding three hundred furlongs he came to *Malana*, the vtmost border of the *Orta*; who for the most part dwell vp within the land and vse *Indian* attire and armes, but differ in language and customes. *Nearchus* had sailed now 1000. furlongs from *Indus* mouth to *Arrhabius*, and 1600. by the *Orta*. Now also their shadowes fell Southward, and at noone they had no shadow. The Starres also differed in their height and appearance. After the *Orta* are the *Gedrosi*, amongst whom *Alexander* found more difficulty then in all the rest of *India*. *Nearchus* hauing sailed 600. furlongs came to *Bagisara*, a conuenient harbour: the Towne *Pasira* is sixtie furlongs vp from the Sea. Next day he passed by a high overhanging Rocke, which runneth farre into the Sea: and digging Wells had store of water, but brackish: sailing other six hundred furlongs hee came to *Calime* where *Cornina* lieth one hundred furlongs into the Sea, an Island whole Inhabitants sent *Nearchus* sheepe, whose flesh tasted like Sea-fowles, they being fed with fishes, there being no grasse there. Next day they sailed two hundred furlongs to *Carbis*, the towne *Cysa* was thirty furlongs from Sea. Here were small Fisher-boates, but the Fishermen at sight of the Fleete ran away. He passed next a high and craggy Cape, reaching one hundred and fifty furlongs into the Sea, vnto *Mosarna* a safe harbour. There he took *Hydraces* a *Gedrosian* Pilot for *Carmania*. The way from hence to the *Persian gulfe* is not so euill as the former.

Hauing sailed 750. furlongs, he came to the *Balomon* shoare, and after 400. furlongs to *Barna*, a towne where were Gardens of Myrtle and diuers flowers, culture of trees, and more ciuilitie of the men. 400. furlongs further he came to *Dendrobasa*, where they fish in small Boats, not rowing like the Greekes, but like diggers beating the waters on both sides. After 800. furlongs he came to *Cyza* a desert shore, and five hundred furlongs from thence to the borders of the *Ichthyophagi* or Fish-eaters. They invaded the Towne to get Corne which now failed them; but found little, except meale of roasted fishes, of which they make Bread. Thence he went to *Bagia* a rocke sacred to the Sunne, thence to *Talmena* a good port, 1000. furlongs from *Bagia*. Thence to *Cana-fis* a desert Cite 400. furlongs thence, 750. furlongs to Mount *Canate*: thence 800. furlongs to *Tay*; thence to *Dagasira* 300. furlongs, thence 1300. furlongs to the vtmost confines of the *Ichthyophagi*, in great want of prouision: Here was a Cape running farre into the Sea. The coast of the *Ichthyophagi* is about 10000. furlongs, where all feede on fish, yet are there few fishermen, but the Ebbe leaues the fish on shoare, some haue nets which reach two furlongs, made of Palme-tree leaues. The softer fish they eat raw: the greater and harder they roast in the Sunne, and then beate them into powder and make a kinde of bread thereof, some sprinkle the powder with wheate meale. Their Beasts haue no other foode, for there is no grasse. There is store of Crabs, Oysters, and shel-fish; Salt also and Oyle produced by the soile it selfe: some sowe a little Corne. Their houses are made of Whales bones. The Whales casting much water into the aire,

Ile *Crotala*.  
Ile *Halitene*.  
Ile *Bubarta*.

Ile *Doma*.  
*Saranga*.  
*Sacalasis*.  
*Morontoboris*.

End of *India*.  
The *Orta*.

All their sailing is with Oares and by shoare.  
\* Was not this age thinke you like to saile to *Peru* or *Hispaniola*?  
Ships a rarity.

The *Gedrosi*.

The *Ichthyophagi*.

Madners of the *Ichthyophagi*.

Fish-e.d beasts.

Whales.



How differs  
this from a  
Greenland  
Whale-voiage?

The Carmani.

Persian gulfe:  
he calls it also  
thered Sea.

Armozia, now  
Ormus.

A King worthy  
of good Sea-  
service.

Legend of E-  
rythrus drawne  
from Edom in  
the Arabick  
Gulfe to this  
Persian, such is  
the effect of  
Legends and  
superstitious  
traditions.

Beginning of  
the Persians.

Beginning of  
the Susians.

Euphrates and  
Babylonians.

the people wondred what it was, and hearing that they were fishes, the Oares fell out of their hands with feare: But after being hartened, the ships went neere together, and with great shouts and noise of Oares and sound of Trumpets feared the Whales, and made them sinke into the deepe. The prodigious tales of the Ile *Nosala* sacred to the Sunne, on which, if any went ashore he should neuer be scene after, *Nearchus* proued false by his owne experiment: as also another tale went thereof that a Nymph there dwelt, which lay with men that came thither, and after turned them into fishes.

After he was come to *Carmania*, he anchored before a Cape where the *Persian* gulfe goeth inward & then sailed no longer to the West, but betwixt the West and North, for most Northerly. Being come to *Padichorus* he sailed thence 800. furl. to the rock *Maceta*, of a daies sailing, whence Cinamon and Spices are carried to the *Assyrians*. After 700. furl. he came to *Neapotannus* and 100. furl. further to the Riuer *Anenus*; the Region is called *Armozia*, cultivated and fertile except of Oliues. Here they went ashore desirous to rest from their labour, and there found a Græcian which told them that *Alexanders* Campe was not farre off, five daies iourney from the Sea. Here *Nearchus* repaired his Nauie, and meane while sent to the King, & after went himselfe, he and his by their changed weatherbeaten countenances and growne haire, being not knowne by those whom *Alexander* had sent to him. Some had made *Alexander* belecue his Fleet was lost, which finding otherwile, hee wept for ioy, swearing by the *Grecian* *Iupiter*, and by the *Lybian* *Ammon*, that he more ioyed in those tidings then in the Empire of all *Asia*. After this hee instituted Muscicall and Gymnicke Games, and pompe to *Iupiter* *Servator*, to *Hercules*, to *Apollo* the chaser away of euill, and to *Nep- 20*  
*tune*, with the other Sea-Gods. Especially *Nearchus* was eminent and glorious, the whole army casting flowers and garlands on him.

*Alexander* after this would haue sent another to bring the Fleet to *Susa*, which *Nearchus* enuying to any other, intreated that the whole glory might be entite to himselfe, and was sent backe. After sacrifice to *Iupiter* the sauior, *Nearchus* exhibited a Gymnicke game (for trying of matteries, which we call prizes) and set saile. He passed by a small land called *Organa*, and another lesse called *Oaracta*, 300. furlongs from the place whence he set forth, where were many Vines, Palmes, and Fruits. Here they said was the Sepulcher of *Erythrus*, or King *Red*, which gaue name to this red Sea. The land was 800. furlongs long, of which hauing sailed two hundred, he saw another land forty furlongs long sacred to *Neptune*, and reported to be inaccessible. 30  
At their departing three ships sticke fast by reason of the Tide, which at the next floud were afloate againe. After forty furlongs sailing hee anchored in another land 300. furlongs from the Continent; thence to the Ile *Pylora*, in which is *Dodon* a towne which hath nothing but fish and water. After 300. furlongs sailing, he came to a Cape running farre into the Sea, thence 300. furlongs to the Ile *Cataa* sacred to *Mercury* and *Venus*, whither dedicated Goates and Sheepe are yeerely sent which there grew wilde. Hitherto the *Carmani* extend about 3700. furlongs by the shoare. These liue like the *Persians* their neighbours. Thence *Nearchus* sailed to the Ile *Caicandros*, forty furlongs, and thence to an inhabited land where Pearles are found, fifty f. Thence to Mount *Ochus*, and thence to *Apostane*, 450. f. and after 400. f. to a Bay celebrated with many Villages; thence 600. f. to the mouth of the Riuer *Oreon*: thence 800. f. to Riuer *Sitacus*. All this 40  
course was on the *Persian* shoare, sheliue for the most part and fenny. Thither *Alexander* had sent provision of Corne, and they staid one and twenty daies to refresh themselves, and repaire their Nauie. Sailing thence 750. f. he came to *Hieratis* by the Riuer *Heratemis*, the next day to the Riuer *Padargus*, where is a fertile place called *Mesambria* a peninsula: 200. furlongs to *Tarnus* to the great Riuer, aboue whose entrance 200. furlongs are the *Persian* Kings Palaces. In this way he saw a Whale dead fifty cubits long, with Oysters growing on the skin, Dolphins also bigger then those in our Seas. He proceeded 200. furlongs to the Riuer *Rhogenis* fifty furlongs to the Riuer *Brizana*: thence to *Arofis* the biggest Riuer in all his course, the end of the *Persian* borders, that shoare containing 4400. furlongs. There begin the *Susians*, and within land the *Uzians*, as the *Mardi* to the *Persians*, and the *Cossai* to the *Medes*. 50

Hauing sailed on the *Susian* shoare 500. furlongs, he came to *Cataderbis*, a fishie Lake, neere which is the Ile *Margastana*; then he passed shoals which scarcely admitted ships; single, discerned by stakes or poles purposely fixed there, the mirie ground taking a man vp to the waste. In such way we sailed 500. furlongs. Thereafter in a night and day he sailed 900. f. to the mouth of *Euphrates*, neere *Diridotis* a Village of the *Babylonians*, a Mart for the Spices of *Arabia*. From thence to *Babylon*, *Nearchus* saith, are 3300. f. *Nearchus* hearing that *Alexander* was going to *Susa*, sailed backe toward *Pasitigris*, that sailing vp the streame he might meete him, hauing the *Susians* on the left hand, and the Lake into which *Tigris* runneth 600. f. from the Riuer it selfe, at *Aginus* a towne of the *Susians*. Hauing sailed 150. f. he staid till the returne of his Messengers from the King. At last both armies were ioined with incredible ioy, and *Alexander* exhibited diuers kinds 60  
of game with sacrifices, & much honour was done to *Nearchus*; *Alexander* also crowned him and *Leonnatus* with a crown of gold. *Alexander* sent others on the right hand to discover all the coasts of *Arabia*. And thus *Europe* must acknowledge *Alexander* the chiefe Easterne discoverer, as the *Roman* armes first opened to vs the West. We will adde a little out of Ecclesiasticall writers.



CHAP. X.

The Travels of MUSÆVS, THEBÆVS and others mentioned by Saint AMBROSE \*; of others also mentioned in the Ecclesiasticall Histories of EVSEBIUS, RUFFINVS, SOCRATES and SOZOMEN.

\* Edit. Paris. 1614. This Treatise is in the Vatican, Florentine, and Millan Libraries attributed to Saint Ambrose. Others doubt whether that Father be the Author, or Palladius, &c. Cotton Trees or Shrubs. Serica is hereby is knowne to be far short of China, neere which Alexander neuer came Aromata. Muziris. a Perhaps the Maldiuas now.

**M**USÆVS Bishop of the Dolens related to the Authour of the Treatise *De Moribus Brachmanorum* (supposed to be Saint Ambroses) that hee intending to goe into India to see the Brachmans, had trauelled thorow almost all the Region *Serica*, in which hee said there were Trees (which brought fourth not only leaues, but very fine wooll also, of which they make Garments called *Serica*; and that there was a memorable Pillar of stone thus inscribed; *I Alexander came hitherto*; and that hauing passed thorow many Countreyes, he came at last to *Ariana* neere the Riuer *Indus*, and by the intolerable heat wasinforced to returne into *Europe*, not hauing seene the Brachmans. He reported that he had heard of *Thebæus* a certaine Scholer which went into India to see and conferre with *Indian* Philosophers called *Brachmans* and *Gymnosophists*: but hee was there captiued. For shipping himselfe with certaine Merchants in the *Red Sea*, he first came to the Towne of the *Adulites*, or the Bay *Adulicus*, after that to the Promontory *Aromata*, and a Mart of the *Troglodytes*, and hence to places of the *Assumites*, and many dayes after to *Muziris* the Mart of all *India* on this side *Ganges*, and hauing stayed a while there, he passed ouer to the Ile *Taprobane*. This is gouerned by foure Princes, one of which is the chiefe, whom the others obey, and to him are subiect a thousand Islands, as he reported, of the *Arabian* and *Persian* Seas, and those which they call *Mammolus* \*. The Island hath fise Riuers very great, the temperature such that at the same time the same Trees produced blossomes and fruits some greene, some ripe. The men liue on Fruits, Rice and Milke, and the chiefe men eate Mutton and Goats flesh on solemne dayes. He was taken as a Spie and kept fixe yeeres in Prison, but the Gouvernour which had so vsed a *Roman* Citizen, was by the Emperors command slayed. He reporteth true and false things blended, and amongst others of the *Brachmans* thus. They liue naked in the Regions adioyning to the Riuer *Ganges*; they haue no beasts, tillage, vse of Iron, nor any kinde of Instrument to doe any worke: they haue an excellent Aire and temperate Climate. They alway worship God, of whom they professe a distinct knowledge, both of his Prouidence and Diuinity. They alwayes pray, but in their Prayer looke not to the East, but directly to Heauen. They eate (as the beasts) what they find on the ground, leaues, and herbes; they haue the herbe *Inula* and the Tree *Acanthus*. The men liue on the further side of *Ganges*, on the Ocean Coasts, the women on this side, to whom their Husbands vse to haue recourse in Iuly and August. For those moneths b seeme colder there, because the Sunne then comes neerer to vs, and when they haue continued fortie dayes with their wiues, they returne home. When a woman hath had a child or two, her Husband forbeareth her altogether. And if in fise yeeres a woman hath no child, shee is diuorced. And thus their number is but small. The Riuer is passed ouer with great difficultie by reason of the tyrannie of *Ondonitus*, which infesteth those places, and of a certaine beast so great that hee deuoureth a whole Elephant. This beast is not seene when the *Brachmans* time of passage is. There are Dragons also reported to be seuentie Cubits long, I saw one whose skin was two and fortie foot: Ants as great as a mans span, Scorpions a Cubit long, &c. If this Scholler *Thebæus* be worthy credit. There are in the same Treatise added out of the Writers of *Alexanders* life many speeches and discourses of the *Brachmans*, which I forbear here to insert. They indeed are in many points admirable, if some Greekes haue not rather made experiment of their wits and facultie in Philosophicall discourses, then deliuered a true Historie; at least mixed truth and seeming together, as wee see here in this Bishop and his *Thebæus*. Those *Gymnosophists* (as *Megasthenes* also related) condemned Calanus, which followed *Alexander*, whose Epistle is extant in a worke of Saint Ambrose lesse suspected, which I haue here also inserted, out of Saint Ambrose his seventh Epistle.

Thebæus in many things a fabler.

b This is not the cause, but Summer and Winter differ in those places neere the hills of *Balagate*, not so much by heat and cold, as by faire and foule weather, winter being in the same propinquity of the Sunne on one side, and Summer on the other at the same time, to which perhaps is here alluded.

Amb. ep. l. 3. pp. 7. edit. Froben.

c Euseb. de vit Const. l. 4 c 30. Indian Embassadoirs to Constantine, as before to Augustus.

Calanus to Alexander. Thy friends perswade thee to lay hands and violence on an *Indian* Philosopher; not so much as dreaming of our workes. For thou maist remooue our bodies from place to place, but thou shalt not compell our minds to doe that which they are not willing, any more then thou canst make Stones or Trees to speake. A great fire causeth burning smart to liuing bodies, and worketh corruption: but we are aboue this, for we are burned aloue. No King or Prince can extort from vs to doe what we haue not determined: Nor are wee like the Philosophers of *Greece*, which haue studied words instead of deeds, to get themselves a name and reputation. With vs things are companions to words, and words to the things, our deeds quicke and speeches short, we haue a blessed libertie in vertue.

Eusebius c in the Life of *Constantine* mentioneth an *Indian* Embassie sent to him with rich Presents of almost all kind of Gemmes, and beasts differing from ours, with Pictures and Statues, whereby the *Indians* acknowledged him Emperour, and King of all vnto the remotest Coast of



the Ocean, that as the *Britanes*, in the furtheſt Weſt obeyed him at firſt, ſo now at laſt the *Indians* in the extremelt Eaſt.

*Soc. hiſt. Eccleſ.*  
*l. 1. c. 15.*  
*Soc. m. hiſt. Ec.*  
*l. 2. c. 23.*

*Socrates* and *Sozomene* in their Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtories haue related how in *Constantines* dayes Chriſtian Religion entred the Inner *India*, which (as ſome thinke) till that time had not heard of Chriſt. *Meropius* a Philoſopher of *Tyre* being deſirous to ſee *India* (prouoked by the Example of *Meſtrodorus* the Philoſopher, which before that had trauelled thorow that Region) ſailed thither with two boyes of his Kindred ſkillfull in the *Greeke* Tongue. When he had ſatiſfied his deſire, and was now readie to returne, the league betwixt the *Indians* and *Roman* Empire was broken, and the Philoſopher with all his company were taken and ſlaine, the two youth excepted, which were preſented to the *Indian* King. The King tooke liking of them, and made one of them named *Adeſius* his Cup-bearer, and *Frumentius* (ſo was the other named) his Secretary. Soone after the King dyed and gaue them liberty. The Queene ſeing the young King a child, deſired their care and aſſiſtance till he were growne to manhood. They yeelded and *Frumentius* managed the gouernment, who enquiring amongſt the *Roman* Merchants which came thither, whether there were any Chriſtians amongſt them, gaue them a place by themſelues to ſerue God after the Chriſtian manner, and in proceſſe of time builded a Church to pray in. Theſe Chriſtians inſtructing ſome of the *Indians* in the myſteries of the faith, added them to their ſocietie. When the King was come to mans eſtate, *Frumentius* and *Adeſius* deliuer vp their accounts, and deſire leaue to returne to their Countrey, the King and his mother earneſtly (but in vaine) in-treating their ſtay.

*S. Athanaſius*  
ſends *Frumen-*  
*tius* Biſhop in-  
to *India*.

*Iberians* con-  
uerſed.

*Palladius* his  
ſwifneſſe and  
Trauels.  
*Soc. l. 7. c. 19.*

*Adeſius* went to *Tyre* to ſee his friends, *Frumentius* went to *Alexandria*, and acquainted *Athanaſius*, then newly Biſhop with the premiſſes, and the hopes of *Indian* conuerſion, deſiring him to ſend a Biſhop and Clergie thither. *Athanaſius* conſidering well the buſineſſe, conſecrateth *Frumentius* Biſhop, ſaying he had no man fitter for that purpoſe, who thus honoured returneth and preacheth the faith to the *Indians*, builds many Churches, and by the grace of God worketh many Miracles, healing both bodies and ſoules of many. *Ruffinus* writeth, that hee heard theſe things of *Adeſius* himſelfe, who alſo at *Tyre* obtayned the dignity of Prieſthood. The *Iberians* (now called *Georgians*) were at the ſame time conuerted by meanes of a Captiue Chriſtian woman, which by Miracles perſwaded the King and people to receiue the faith of Chriſt, which ſent Embaſſadors to *Constantine* to enter into league, and to obtayn a Biſhop & Clergie, which the ſame *Ruffinus* reporteth, he heard of *Bacurius* a great man of that Nation. Before we leaue *Socrates*, it is meet in this Argument of Trauels, to mention his report of *Palladius*, a man of ſo ſtrong conſtitution and admirable abilitie, that he in three dayes could ride from *Conſtantinople* to the Conſines betwixt the *Persian* and *Roman* Empires, and returne thither againe to his Maſter *Theodoſius* the Emperour in three other daies. Yea, he ſwiftly poſted to all parts of the World to which he was ſent, inſomuch that one ſaid of him, *This man by his ſwifneſſe makes the Roman Empire, as large as it is, to be very narrow.* The *Persian* King was amazed to heare theſe things reported of him.

## CHAP. XI.

### *A briefe and generall conſideration of \* Europe.*

\* This was intended the beginning of our promiſed *European* Pilgrimage: but no man aſſiſted the Pilgrime, which forced him to leaue off, and intaken of his intents to giue this taſte thereof.

\* The fourth time it is now on the Preſſe.  
*Jo. 2. 10.*  
*Gen. 15. 1.*  
*1. Cor. 15. 28.*  
*Dedit ſe in meritum, dabit ſe in premium. Ber.*

¶ I.

#### *Of Europe compared with the other parts of the World.*



Three parts of the World haue beene three times \* viſited by our more laborious then learned Muſe: the Fourth for whoſe ſake that triple-worke receiued ſo often ſuruiue, hath ſeemed forgotten. *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, haue firſt bin diſcouered to our Reader, not as enioying the firſt and beſt place, but offering their readie ſeruice and beſt attendance vnto *Europe*; the leaſt in quantity, and laſt in diſcourſe, but greateſt in thoſe things which for greatneſſe and goodneſſe deſerue the moſt applauſe and admiration. Our method hath not obſerued that Feaſt-maſters rule, at the beginning to ſet forth good Wine, and when men haue well drunke, then that which is worſe; but we haue kept the good Wine untill now: following His example, who in the firſt Creation made Man laſt; in humane and reaſonable deſignes, allots the laſt execution, to the firſt intentions; in Religions Myſteries ſends the Goſpel after the Law, giues Heauen after Earth, and reſerues Himſelfe for the laſt ſeruice, to be our exceeding great reward; when God ſhall be all in all vnto his ſeruants, Him I beſeech that here alſo he will turne our water into Wine, that we may be able to



to give Feastuall entertainment vnto our Gueſts, that as *Europe* excels the other parts of the World, ſo my Muſe may here exceed her wonted ſelfe, and preſent it vnto you in ornaments of Art, Induſtry and Sincerity, beſitting ſuch a Subiect. Hard were our hap to ſuffer ſhipwracke in the Hauen; to faile in the laſt Act would marre the Comædie; to be a ſtranger at home, and like the Lapwing to flie moſt and cry lowdeſt, being fartheſt from the Neſt, were to trauell of vanitie, and bring forth folly, or with the wilde Prodigall in the Goſpell to be ſtill traueiling from himſelfe. We are now in manner at home; when moſt remote, neuer out of *European* limits, and therefore need not feare (as before) burning or frozen Zones, huge Oceans, new Conſtellations, vnknowne Lands, vnpaſſable Deſerts, vnconth Monſters, Savage beaſts, more beaſtly and monſtrous men. We need not follow the out-worne foot-prints of rare vnceſtaine Trauellers, where Truth herſelfe is ſuſpicious in ſuch forren diſguiſed habit, nor need wee doubt to want guides, except the ſtore become a ſore, and plenty troubleſome. Only we may feare in this taſke frequent Cenſurers, not rigid *Catoes*, or leuerer iudicious Iudges, but capricious Nouices, which hauing come to their Lands ſooner then their wits, would think the World might condemne them of ill ſpent time, if they ſhould not ſpend an indigeſted cenſure on the Bookiſh Trauels of others. But I ſhould be like them if I ſhould feare them, ſhallow and emptie. However, I haue aduentured on this *European* Stage; where in we are firſt to conſider the more generall Occurrences, and after that the particular Regions. Of the former ſort are the Names, Bounds, Excellencies, Languages.

Luke 15. 17. *ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐλθὼν, &c.*

II.

The Names of Europe.

The Ancients haue differed much, nor is the queſtion yet agreed on, about the limits of *Europe*, ſome comprehending *Africa* vnder this diuiſion (making but two parts of the World) others adding the ſame to *Aſia*. Thus *Varro* diuides the Vniuerſe into Heauen and Earth, this into *Aſia* and *Europe*, allowing to that the Southerne parts, to this the Northerne. So *Silius* ſings of *Africa*.

Var. de ling. lat. l. 1.

*Aut ingens Aſia latius, aut pars tertia rerum.*  
Lucan otherwiſe, *Si ventos Cœlamq; ſequaris*  
*Pars erit Europa, neq; enim plus liſſora Nili*  
*Quam Scythicæ Tanais primis à Gadibus abſint.*

Luc. l. 9.

This opinion is alleadged by *Saluſt*, *Saint Auguſtine*, *Oroſius*, *Paulinus*; followed by *Iſocrates* and others. But the moſt attribute to *Europe* only a third, and that the leaſt part in their partition of the elder World.

Sal. Bel. Iug.  
Aug. C. D. l. 16. c. 17.  
Oroſ. l. 1. c. 2.  
Paul. ap. Aulon.  
Iſoc. in Pane. yr.  
Her. l. 4.  
\* Hom. Iliad. 5.  
M. ſchus, Lycoph.  
Theocr. Apollod.  
Horat. Ouid. Senec.  
Manil. &c.  
Euseb. Chron. l. 2.

No leſſe contention hath beene about the Etymology of the Name, which *Herodotus* ſaith is vnknowne. Others fetch from I know not what *Europa*, the daughter of *Agenor*, rauished by *Iupiter* in forme of a Bull. The Truth ſhould indeed be rauished by our Poets, if the Fable bee receiued; for ſhe was transported from *Phœnicia*, a Region of *Aſia* into *Africa*; others ſay into *Cyprus*; and if wee agree to others that it was into *Creta*, yet *Κρήνη δὲ Λούσαι*, vnkely it is a ſmall Iland for a ſmall ſtay (for ſhee was after that carried into *Africa*) could giue name to ſo great a part of the World. Nor haue wee much more ſatisfaction in *Europus*, the ſonne of one *Himerus* King of ſome part (can you tell where?) of *Europe*. *Europus* raigned ouer the *Sicyonians*, ſaith *Pausanias*: at that time when *Abram* was borne, if wee follow *Eusebius*, and may bee the likelier Author of this name. Some aſcribe it to the goodlineſſe of the *European* Tract, as being beautifull to the ſight. *Becanus* deriues it from *ver*, which ſigniſieth great or excellent, and *hop*, a multitude; rather chaſing a *Dutch* then *Greeke* Etymologie, that people inhabiting *Europe* ſooner (as hee conceiues) then this. And in another booke noted by himſelfe for a ſecond Impreſſion,

\* Gor. Orig. l. 9.  
ver. by tranſpoſition: Eur, as Terentius Terues.

he liketh better that it ſhould be compoſed of *E*, i. marriage; *ur* excellent; *hop*, hope; alluding to that prophecie of *Noah*, that *Iapheth* ſhould dwell in the tents of *Shem*, whole poſterity being diuorced, the Church of the *Gentiles* in *Iapheths* progenie ſhould ſucceed in a more ſtable and euerlaſting marriage. *Ptolemy* better thinks it might bee called *Celtica*, almoſt euery Region thereof being antiently either wholly or in part, peopled with the *Celta*: which *Ortelius*, *Paulus Merula*, and others haue ſhewed in the particulars. Some haue called *Europe* *Tyria*, of that *Tyriam* maiden aforeſaid rauished by a Bull (a Bull-formed, or as others, a Bull-ſigned ſhip; after *Palephatus*, a man whoſe name was *Bull*; a Band of Souldiers ſay others bearing a Bull in their Banner; the *Adythologians* can tell you more, if this bee not too much: ) Some haue of *Iaphet* called it *Iapetia*. The *Abasines* and Eaſterne Inhabitants of *Aſia* call the *Europeans* *Franks*, which name I ſuppoſe was occaſioned by their Expeditions and Conqueſts in the Holy Land, and the Countries adioyning by the Weſterne Forces, in the compoſition whereof the *French* were a principall ingredient; that I mention not a *French* Councell to further it, and the Crowne of *Ieruſalem* falling to *Godſie of Bullen* & his heires to reward it: whence it hapned that the *Europeans* then were, and

Seco of this l. 8. c. 1. 2. 3. & 4.

cues



ever since are by the *Saracens* and Easterne *Asians* called *Frankes*; as perhappes for the same cause the *Turkes* call those of the Popish Faith, stiling those of the *Greekish* Religion *Romans*, of their chiefe Citie *Constantinople*, otherwise named *New Rome*.

### §. III.

#### The Quantitie, and Bounds.

**T**He quantitie of *Europe* is much larger, especially towards the North, then *Ptolemy* and the elder Geographers haue written. At *Wardhouse*, and the North Cape, the longest day is reckoned two moneths and seuen houres, in 71. degrees 30. minutes, whereas at the Hill *Calpe*, one of *Hercules* Pillars, and at *Cabo Maini* in *Morea* (accounted the most Southerne parts in 36. degrees) the day is but fourteene houres and an halfe at the longest. Much difference hath beene about the Easterne Confines. *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Herodotus*, and others extend it to the Riuer *Phasis*, or that *Isthmus* betwixt the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas; *Dionysius*, *Arrianus*, *Diodorus*, *Polybius*, *Iornandes*, adde nothing to the Riuer *Tanais*: which *Ortelius* passeth ouer and takes in both *Volga* and all the *Musconites* and *Tartarian* Hords, as farre as the Riuer *Obi*. *Ptolemy* imagineth a line from *Tanais* Northwards; which well agrees to the method of our History, as including the most part of the *Russian* Empire. All the other parts are bounded and washed by the Sea, *Palus Maotis*, the *Euxine*, and *Egean* on the East inclining to the South; the *Mediterranean* on the South, on the West and North the Ocean. *Bertius* numbers 2400. *Italian* miles in the latitude, and 3000. in the longitude.

### §. IIII.

#### The Qualitie and Excellencies.

**T**He Qualitie of *Europe* exceeds her Quantitie, in this the least; in that the best of the World. For how many both Seas and Deserts take vp spacious Regions in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*? whereas in *Europe* neither watry Fens, nor vnstable Bogs, nor Inland Seas, nor vnwholsome Ayres, nor wild Woods, with their wilder Saueage Inhabitants, nor snow-couered Hills, nor stiffling Frosts, nor long long Nights, nor craggy Rocks, nor barren Sands, nor any other effect of Angry Nature, where she seemes in some, or other parts thereof the hardest step-mother, can prohibite all habitation and humane societie. In the most parts Nature hath shewed her selfe a naturall and kind Mother; the prouidence of God, and industry of Man, as it were conspiring the *Europaean* good. Which of the Sisters are comparable in a temperate aire? which in a soile so generally fertile, so diuersified in Hills and Dales, so goodly Medowes, cheerefull Vineyards, rich Fields, fat Pastures, shadie Woods, delightfull Gardens, varietie of Creatures on it, of Metalls and Mineralls in it, of Plants and Fruits growing out of it? Which so watered with Fountaines, Brookes, Riuers, Bathes, Lakes out of her owne bowells? such sweet Dewes and comfortable Showers from Heauen? so frequent insinuations of the Sea, both for commerce with others, and proper Marine commodities? Which so peopled with resolute courages, able bodies, well qualified mindes? so fortified with Castles, edified with Townes, crowned with Cities? And if in some of these things *Asia*, *Afrika*, and *America* may seeme equall, or in any thing superiour, yet euen therein also they are inferiour, by iust and equall inequalitye made Tributaries and Seruants to *Europe*: the first captiued by *Alexander*, the first and second by the *Romans*, the last and the most commodious places of the first, with all the Sea Trade, by *Spanish* and *Portingall* Discoueries and Conquests; first, second, last, All and more then they all, since and still made open and obnoxious to the *English* and *Dutch*, which haue discouered new Northerne Worlds, and in their thrice-worthy Marine Armes haue so often imbraced the inferiour Globe. *Asia* yeerely sends vs her Spices, Silkes, Gemmes; *Africa* her Gold and Iuory; *America* receiueth seuerer Customers and Taxe-Masters, almost euery where admitting *Europaean* Colonies.

If I speake of Arts and Inuentions (which are Mans properest goods, immortall Inheritance to our mortalitie) what haue the rest of the world comparable? First the Liberall Arts are most Liberall to vs, hauing long since forsaken their Seminaries in *Asia* and *Afrika*, and here erected Colledges and Vniuersities. And if one *Athens* in the East (the antient *Europaean* glory) now by *Turkish* Barbarisme be infected, how many many *Christian Athens* haue wee in the West for it? As for Mechanicall Sciences, I could reckon our Ancestors inuentions now lost, as that malleable Glasse in the dayes of *Tiberias*; that *oleum vinum* found in olde Sepulchers still burning, after 1500. yeeres; I could glory of *Archimedes* his ingenuous Engines; but *miserum est isthuc verbum & pessimum, habuisse & non habere*. I can recite later inuentions the Daughters of wonder. What eye doth not almost loose it selfe in beholding the many artificiall Mazes and Labyrinths

Vid. Pancirol. &  
Salmuth. de de-  
perditis & re-  
paratis.



in our Watches, the great heavenly Orbes and motions imitated in so small a modell? What eares but *European*, haue heard so many Muscicall Inuentions for the Chamber, the Field, the Church? as for Bells, *Europe* alone beares the bel, and heares the Muscicall consort thereof in the Steeples diuersified, yea thence descending to Birds and Squirells? Where hath the taste beene feasted with such varieties for delight, for health? are not Distillations, the Arts also of Candyng and Preseruing meere *European*? If I should descend lower, who inuented the Stirrop to ascend, the Saddle to ride the Horse? Who deuised so many kindes of motions by Clock-workes, besides Clockes and Dials to measure Time, the measurer of all things? Who inuented wild Fires that scorne the waters force and violence? Who out of ragges to bring such varieties of Paper for Mans manifold vse? Who so many kinds of Mills? Who euer dreamt of a perpetuall Motion by Art, or *De quadratura circuli*, or innumerable other Mathematicall, and Chymicall deuises? And what hath *Mars* in the World elsewhere to parallel with our Ordnance, and all sorts of Gunnes? or the Muses with our Printing? Alas, *China* yeelds babes and bables in both compared with vs and ours: the rest of the World haue them borrowed of vs or not at all. And for the Art Military, the exactest Science, Discipline, Weapons, Stratagems, Engines, Resolution, Success herein, haue honoured *Europe* with the *Macedonian* and *Roman* spoiles of the World: and euen still the *Turkish* puissance is here seated; the *English*, *Dutch*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spanish* courages haue not degenerated from those Ancestors, which tamed and shooke in pieces that Tamer and Terror of the World, the *Roman* Monarchy.

20 But what speake I of Men, Arts, Armes? Nature hath yeelded her selfe to *European* Industry. Who euer found out that Loadstone and Compasse, that findes out and compasseth the World? Who euer tooke possession of the huge Ocean, and made proceffion round about the vast Earth? Who euer discovered new Constellations, saluted the Frozen Poles, subiected the Burning Zones? And who else by the Art of Nauigation haue seemed to imitate Him, which *laies the beames of his Chambers in the Waters, and walketh on the wings of the Wind*? And is this all? Is *Europe* onely a fruitfull Field, a well watered Garden, a pleasant Paradise in Nature? A continued Citie for habitation? Queene of the World for power? A Schoole of Arts Liberall, Shop of Mechanicall, Tents of Military, Arsenall of Weapons and Shipping? And is shee but Nurse to Nature, Mistresse to Arts, Mother of resolute Courages and ingenious dispositions? Nay these are the least of Her praises, or His rather, who hath giuen *Europe* more then Eagles wings, and lifted her vp above the Starres.

I speake it not in Poeticall fiction, or Hyperbolicall phrase, but *Christian* Sincerity. *Europe* is taught the way to scale Heauen, not by Mathematicall principles, but by Diuine veritie. *I E S V S CHRIST* is their way, their truth, their life; who hath long since giuen a Bill of Diuorce to ingratefull *Asia* where hee was borne, and *Africa* the place of his flight and refuge, and is become almost wholly and onely *European*. For little doe wee find of this name in *Asia*, lesse in *Africa*, and nothing atall in *America*, but later *European* gleanings. Here are his Scriptures, Oratories, Sacraments, Ministers, Mysteries. Here that Mystical *Babylon*, and that *Papacie* (if that bee any glory) which challengeth both the Bishopricke and Empire of the World; and here the victory ouer that Beast (this indeed is glory) by *Christian* Reformation according to the Scriptures. God himselfe is our portion, and the lot of *Europes* Inheritance, which hath made Nature an indulgent Mother to her, hath bowed the Heauens ouer her in the kindest influence, hath trenched the Seas about her in most commodious affluence, hath furrowed in her delightfull, profitable confluence of Streames, hath tempered the Ayre about her, fructified the Soyle on her, enriched the Mines vnder her, diuersified his Creatures to serue her, and multiplied Inhabitants to enioy her; hath giuen them so goodly composition of body, so good disposition of mind, so free condition of life, so happy successe in affaires; all these annexed as attendants to that true happinesse in Religions truth, which brings vs to God againe, that hee may bee both *Alpha* and *Omega* in all our good. Euen in Ciuilitie also *Europe* is the youngest of the Three, but as *Beniamin*, the best beloued, made heire to the Rest, exchanging the Pristine Barbarisme, and Inciuilitie (which Authors blame in our Ancestors) with *Asia* and *Africa*, for that Ciuilitie of Manners, and Glory of Acts and Arts, which they (as neerer the Arkes resting place) sooner enioyed, by *Mohometan* pestilence long since become barbarous; the best of the one fiely called *Barbaria*, and the best Moniments of the other being but names, ruines, carkasses, and sepulchrell Moniments of her *quandam* Excellencies.

# ¶ V.

## Of the Languages of Europe.



For their particular manners, dispositions, customes, wee shall in due place obserue: their Mother Tongues and Originall Languages I will here out of *Scaliger* (our *European* *Mithridates*) relate. Of these he now reckons in *Europe* eleuen, seuen of smaller note, foure of greater, which yeeld many Dialects, seeming differing languages out of them.

*Ios. Scalop. de  
diatriba de Eu-  
rop. ling. & ap-  
Meyu'a. p. 2. l. 1.  
c. 8.*



them. These are the *Greeke*, *Latin*, *Dutch*, and *Slavon*, from whence by inflexion, traiection, mutation, and mixture, are deriued many others. Thus the *Slavon* hath Daughters or Dialects, the *Russian*, *Polonian*, *Bohemian*, *Illyrian*, *Dalmatian*, and *Windish* tongues; some of these also not a little in themselves diuertified. They vse two sorts of letters, the *Russian* depraued from the *Greeke*, with some barbarous additions; and the *Dalmatian* of Saint Hieronims inuention, much vnlike the former. The *Dutch* hath three principall Idiomies, *Tentonisme*, *Saxonisme*, and *Danisme*. The first contains both the High and Low *Dutch*; the second, the *Nord-albing*, *Frisland* and *English* Dialects; the third *Danish*, *Sweden*, and the *Norwegian*, Mother of that of the *Islanders*. The *Latin* hath propagated the *Italian*, *Spanish* and *French*. The *Greeke* in so many Lands and Ilands so farre distant, cannot but be much different.

The smaller languages yet Originall, without commerce and deriuation from others are, the *Epirotike*, or *Albanian* in the Mountaines of *Epirus*: Secondly the *Cosaks* or *Tartarian*: Thirdly, the *Hungarian*, which the *Hunnes* and *Anares* brought thither out of *Asia*: Fourthly, that of *Finnemmark*, which yeelds also the *Lappian*: Fifthly the *Irish*, which is vied likewise of the *Red-shankes*: Sixtly the *Welsh* or *Brittish* (the same with that of the ancient *Galles*, as Master Camden hath proued) spoken diuersly in *Wales*, *Cornwall*, and little *Britaine*: Seuenthly, the *Biscaine*, the remainder of the old *Spanish*, in vse on both sides the *Pyreanean Hills*. These were all in Ecclesiasticall affaires subiected to the *Constantinopolitan* and *Roman* Bishops, and vied five sorts of letters, the *Greeke*, *Latin*, and *Gottish*, besides those two formerly mentioned. The *Greeke* principally possesseth the South East, the *Latin* with her Daughters, the South; the *Dutch*, the North-west parts of *Europe*; and the North-east, the *Slavon*.

And thus haue we giuen a taste, of that which sometimes was intended, an *European Feast*: in which if I seeme to haue broken promise, I haue not done it alone; and pouertie cleeres mee of perfidie. If yet my rashnesse bee accused, in promising upon hopes of others assistance, let him that hath relieved those wants throw the first stone at the Promiser. How euer, I will rather confesse the Action then stand Sute. Nor doe I now beg helpees in that kind; it is too late. My body is worne and old before and beyond my yeeres; and o haue borne so long two such burthens as a Pulpit and Presse, that is, Heauen and Earth, would perhaps haue tired my quarrelling Plaintiffe too, to haue ascended the one (idque Londini) twice or thrice a weeke ordinarily, and descended the other with so frequent successions, and long continuations. Hercules and Atlas were both weary of one burthen: Patience yet and pardon! for I haue paid here a great part of my debt. I haue giuen thee the *Christian Sects*, and *Europes Ecclesiastike part*, with her other *Secular parts* also in great part both in *Maps* and *History* presented, especially there where shee was left knowne: and if not so fully as the former in my *Pilgrimage*, yet Poore men are welcome pay-masters when they come with parts each weeke or moneth, or with day-labour-set-offs; though they cannot at once discharge the whole debt. Indeed my Genius most leads mee to remotest and lest knowne things, that where few others can giue intelligence, I may supply the Intelligencers place. Of uere and knowne things, Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim. I haue giuen thee *Arctoa Regio*, the *Polare World*; and *Antarctica*, the *Southerne Continent*; and both *Americas*; besides *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe* knowne to the *Ancients*. Tea I haue giuen thee an *Asia* in *Asia*, and an *Africa* in *Africa* neuer knowne to the *Ancients*; as likewise I may affirme of the *Northerne Parts* of *Europe*. Cœtera quis nescit? Who cannot dull and deafe thine eares with *French*, *Dutch*, *Spanish*, *Italian* affaires? Neuer are we destitute of some intelligence and slighter knowledge of *Spaine*, *France*, and *Germany*, *Italy* and other parts, which you will find handled in one or other place of this Worke, as much as concerneth our Travelling purpose. As for *Spaine*, the *Kings Title* is a sufficient Lecture, which some thus expresse: P. By the Grace of God King of *Castile*, *Lions*, *Arragon*, both *Sicills*, *Ierusalem*, *Portugall*, *Nauarre*, *Granada*, *Toledo*, *Valencia*, *Galicia*, *Maiorca* and *Minorca*, *Siuil*, *Sardinia*, *Corduba*, *Corfica*, *Murcia*, *Iaen*, *Algarbia*, *Algeria*, *Gibraltar*, *Canary Ilands*, *East and West Indies*, of the *Ilands* and *Continent* of the *Ocean*; *Archduke* of *Austria*, *Duke* of *Burgundy*, *Lorraine*, *Brabant*, *Lunburg*, *Luxemburg*, *Geldres*, *Millaine*, &c. *Earle* of *Habsburg*, *Flanders*, *Tirol*, *Barcelona*, *Artois*, *Hannalt*, *Holand*, *Zeland*, *Namur*, *Zurphen*, &c. *Marquess* of the *Empire*, *Lord* of *Biscay*, *Friezland*, *Mecklin*, *Vtreck*, *Ouer-Issell*, *Gruningen*. Ruler in *Asia* and in *Africa*. This doth more fully present the present *Spaine* to your view, then to tell the *Situation*, *Mountaines* and *Riuers*; of which euery *Map* and *Traveller* can informe you. *France* also is not to be now measured by the ancient *Geographical limits*, but by the present *Royall*, so much being most properly *France*, as is comprehended in that most compact, best seated, well peopled, and goodliest of *Kingdomes*. The parts you shall see in the *Diocesse* hereafter following. *Germany* in largest sense by some is bounded by *Rhene*, *Vistula*, the *Danow* and the *Ocean*, is diuided into *Kingdomes*, *Dukedomes*, *Counties*, and *Marquisates*. The *Kingdomes* are *Denmarke*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Boheme*. The rest concerning *Germany* and other parts of *Europe* I teach not here; I point at rather these things, and therefore will retorne to Our former discourse of languages, and therein produce a better *Linguist* and *Artist* then my selfe, Our learned Countryman, Master *Brerewood* in his laborious *Travells* and *Industrious Enquiries* of Languages and Religions.

Seuen parts of  
of the World.

Cap. vii.



## CHAP. XII.

Enquiries of Languages by EDW. BTEREWOOD, lately professor  
of Astronomy in Gresham Colledge.

**G**reece, as it was anciently knowne by the name of *Hellas*, was inclosed betwixt the Bay of *Ambracia*, with the River *Arachthos*, that falleth into it on the West, and the River *Peneus* on the North, and the Sea on other parts. So that *Acarnania* and *Thessalie*, were toward the Continent the vtmost Regions of *Greece*. But yet, not the Countries onely contained within those limits, but also the Kingdomes of *Maccedon*, and *Epirus*; being the next adioyning Prouinces ( *Maccedon* toward the North, *Epirus* toward the West ) had anciently the *Greeke* tongue for their vulgar language: for although it belonged originally to *Hellas* alone, yet in time it became vulgar to these also.

Secondly, it was the language of all the Isles in the *Aegean* Sea; of all those Islands I say, that are betwixt *Greece* and *Asia*, both of the many small ones, that lie betweene *Candie* and *Negropont*, named *Cyclades* ( there are of them fittie three ) and of all about *Negropont* also, as farre as the Strait of *Constantinople*.

Thirdly, of the Isles of *Candie*, *Scarpanto*, *Rhodes*, and a part of *Cyprus* and of all the small Islands along the Coast of *Asia*, from *Candie* to *Syria*.

Fourthly, not only of all the West part of *Asia* the lesse, ( now called *Anatolia*, and corruptly *Natolia* ) lying toward the *Aegean* Sea, as being very thicke planted with *Greeke* Colonies: of which, some one, *Miletus* by name, is registred by *Seneca*, to haue beene the Mother of seuentie five, by *Plinie*, of eightie Cities; But on the North side also toward the *Euxine* Sea, as farre (saith *Isocrates*) as *Sinope*, and on the South side respecting *Africke*, as farre (saith *Lucian*) as the *Chelidonian* Isles, which are ouer against the confines of *Lycia* with *Pamphylia*. And yet although within these limits onely, *Greeke* was generally spoken, on the Maritime Coast of *Asia*, yet beyond them, on both the shoares Eastward, were many *Greeke* Cities ( though not without Barbarous Cities among them. ) And specially I find the North coast of *Asia*, euen as farre as *Trebizond*, to haue beene exceedingly well stored with them. But, it may bee further obserued likewise out of Histories, that not onely all the Maritime part of *Anatolia* could vnderstand and speake the *Greeke* tongue, but most of the Inland people also, both by reason of the great traffike, which those rich Countries had for the most part with *Grecians*, and for that on all sides the East onely excepted, they were inuironed with them. Yet neuerthelesse, it is worthy obseruing, that albeit the *Greeke* tongue preuailed so farre in the Regions of *Anatolia*, as to bee in a manner generall, yet for all that it neuer became vulgar, nor extinguished the vulgar languages of those Countries. For it is not onely particularly obserued of the *Galatians*, by *Hierome*, that beside the *Greeke* tongue, they had also their peculiar language like that of *Trier*: and of the *Carians* by

*Strabo*, that in their language were found many *Greeke* wordes, which doth manifestly import it to haue beene a seuerall tongue: but it is directly recorded by *Strabo* ( out of *Ephorus* ) that of sixteene seuerall Nations, inhabiting that Tract, only three were *Grecians*, and all the rest ( whose names are there registred ) barbarous; and yet are not omitted the *Cappadocians*, *Galatians*, *Lydians*, *Meonians*, *Cataonians*, no small Prouinces of that Region. Euen as it is also obserued by *Plinie* and others, that the twentie two languages, whereof *Mitridates* King of *Pontus* is remembered to haue beene so skillfull, as to speake them without an Interpreter, were the languages of so many Nations subiect to himselfe, whose dominion yet wee know to haue beene contained, for the greatest part, within *Anatolia*. And although all these bee euident testimonies, that the *Greeke* tongue was not the vulgar or native language of those parts, yet, among all none is more effectual, then that remembrance in the second Chapter of the *Acts*, where diuers of those Regions, as *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Asia*, *Phrygia*, and *Pamphylia*, are brought in for instances of differing languages.

Fiftly, Of the greatest part of the Maritime Coast of *Thrace*, not onely from *Hellepont* to *Byzantium* ( which was \* that part of *Constantinople*, in the East corner of the Citie, where the *Seraille* of the Great Turke now standeth ) but about it, all along to the out-lets of *Danubius*. And yet beyond them also; I find many *Greeke* Cities to haue beene planted along that Coast ( *Scylax* of *Carianda* is my Author, with some others ) as farre as the Strait of *Cassa*, and specially in *Taurica*. Yea, and beyond that Strait also Eastward, along all the Sea Coast of *Circassia*, and *Mengrelia*, to the River of *Phasis*, and thence compassing to *Trebizond*, I find mention of many scattered *Greeke* Cities: that is, ( to speake briefly ) in all the circumferences of the *Euxine* Sea.

Sixtly, ( from the East and North to turne toward the West ) it was the language of all the West and South Islands, that lie along the Coast of *Greece*, from *Candie* to *Corfu*, which also was one of them, and withall of that fertile *Sicily*, in which one Island, I haue obserued in good Histories,

Of the ancient largenesse of the Greeke tongue.

*Strabo* l. 8. non longe a principio

l. 10. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 11. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 12. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 13. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 14. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 15. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 16. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 17. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 18. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 19. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 20. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 21. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 22. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 23. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 24. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 25. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 26. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 27. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 28. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 29. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 30. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 31. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 32. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 33. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 34. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 35. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 36. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 37. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 38. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 39. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 40. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 41. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 42. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 43. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 44. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 45. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 46. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 47. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 48. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 49. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 50. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 51. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 52. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 53. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 54. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 55. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 56. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 57. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 58. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 59. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 60. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 61. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 62. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 63. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 64. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 65. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 66. c. 1. c. 2.

l. 67. c. 1. c. 2.



Strab. l. 6. in  
medio.

ries, about thirtie Greeke Colonies to haue beene planted, and some of them goodly Cities, specially *Agrigentum* and *Syracusa*, which later *Strabo* hath recorded to haue beene one hundred and eighty furlongs, that is, of our miles two and twenty and a halfe in circuit.

Seuenthly, not onely of all the Maritime Coast of *Italie*, that lyeth on the *Tyrrhene* Sea; from the Riuer *Garigliano*, (*Liris* it was formerly called) to *Leucopetra*, the most Southerly point of *Italie*, for all that shoare being neere about two hundred and fortie miles, was inhabited with Greeke Colonies: And thence forward, of all that end of *Italie*, that lyeth towards the *Ionian* Sea, about the great Bayes of *Squillacci* and *Taranto* (which was so thicke set with great and goodly Cities of *Gracians*, that it gained the name of *Magna Gracia*) but, beyond that also, of a great part of *Apulia*, lying towards the *Adriatique* Sea. Neither did these Maritime parts onely, but as it seemeth the Inland people also towards that end of *Italie*, speake the Greeke tongue.

Goltz. in Numis-  
mat. magna Gra-  
cia Tab. 24.  
Galat. in descrip.  
Callipolis.  
Bar. l. 5. de anti-  
quit. Calabrie.  
Rocca Tract. de  
Dialectis in Ita-  
lica lingua.

For I haue seene a few old Coynes of the *Brutians*, and more may bee seene in *Goltzius* hauing Greeke Inscriptions, wherein I obserue they are named *ΒΡΥΤΤΙΟΙ*, with an *ε*, and two *σ*, and not as the *Romane* Writers terme them, *Brutii*. And I haue seene one piece also of *Pandosia*, an Inland Citie of those parts, with the like. Neither was the vulgar vse of the Greeke Tongue, vnterly extinct in some of those parts of *Italie*, till of late: for *Galatemu* a learned man of that Countrey, hath left written, that when he was a Boy (and he liued about one hundred and twentie yeeres agoe) they spake Greeke in *Callipolis*, a City on the East shoare of the Bay of *Taranto*: But yet it continued in Ecclesiasticall vse in some other parts of that Region of *Italie* much later. for *Gabriel Barrius* that but liued about forty yeeres since, hath left recorded, that the Church of *Rossano* (an Archiepiscopall Citie in the vpper *Calabria*) retayned the Greeke Tongue and Ceremony till his time, and then became *Latino*. Nay, to descend yet a little neerer the present time, *Angelus Rocca* that writ but about twentie yeeres agoe, hath obserued, that hee found in some parts of *Calabria*, and *Apulia*, some remaynders of the Greeke speech to bee still retayned.

a Strab. l. 4. non  
long. à princip.  
Thucid. l. 1.  
b Strab. loco  
citato.  
Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

Eightly, and lastly, that shoare of *France*, that lyeth towards the *Mediterraine* Sea, from *Rodanus* to *Italie*, was possessed with *Gracians*, for *Massilia* was a Colonie of the *Phoceans*, and from it many other Colonies were deriued, and placed along that shoare, as farre as *Nicea*, in the beginning of *Italie*, which also was one of them.

Strab. l. 17.

c Loco iam ci-  
tato.  
Ptol. tab. 3. Afri.  
Mela. l. 1. c. 8.  
Hieronim. loco  
supra citato.

And yet beside all these forenamed, I could reckon vp very many other dispersed Colonies of the *Greeks* both in *Europe*, and *Asia*, and some in *Afrique*, for although I remember not, that I haue read in any History, any Colonies of the *Grecians* to haue beene planted in *Afrique*, any where from the greater Syrtis Westward, except one in *Cirta*, a City of *Numidia*, placed there by *Micipsa* the Sonne of *Masiniissa*, as is mentioned in *Strabo*: yet thence Eastward it is certaine some were: for the great Cities of *Cyrene* and *Alexandria*, were both *Greeke*. And it is euident, not onely in *Strabo* and *Ptolemie*, but in *Mela*, and other *Latine* Writers, that most of the Cities of that part carried *Greeke* names. And lastly, *Saint Hierome* hath directly recorded, that *Lybia*, which is properly that part of *Afrique* adioyning to *Egypt*, was full of *Greeke* Cities.

Appian. l. de  
Bellis Syriac.

These were the places, where the Greeke Tongue was natiuely and vulgarly spoken, either originally, or by reason of Colonies. But yet for other causes, it became much more large and generall. One was the loue of Philosophie, and the Liberall Arts written in a manner onely in *Greeke*. Another, the exceeding great Trade and Traffique of *Gracians*, in which, about all Nations, except perhaps the old *Phanicians* (to whom yet they seeme not to haue beene inferiour) they employed themselues. A third, beyond all these, because those great Princes, among whom all that *Alexander* the Great had conquered, was diuided, were *Gracians*, which for many reasons, could not but exceedingly spread the Greeke Tongue, in all those parts where they were *Gouernours*: among whom, euen one alone, *Seleucus* by name, is registred by *Appian*, to haue founded in the East parts vnder his government, at least sixty Cities, all of them carrying *Greek* names, or else named after his Father, his Wiues, or himselfe. And yet was there a fourth cause, that in the aftertime greatly furthered this enlargement of the Greeke Tongue, namely the imployment of *Gracians* in the government of the Prouinces, after the Translation of the Imperiall Seate to *Constantinople*. For these causes I say, together with the mixture of *Greeke* Colonies, dispersed in many places (in which fruitfulness of Colonies, the *Gracians* farre passed the *Romanes*) the Greeke Tongue spread very farre, especially towards the East. In so much, that all the Orient (which yet must be vnderstood with limitation, namely the Orientall part of the *Roman* Empire, or to speake in the Phrase of those times, the Diocesse of the Orient, which containd *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Cilicia*, and part of *Mesopotamia* and of *Arabia*) is said by *Hierome*, to haue spoken *Greeke*: which also *Isidore*, specially obserueth, in *Egypt*, and *Syria*, to haue beene the *Dorique* Dialect. And this great glorie, the Greeke Tongue held in the Apostles time, and long after, in the Easterne parts, till by the inundation of the *Saracens* of *Arabia*, it came to ruine in those Prouinces, about six hundred and forty yeeres after the birth of our Sauour, namely, in the time of the Emperor *Heraclius* (the *Arabians* bringing in their language together with their victo-

Hiero. ubi super.  
Isidor. Origin.  
l. 9. c. 1.



victories, into all the Regions they subdued) euen as the *Latine* Tongue is supposed to haue perished by the inundation and mixture of the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations in the West.

But at this day, the *Greeke* Tongue is very much decayed, not only as touching the largenesse, Of the decay-  
and vulgarnesse of it, but also in the purenesse and elegancie of the Language. For as touch- ing of the an-  
ing the former. First, in *Italie*, *France*, and other places to the West, the naturall Languages of cient *Greeke*  
the Countries haue vsurped vpon it. Secondly, in the skirts of *Greece* it selfe, namely in *Epirus*, tongue, and of  
and that part of *Macedon*, that lyeth towards the *Adriatique* Sea, the *Sclauonique* Tongue hath the present  
extinguished it. Thirdly, in *Anatolia*, the *Turkish* Tongue hath for a great part suppressed it. vulgar *Greeke*.  
And lastly, in the more Eastward, and South parts, as in that part of *Cilicia*, that is beyond the Chap. 2.  
Riuer *Piramus*, in *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Egypt* and *Lybia*, the *Arabian* Tongue hath abolished it: A-  
bolished it I say, namely, as touching any vulgar vse, for, as touching Ecclesiasticall vse, many  
Christians of those parts still retayne it in their *Liturgies*. So that, the parts in which the *Greeke*  
Tongue is spoken at this day, are (in few words) but these. First *Greece* it selfe (excepting *Epi-  
rus*, and the West part of *Macedon*.) Secondly, the Iles of the *Aegean* Sea. Thirdly, *Candie*, and  
the Iles Eastward of *Candie*, along the Coast of *Asia* to *Cyprus* (although in *Cyprus*, diuers other  
Languages are spoken, beside the *Greeke*) and likewise the Iles Westward of *Candia*, along the  
Coasts of *Greece*, and *Epirus*, to *Corfu*. And lastly, a good part of *Anatolia*.

But as I said, the *Greeke* Tongue, is not onely thus restrained, in comparison of the ancient ex-  
tention that it had, but it is also much degenerated and impaired, as touching the purenesse of  
speech, being ouer-growne with barbarousnesse: But yet not without some relish of the ancient  
elegancie. Neither is it altogether so much declined from the ancient *Greeke*, as the *Italian* is de- Bellon. obseruat.  
parted from the *Latine*, as *Bellonius* hath also obserued, and by conferring of diuers Epistles of l. 1. c. 3. Turco-  
the present Language, which you may find in *Crusius* his *Turcogracia*, with the ancient Tongue, grec. l. 3. & 5.  
may be put out of question which corruption yet, certainly hath not befallen that Language,  
through any inundation of barbarous people, as is supposed to haue altered the *Latine* Tongue, for  
although I know *Greece* to haue bene ouer-runne and wasted, by the *Goths*, yet I finde not in  
Histories, any remembrance of their habitation, or long continuance in *Greece*, and of their coa-  
lition into one people with the *Gracians*, without which, I conceiue not, how the Tongue could  
be greatly altered by them. And yet certaine it is, that long before the *Turkes* came among them,  
their Language was growne to the corruption wherein now it is, for that, in the Writings of  
*Cedrenus*, *Nicetas*, and some other late *Greekes* (although long before the *Turkes* inuasion) there  
is found, notwithstanding they were learned men, a strong relish of this barbarousnesse: Inso-  
much that the learned *Gracians* themselves, acknowledge it to bee very ancient, and are vterly  
ignorant, when it began in their Language: which is to me a certaine argument, that it had no  
violent nor sudden beginning, by the mixture of other forreine Nations among them, but hath  
gotten into their Language, by the ordinarie change, which time and many common occasions  
that attend on time, are wont to bring to all Languages in the World, for which reason, the cor-  
ruption of speech growing vpon them, by little and little, the change hath bene vn sensible.  
Yet it cannot be denied (and some of the *Gracians* themselves confesse so much) that beside  
many *Romane* words, which from the Translation of the Imperiall Seat to *Constantinople*, began  
to creepe into their Language, as we may obserue in diuers *Greeke* Writers of good Antiquitie,  
some *Italian* words also, and *Slauonian*, and *Arabique*, and *Turkish*, and of other Nations, are got-  
ten into their Language, by reason of the great Traffique and Commerce, which those people  
exercise with the *Gracians*. For which cause, as *Bellonius* hath obserued, it is more altered in the  
Maritime parts, and such other places of forreigne concourse, then in the inner Region. But yet,  
the greatest part of the corruption of that Language, hath bene bred at home, and proceeded  
from no other cause, then their owne negligence, or affectation. As first (for example) by mu-  
tilation of some words, pronouncing and writing *sin* for *mundin*, *va* for *iva* &c. Secondly, by  
compaction of seuerall words into one, as *πῶς* for *πῶς εἶς*, *εἰς* for *εἰς τὴν εἰς* &c. Third-  
ly, by confusion of sound, as making no difference in the pronouncing of three vowels, namely  
*u*, *i*, *u*, and two Diphthongues *ei* and *oi*, all which five they pronounce by one Letter *i*, as *οἶκος*,  
*οἶκος*, *εἰς*, *αἶμα*, they pronounce *icos*, *icon*, *stubi*, *lipi*. Fourthly, by Translation of accents,  
from the syllables to which in ancient pronouncing they belonged, to others. And all those  
four kinds of corruption, are very common in their Language: for which reasons, and for some  
others, which may be obserued in *Crusius*, *Burmana*, &c. the *Greeke* Tongue, is become much al-  
tered (euen in the proper and native words of the Language) from what anciently it was. Yet  
neuertheless it is recorded by some, that haue taken diligent obseruation of that Tongue, in the  
seuerall parts of *Greece*, that there be yet in *Morea*, (*Peloponessus*) betwixt *Napoli* and *Monem-  
basia* (*Nauplia* and *Epidaurius*, they were called) some fourteene Townes, the Inhabitants whereof  
are called *Zacones* (for *Lacones*) that speake yet the ancient *Greeke* Tongue, but farre out of  
Grammer Rule: yet, they vnderstand those that speake Grammatically, but vnderstand not the  
vulgar *Greeke*. As *Bellonius* likewise remembreth another place, neere *Heraclea* in *Anatolia*, that  
yet retayneth the pure *Greeke*, for their vulgar Language. But the few places beeing excepted,  
K ic

Belon. obseruat.  
l. 1. c. 3. Turco-  
grec. l. 3. & 5.

Gerlach. in Epist.  
ad Crusium Tur-  
cog. ad l. 7. p. 489

d Zygomalos, in  
Epist. ad Crus.  
Turcog. pag.

Belon. obseruat. l. 1. c. 3

Vide Crus. Turci  
p. 44. 224. 242.  
392. 398. 399.  
&c.

Burman. in Co-  
ron. prelopa.  
Gerlach. apud  
Crus. l. 7. Turcog.  
p. 489.

Belon. obseruat.  
l. 2. c. 111.



e Burdoun in  
Epist. ad Chitra,  
at u dillum in li.  
de statu Ecclie  
liar. p. 47.  
f Vide Chitra.  
loc. citato, &  
Turcogrec. Cris.  
p. 127 & 415.  
Oc.  
Of the ancient  
largeness of  
the Roman  
tongue in the  
time of the Ro-  
man Empire.  
Chap. 3.

g Spartian. in  
Hadriano & in  
Seuero.

And Fulv. l. 2.  
Antiq. Rom. c. 3.  
Gell. l. 13. c. 14.  
Strab. l. 1.

Dionys. Hal. l. 2.  
Antiq. Rom.  
Vopisc. in Aure-  
liano.

Euseb. in Chro.  
ad Olymp. 174.  
in Lipsius de  
mag. Rom. l. 3. c. 3

Appian. l. 1.  
Civil. longe ante  
med.

Dion. l. 41.

Tacit. l. 1. Histo-  
riar. Plin. l. 3. c. 3.  
Digest. l. 1. Tit. de  
statu hominum.  
Leg. in Orbe Ro-  
mano.

i Digest. l. 42.  
Tit. de re iudica-  
ta, Leg. Decreti

it is certaine, that the difference is become so great, betwixt the present and the ancient *Greeke* that their *Lyturgie*, \* which is yet read in the ancient *Greeke* Tongue, namely that of *Basil*, on the *Sabbaths* and *solemne dayes*, and that of *Chrysostome* on common dayes, is not vnderstood (or but little of it) by the vulgar people, as learned men that haue beene in those parts, haue related to others, and to my selfe: which may be also more euidently prooued to be true by this, be- cause the skilfull in the learned *Greeke* cannot vnderstand the vulgar.

**T**He ordinary bounds of the *Romane* Empire were, on the East part *Euphrates*, and sometimes *Tigris*: On the North the Riuer of *Rhene* and of *Danubius*, and the *Emxine* Sea: On the West the Ocean: On the South the *Cataracts* of *Nilus* in the vtmost border of *Egypt*, and in 10 *Africke* the Mountaine *Atlas*. Which, beginning in the West, on the shoare of the Ocean, ouer against the *Canarie* Ilands, runneth Eastward almost to *Egypt*, being in few places distant from the *Mediterrane* Sea, more then two hundred miles. These I say, were the ordinary bounds of that Empire in the Continent: for although the *Romanes* passed these bounds sometimes, specially toward the East and North, yet they kept little of what they wanne, but within those bounds mentioned, the Empire was firmly established. But heere, in our great Ile of *Britaine*, the *Picts* wall was the limit of it, passing by *New-castle* and *Carleil* from *Timmouth* on the East Sea, to *Solway* Frith on the West, being first begun by the Emperour *Adrian*, and after finished or ra- ther repaired, by *Septimius Seuerus*.

To this greatnesse of Dominion *Rome* at last arriued from her small beginnings. And small her 20 beginnings were indeed, considering the huge Dominion to which shee attained. For first, the Circuit of the Citie wall, at the first building of it, by *Romulus* in Mount *Palatine*, could not bee fully one mile: for the Hill it selfe, as is obserued by *Andrea Fulvio*, a Citizen and Antiquarie of *Rome*, hath no more in circuit: And, that *Romulus* bounded the *Pomerium* of the Citie (which extended somewhat beyond the wall) with the foot of that Hill in compasse *Gellius* hath left re- gistrated. Secondly, the Territorie and Liberties of *Rome*, as *Strabo* hath remembred, extended at the first, where it stretched farthest scarce six miles from the Citie. And thirdly, the first Inha- bitants of *Rome*, as I find recorded in *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, were not in number aboue 3300. at the most. Yet, with Time, and fortunate successe, *Rome* so increased, that in *Aurelianus* his 30 time, the circuit of the Citie wall, was fiftie miles, as *Vopiscus* hath recorded: And the Domini- on, grew to the largeness aboue mentioned, contayning aboue 3000. miles in length, and about 1200. in breadth: and lastly the number of free Citizens, euen in the time of *Marinus*, that is, long before forreigne Cities and Countries, began to be receiued into participation of that free- dome, was found to be 463000. as *Eusebius* hath remembred: of free Citizens I say (for they one- ly came into *Cense*) but if I should adde, their wiues, and children, and seruants, that is, general- ly all the Inhabitants, a learned man hath esteemed them, and not without great likelihood of truth, to haue beene no lesse, then three or foure Millions.

Beyond these bounds therefore of the *Roman* Empire (to speake to the point in hand) the Ro- man tongue could not bee in any common vse, as neither, to speake of our Kings Dominions in *Ireland*, *Scotland*, nor *Northumberland*, as being no subiects of the *Roman* Empire. And that with- 40 in these bounds it stretched farre and wide (in such manner as I will afterward declare) two principall causes there were. One was the multitude of Colonies, which partly to repress re- bellion in the subdued Prouines, partly to resist forreigne Inuasions partly to reward the ancient Souldiers, partly to abate the redundance of the City, and relieue the poorer sort, were sent forth to inhabit in all the Prouinces of the Empire: Another was the Donation of *Romane* free- dome, or Communication of the right and benefit of *Romane* Citizens, to very many of the Pro- uinciall, both Cities and Regions. For first, all *Italie* obtained that freedome in the time of *Sylla* and *Marinus*, at the compounding of the *Italian* Warre, as *Appian* hath recorded: All *Italie* I 50 say, as then it was called, and bounded, with the Riuer of *Rubicon* and *Arnuu*, that is, the nar- rower part of *Italie* lying betwixt the *Adriatique* and the *Tyrrhene* Seas. Secondly, *Iulius Ce- sar* in like sort enfranchised the rest of *Italie*, that is the border-part, named then *Gallia Cisalpina*, as is remembred by *Dion*. But not long after, the forreigne Prouinces also, began to bee infran- chised, *France* being indued with the liberty of *Roman* Citizens by *Galba*, as I find in *Tacitus*; *Spain* by *Vespasian*, as it is in *Plinie*. And at last, by *Antoninus Pius*, all without exception, that were subiect to the Empire of *Rome*, as appeareth by the testimonie of *Vlpian* in the *Digests*. The benefit of which *Romane* freedome, they that would vse, could not with honestie doe it, remay- ning ignorant of the *Romane* Tongue.

These two as I haue said, were the principall causes of enlarging that Language: yet other there were also of great importance, to further it. For first, concerning Ambassages, Suites, Ap- peales, or whatsoever other businesse of the Prouincialls, or Forreignes, nothing was allowed to be handled, or spoken in the Senate at *Rome*, but in the *Latine* Tongue. Secondly, the Lawes 60 whereby the Prouinces were gouerned, were all written in that Language, as beeing in all of them, excepting onely Municipall Cities, the ordinary *Roman* Law. Thirdly, the *Prators* of the Prouinces, were not allowed to deliuer their Iudgements saue in that Language: and wee reade



reade in *Dion Cassius*, of a principall man of *Greece*, that by *Claudius* was put from the order of Iudges, for being ignorant of the *Latine* Tongue : and to the same effect in *Valerius Maximus*, that the *Romane* Magistrates would not giue audience to the *Gracians*, (lesse therefore I take it to the Barbarous Nations) saue in the *Latine* Tongue. Fourthly, the generall Schooles, erected in sundry Cities of the Prouinces, whereof wee finde mention in *Tacitus*, *Hierome*, and others (in which the *Roman* Tongue was the ordinary and allowed speech, as is vsuall in Vniuersities till this day) was no small furtherance to that Language. And, to conclude that the *Romans* had generally (at least in the after-times, when *Rome* was become a Monarchie, and in the flourish of the Empire) great care to enlarge their Tongue, together with their Dominion, is by *Augustine* in his Bookes *de Cinit. Dei*, specially remembred. I said it was so in after times, for certainly, that the *Romane* were not very anciently possessed with that humour of spreading their Language, appeareth by *Linie*, in whom we finde recorded, that it was granted the *Cumanes*, for a fauour, & at their Suit, that they might publikely vse the *Roman* Tongue, not fully one hundred and fortie yeeres before the beginning of the Emperours : And yet was *Cuma* but about one hundred miles distant from *Rome*, and at that time the *Romane* had conquered all *Italie*, *Sicilie*, *Sardinia*, and a great part of *Spaine*.

Dion l. 57. Val.  
Max. l. 2. c. 2.

Tacit. l. 3. Annal.  
Hieron. in Ep ad  
Rufinum. Tom. 1.

Aug. de Ci. Dei,  
l. 19. c. 7.

Lin. l. 1. Ro. l. 40.

But yet in all the Prouinces of the Empire, the *Romane* Tongue found not alike acceptance, and successe, but most enlarged and spread it selfe toward the North and West, and South bounds: for first, that in all the Regions of *Pannonia*, it was knowne, *Velleius* is mine Author : Secondly, that it was spoken in *France* and *Spaine*, *Strabo* : Thirdly, that in *Afrique*, *Apuleius* : And it seemeth the Sermons of *Cyprian* and *Augustine*, yet extant (of *Augustine* it is manifest) that they preached to the people in *Latine*. But in the East parts of the Empire, as in *Greece*, and *Asia*, and so likewise in *Afrique*, from the greater *Syrtis* Eastward, I cannot in my reading find that the *Roman* tongue euer grew into any commonvle. And the reason of it seemes to be, for that in those parts of the Empire it became most frequent, where the most, and greatest *Romane* Colonies, were planted. And therefore ouer all *Italy*, it became in a manner vulgar, wherein I haue obserued in Histories, and in Registers of ancient Inscriptions, to haue beene planted by the *Romane* at seuerall times aboue one hundred and fiftie Colonies : as in *Afrique* alio neere fixtie (namely fiftie seuen) in *Spaine* nine and twentie, in *France*, as it stretched to *Rhene* twentie fixe, and so in *Illyricum*, and other North parts of the Empire, betweene the *Adriatique* Sea, and *Danubius* verie many. And yet I doubt not, but in all these parts, more there were, then any Historie or ancient Inscription that now remaynes hath remembred.

Villei. l. 2.  
Strab. l. 3. & 4.  
Apuleius in Florid.

And contrariwise in those Countries, where fewest Colonies were planted, the *Latine* Tongue grew nothing so common : as for example heere in *Britaine*, there were but foure : 1 *Torke*, 2 *Chester*, 3 *Caerluske* in *Monmouth-shire*, and 4 *Maldon* in *Essex* (for *London*, although recorded for one by *Onuphrius*, was none, as is manifest by his owne Author, in the place that him selfe alleadgeth) and therefore we find in the *British* Tongue which yet remaineth in *Wales*, but little relish (to account of) or relikes of the *Latine*. And, for this cause also partly the East Prouinces of the Empire, sauoured little or nothing of the *Roman* Tongue. For first in *Afrique* beyond the greater *Syrtis*, I find neuer a *Romane* Colonie : for *Onuphrius*, that hath recorded *In-dicia Cyrenensium* for one, alleadging *Vlpian* for Author, was deceived by some faultie Copie of the *Digests*. For the corrected Copies haue *Zernensium*, and for *Indicia*, is to be read *In Dacia*, as is rightly obserued (for in it the Citie of *Zerne* was) by *Pancirellus*. Secondly in *Egypt*, there were but two : and to be briefe, *Syria* onely excepted, which had about twentie *Romane* Colonies, but most of them late planted, especially by *Septimius Seuerus*, and his Sonne *Bassianus*, to strengthen that side of the Empire against the *Parthians* (and yet I finde not that in *Syria*, the *Romane* Tongue, euer obtained any vulgar vse) the rest, had but verie few, in proportion to the largenesse of those Regions.

1 Eboracum.  
2 Deburia.  
3 I/ca.  
4 Camalodunum  
Onuphr. in Imp.  
Rom.  
k Tacit. l. 1. q.  
Annal.  
Onuphr. liam  
citato.  
l Vide Digest. l.  
50. Tit. de Censi-  
bus leg. sciendum  
Pancirell. id  
Comment. Notit.  
Imper. Orientalis  
cap. 138.

Of which little estimation, and vse of the *Roman* Tongue, in the East parts, beside the want of Colonies fore-mentioned, and to omit their loue to their owne Languages, which they held to be more ciuill then the *Romane*, another great cause was the *Greeke*, which they had in farre greater account, both for Learning sake (inasmuch that *Cicero* confesseth, *Græca* (saith he) *leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur*) and for Traffique, to both which, the *Gracians*, aboue all Nations of the World were anciently giuen : to omit, both the excellencie of the Tongue it selfe, for sound and copiousnesse, and that it had forestalled the *Romane* in those parts. And certainly, in how little regard the *Romane* Tongue was had in respect of the *Greeke* in the Easterne Countries, may appeare by this, that all the learned men of those parts, whereof most liued in the flourish of the *Romane* Empire, haue written in *Greeke*, and not in *Latine* : as *Philo*, *Iosephus*, *Ignatius*, *Iustine Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Gregorie Nyssene*, and *Nazianzene*, *Cirill* of *Alexandria*, and of *Ierusalem*, *Epiphanius*, *Synetius*, *Pislemie Strabo*, *Porphyrie*, and verie many others, so that of all the Writers that liued in *Asia*, or in *Afrique*, beyond the greater *Syrtis*, I thinke wee haue not one Author in the *Latine* Tongue : and yet more evidently may it appeare by another instance, that I finde in the third Generall Councell held at *Ephesus*, where the Letters of the Bishop of *Rome*, hauing beene

Cicer. in Orat.  
pro Arabia poeta.

Consp. Ephesus.  
Tome. cap. 12.  
Edit. 1583.



read by his Legates, in the *Latine* Tongue, it was requested by all the Bishops, that they might be translated into *Greeke*, to the end they might be vnderstood. It is manifest therefore, that the *Romane* Tongue was neither vulgar, nor familiar in the East, when the learned men gathered out of all parts of the East vnderstood it not.

That the *Roman* Tongue  
abolished not  
the vulgar lan-  
guages, in the  
forreine Pro-  
uinces of the  
*Roman* Empire.  
Chap. 4.  
*Galat. de Situ*  
*Iapigia* p. 98.  
*Vin. l. 3. de tra-*  
*den. disciplin.* &  
*ad Aug. dec. Dei*  
*li. 19. c. 7.*  
3 *Scal. in Dia-*  
*trib. de ling. Eu-*  
*ropa.*  
4 *Mcru. Cosm.*  
*part. 2. l. 2. c. 8.*  
5 *Scal. loc. citato*  
*m. Ortel. in tab.*  
*Fris Oriental.*  
*n Scal. loc. citato*  
13 *Bert. in de-*  
*scrip. Hungar.*

OF the weake impression therefore of the *Romane* Language in the East, and large enter-  
tainment of it in the West, and other parts of the Empire, and of the causes of both, I haue  
said enough. But in what sort, and how farre it preuailed, namely, whether sofarre, as to ex-  
tinguish the ancient vulgar Languages of those parts, and it selfe, in stead of them, to become the  
native and vulgar Tongue, as *Galatens* hath pronounced touching the *Punisque*, and *Vines* with  
many others of the *Gallique* and *Spanish*, I am next to consider.

First therefore, it is certainly obserued, that there are at this day, fourteene Mother Tongues  
in *Europe* (beside the *Latine*) which remaine, not onely not abolished, but little or nothing alte-  
red, or impaired by the *Romanes*. And those are the 1 *Irish*, spoken in *Ireland*, and a good part  
of *Scotland*: the 2 *Brittish*, in *Wales*, *Cornwaile*, and *Brittaine* of *France*: the 3 *Cantabrian*  
neere the Ocean about the *Pyrene*, Hills, both in *France* and *Spaine*: the 4 *Arabique*, in the stee-  
pie Mountaines of *Granata*, named *Alpuxarrae*: the 5 *Finnique*, in *Finland*, and *Lapland*: the  
6 *Dutch*, in *Germany*, *Belgia*, *Denmarke*, *Norway*, and *Suedia*: the old 7 *Canchian*, (I take it to  
be that, for in that part the *Canchi* inhabited) in *East Frisland*, for although to strangers they  
speake *Dutch*, yet among themselves they vie a peculiar Language of their owne: the 8 *Sla-*  
*nonish*, in *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, *Mosconia*, *Russia*, and many other Regions (whereof I will after in-  
treate in due place) although with notable difference of Dialect, as also the *Brittish* and *Dutch*,  
in the Countries mentioned haue: the old 9 *Illyrian*, in the Ile of *Veggia*, on the East side of  
*Istria* in the day of *Liburnia*: the 10 *Greeke*, in *Greece*, and the Ilands about it, and part of *Ma-*  
*cedon*, and of *Thrace*: the old 11 *Epirotique* in the Mountaine of *Epirus*: the 12 *Hungarian*  
in the greatest part of that Kingdome: the 13 *Iazygian*, in the North side of *Hungaria* be-  
twixt *Danubius* and *Tibiscus*, vtterly differing from the *Hungarian* Language: And lastly, the  
14 *Tartarian*, of the *Precopenes*, betweene the Riuer of *Tanaas* and *Borysthenes*, neere *Meotis*  
and the *Euxine* Sea, for, of the *English*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French*, as being deriuations, or rather  
degenerations, the first of the *Dutch*, and the other three of the *Latine*, seeing I now speake one-  
ly of Originall or Mother Languages, I must be silent: And of all these fourteene it is cer-  
taine, except the *Arabique*, which is knowne to haue entred since, and perhaps the *Hungarian*,  
about which there is difference among Antiquaries, that they were in *Europe* in time of the *Ro-*  
*mane* Empire, and sixe or seuen of them, within the Limits of the Empire.

And indeed, how hard a matter it is, vtterly to abolish a vulgar Language, in a populous  
Countrey, where the Conquerers are in number farre inferiour to the Native Inhabitants, what-  
soeuer Art be practized to bring it about, may well appeare by the vaine attempt of our *Nor-*  
*man* Conquerour: who although hee compelled the *English*, to teach their young children in  
the Schooles nothing but *French*, and set downe all the Lawes of the Land in *French*, and in-  
forced all pleadings at the Law to be performed in that Language (which custome continued till  
King *Edward* the Third his dayes: who disanulled it) purposing thereby to haue conquered  
the Language together with the Land, and to haue made all *French*: yet, the number of *English*  
farre exceeding the *Normans*, all was but labour lost, and obtained no further effect, then the  
mingling of a few *French* words with the *English*. And euen such also was the successe of the  
*Frankes* among the *Gauls*, of the *Gothes* among the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, and may be obserued,  
to be short in all such conquests, where the Conquerors (beeing yet in number farre inferiour)  
mingle themselves with the Native Inhabitants. So that, in those Countries onely the mutation  
of Languages hath ensued vpon Conquests, where either the ancient Inhabitants haue bene  
destroyed or driuen forth, as wee see in our Countrey to haue followed of the *Saxons*, vi-  
stories, against the *Brittaines*, or else at least in such sort diminished, that in number they  
remained inferiour, or but little superiour to the Conquerours, whose reputation and authoritie  
might preuaile more then a small exceffe of multitude. But (that I digresse no further) because  
certaine Countreies are specially alleaged, in which the *Romane* Tongue is supposed most to haue  
preuailed, I will restraîne my discourse to them alone.

And first, that both the *Punisque* and *Gallique* Tongues, remained in the time of *Alexan-*  
*der Senerus* the Emperour (about two hundred and thirtie yeeres after our Sauours birth)  
appeareth by *Vlpian*, who liued at that time, and was with the Emperour of principall re-  
putation, teaching, that • *Fidei commissa* might bee left, not onely in *Latine*, or *Greeke*,  
but in the *Punisque* or *Gallique*, or any other vulgar Language. Till that time therefore, it  
seemeth euident, that the *Romane* Tongue had not swallowed vp these vulgar Languages, and  
it selfe become vulgar in stead of them. But to insist a little in either seuerally. First, touching  
the *Punisque*, *Aurelius Victor* hath recorded of *Septimius Senerus*, that he was, *Latinis liti-*  
*ris sufficienter instructus*, but *Punica eloquentia promptior*, quippe genitus apud *Leptim* prouincia  
*Africa*. Of which Emperors sister also dwelling at *Leptis* (it is the Citie wee now call *Tripoly*

o *Digest. l. 32.*  
*lege Fidei com-*  
*missa.*

*Aur. Victor. in*  
*Epitom. Septim.*  
*Sener.*



in *Barbarie*) and coming to see him, *Spartianus* hath left written, that shee so badly spake the Latine tongue (yet was *Leptis* a Roman Colony) that the Emperour blushed at it. Secondly long after that, *Hierome* hath recorded of his time, that the Africans had somewhat altered their language from the Phœnicians: the language therefore then remained, for else how could hee pronounce of the present difference? Thirdly, *Augustine* (somewhat younger then *Hierome*, though living at the same time) writeth not onely, that *b* hee knew diuers Nations in *Africke*, that spake the Punike tongue, but also more particularly in *c* another place, mentioning a knowne Punike prouerb, he would speake it (he said) in the Latine, because all his Auditors (for *Hippo*, where hee preached was a Roman Colony) vnderstood not the Punike tongue: And some other *d* passages could I alleadge out of *Augustine*, for the direct confirmation of this point, if these were not euident and effectuell enough. Lastly, *Leo Africanus*, a man of late time, and good reputation, affirmeth, that there remaine yet in *Barbary*, very many descended of the old Inhabitants, that speake the African tongue, whereby it is apparent that it was neuer extinguished by the Romanes.

Secondly, touching the ancient Gallike tongue, that it also remained, and was not abolished by the Romanes in the time of *Strabo*, who flourished vnder *Tiberius Cæsars* gouernment, it appeareth in the fourth Book of his *Geography*, writing that the *Aquitani* differed altogether in language from the other *Gauls*, and they somewhat among themselues. Nor after that in *Tacitus* his time, noting that the language of *France*, differed little from that of *Brittaine*. No, nor long after that in *Alexander Seuerus* his time, for beside the authoritie of *Ulpian* before alleadged out of the *Digestes*, it is manifest by *Lampridius* also, who in the life of the said *Alexander*, remembreth of a *Druide* woman, that when hee was passing along, in his Expedition against the *Germanes* through *France*, cried out after him in the Gallike tongue (what needed that obseruation of the Gallike tongue, if it were the Romanes?) Goe thy way, quoth shee, and looke not for the victory, and trust not thy Souldiers. And though *Strabo* bee alleadged by some, to proue the vulgarnesse of the Latine tongue in *France*, yet is it manifest, that he speaketh not of all the *Gauls*, but of certaine onely, in the Prouince of *Narbona*, about *Rhodanus*, for which part of *France* there was speciall reason, both for the more ancient and ordinary conuersing of the Romanes, in that Region aboue all the rest: for of all the seuentene Prouinces of *France*, that of *Narbona* was first reduced into the forme of a Prouince: And the Citie of *Narbona* it selfe, being a Mart Towne of exceeding traffike, in those dayes, was the *e* first forraigne Colonie that the Romanes planted out of *Italy*, *Carthage* onely excepted: And yet furthermore, as *Pliny* hath recorded, many towns there were in that Prouince, infranchized, and indued with the libertie and right of the Latines. And yet for all this, *Strabo* saith not, that the Roman tongue was the natieue or vulgar language in that part, but that for the more part they spake it.

Thirdly, concerning the Spanish tongue: Howsoever *Vines* writ, that the languages of *France* and *Spaine* were vtterly extinguished by the Romanes, and that the Latine was become *f* *Vernacula Hispania*, as also *Gallia & Italia*; and *g* some others of the same Nation vaunt, that had not the barbarous Nations corrupted it, the Latine tongue would haue beene at this day, as pure in *Spaine*, as it was in *Rome* it selfe in *Tullies* time: yet neuertheless manifest it is, that the Spanish tongue was neuer vtterly suppressed by the Latine. For to omit that of *Strabo*, *h* that there were diuers languages in the parts of *Spaine*, as also in *i* another place, that of the speech of *Aquitaine* was liker the language of the Spaniards, then of the other *Gauls*: It is a common consent of the best Historians and Antiquaries of *Spaine*, *k* that the *Cantabrian* tongue, which yet remaineth in the North part of *Spaine* (and hath no relish in a manner at all of the Roman) was either the ancient, or at least one of the ancient languages of *Spaine*. And although *l* *Strabo* hath recorded, that the Roman tongue was spoken in *Spaine*, yet hee speaketh not indefinitely, but addeth a limitation, namely, about *Betis*. And that in that part of *Spaine*, the Roman tongue so preuailed, the reason is easie to be assigned by that wee finde in *Pliny*. Namely, that in *50* *Betica*, were eight Roman Colonies, eight Municipall Cities, and twentie nine others indued with the right and libertie of the Latines.

Lastly, to speake of the Pannonian tongue (*Pannonia* contained *Hungarie*, *Austria*, *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*) it is certaine that the Roman did not extinguish it: For first, *Paterculus* (who is the onely Author that I know alleadged for that purpose) saith not, that it was become the language of the Countrey, for how could it, being but euen then newly conquered by *Tiberius Cæsar*? but onely that in the time of *Augustus*, by *Tiberius* his meanes the knowledge of the Roman tongue was spread in all *Pannonia*. And secondly, *Tacitus* after *Tiberius* his time hath recorded, that the *Os* in *Germany* might be knowne to be no *Germanes*, by the Pannonian tongue, which *a* little before in the same booke, he plainly acknowledged to be spoken euen then in *Pannonia*.

And as for these reasons, it may well seeme that the Roman tongue became not the vulgar language in any of these parts of the Empire, which are yet specially instanced, for the large vulgarity of it: So haue I other reasons to perswade mee, that it was not in those parts, nor in any other forraigne Countries subiect to the Empire, either generally or perfectly spoken. Not

*Spartian. in S. uero post med. a Antonin. in Itinerario. Hieron. in Proem. l. 2. Com. Epist. ad Gala. in fine. b August. de Ciu. Dei. l. 16. c. 6. c Id. Serm. 25. de verb. Apost. d Id. Expos. in Chart. Epist. ad Roman. circa med.*

*Leo 1. Africa. l. 1. descript. Africa. cap. de Ling. Africanis. Strab. l. 4. in princip. Tacit. in Iulio Agricola. Lamprid. in Alexander. Seuerus. longe post med.*

*Strab. l. 4. long. ante med.*

*e Vel. Patercul. l. 1.*

*Plin. l. 3. c. 4.*

*f Vid. Annot. ad August. de Ciu. Dei. l. 19. c. 7. Id. l. 3. de tradend. Discip. g Marin. Sicul. de Reb. Hispan. nic. l. 5. c. 4. h Strab. l. 3. paul. a principio. Id. l. 4. in princip. i Marian. de Reb. Hispan. l. 1. c. 5. Marin. Sicul. de reb. Hispan. l. 4. c. ultim. & Alib. k Strab. l. 3. c. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 1. Vel. Patercul. l. 2.*

*Tacit. de morib. Germ. prope fin. \* Lib. eod. parum a medio.*



generally ( I say ) because it is hard to conceiue , that any whole Countries , specially because so large as the mentioned are , should generally speake two languages , their owne Natiue and the *Romane*. Secondly , there was not any Law at all of the *Romans*, to inforce the subdued Nations , either to vse vulgarly the *Romane* tongue, or not to vse their owne natiue languages ( and very extreame and vnreasonable had such Lords beene, as should compell men by Lawes, both to doe, and to speake onely what pleased them. ) Neither do I see any other necessitie, or any prouocation to bring them to it, except for some speciall sorts of men, as Merchants, and Citizens, for their better traffick and trade, Lawyers for the knowledge and practise of the *Romane* Lawes, which carried force throughout the Empire (except priuiledged places) Schollers for learning, Souldiers, for their better conuersing with the *Romane* Legions, and with the *Latines*, Trauellers, Gentle men, Officers, or such other, as might haue occasion of affaires and dealing with the *Romans*. But it soundeth altogether vnlike a truth, that the poore scattered people abroad in the Country, dwelling either in solitarie places, or in the small Towns and Villages, either generally spake it, or could possibly attaine vnto it. An example whereof, for the better euidence may at this day bee noted ; in those parts of *Greece*, which are subiect to the Dominions of the *Turks* and *Venetians* : for as *Bellonius* hath obserued , the people that dwell in the principall Townes and Cities, subiect to the *Turke*, by reason of their trade, speake both the *Greeke* and *Turkish* tongues, as they also that are vnder the *Venetians*, both the *Greeke* and *Italian*, but the Countrey people vnder both governments, speake onely *Greeke*. So likewise in *Sardinia*, as is recorded by \* others, the good Townes by reason of the *Spanish* Gouvernement and Trade, speake also the *Spanish* tongue, but the Countrey people the naturall *Sardinian* language onely : And, the like by our owne experience wee know to bee true, in the Prouinces subiect to our King, namely, both in *Wales* and *Ireland*. It seemeth therefore that the *Romane* tongue was neuer generally spoken in any of the *Roman* Prouinces forth of *Italy*.

*Bellon. Obseruat. l. 1. c. 4.*

\* *Gesner. in Myth. in Lingua Sardinica.*

*Rocca de Diu. lect. in Ling. Sardinica. Porcacchi. l. de No. Isola. nel. descritt. di Sardinia.*

*Vide August. in Enarrat. Ps. 123. c. 138. & l. 2. de doctrin. Chris. c. 13. & Tract. 7 in Ioan.*

Of the beginning of the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish* languages. Chap. 5.

And certainly much lesse can I perswade my selfe, that it was spoken abroad in the Prouinces perfectly. First, because it seemes vnpossible for forraigne Nations, specially for the rude and common people, to attaine the right pronouncing of it, who, as wee know doe ordinarily much mistake the true pronouncing of their natiue language : for which very cause, wee see the *Chaldee* tongue to haue degenerated into the *Syriake* among the *Iewes*, although they had conuersed seuentie yeeres together among the *Chaldeans*. And moreouer, by daily experience wee see in many, with what labour and difficulty, euen in the very Schooles, and in the most docible part of their age, the right speaking of the *Latine* tongue is attained. And to conclude, it appeareth by *Augustine* in sundry places, that the *Roman* tongue was vnperfect among the *Africans* (euen in the Colonies) as pronouncing *offsum* for *os*, *floriet* for *floribit*, *dolus* for *dolor*, and such like, insomuch that hee confesseth, hee was faine sometimes to vse words that were no *Latine*, to the end they might vnderstand him.

The common opinion, which supposeth that these Nations in the flourish of the *Romane* Empire, spake vulgarly and rightly the *Latine* tongue, is, that the mixture of the Northerne barbarous Nations among the ancient Inhabitants, was the cause of changing the *Latine* tongue into the languages, which now they speake, the languages becomming mingled, as the Nations themselves were. Who, while they were inforced to attemper and frame their speech, one to the vnderstanding of another, for elie they could not mutually expresse their mindes ( which is the end for which Nature hath giuen speech to men ) they degenerated both, and so came to this medly wherein now wee finde them.

Which opinion if it were true, the *Italian* tongue, must of necessitie haue it beginning about the 480. yeere of our Sauour : Because, at that time, the Barbarous Nations began first to inhabit *Italy*, vnder *Odoacer*, for although they had entred and wasted *Italy* long before, as first, the *Gothes* vnder *Alaricus*, about the yeare 414 : Then the *Hunnes* together with the *Gothes*, and the *Heruli*, and the *Gepidi*, and other Northerne people vnder *Attila*, about *An. 450*. Then the *Wandales* vnder *Gensericus*, crossing the Sea out of *Africke*, about *An. 456*. ( to omit some other inuasions of those barbarous Nations, because they prospered not ) yet none of these, settled themselves to stay and inhabit *Italy*, till the *Heruli*, as I said vnder *Odoacer*, about *An. 480*. or a little before entred and possessed it neere hand twenty yeeres, hee being ( proclaimed by the *Romans* themselves ) King of *Italy*, about sixteene yeeres, and his people becomming inhabitants of the Countrey. But, they also, within twenty yeeres after their entrance, were in a manner rooted out of *Italy*, by *Theodoricus* King of *Gothes*, who allotted them onely a part of *Piemont* about *Turin* to inhabit : for *Theodoricus* being by *Zeno* then Emperour, inuited with the title of King of *Italy*, and hauing overcome *Odoacer*, somewhat afore the yeere 500. ruled peaceably a long time, as King of *Italy*, and certaine others of the *Gothes* Nation succeeded after him in the same government, the *Gothes* in the meane space, growing into one with the *Italians*, for the space neere hand of sixtie yeeres together. And although after that, the Dominion of *Italy* was by *Narses* againe recouered to the Empire in the time of *Iustinian*, and many of the *Gothes* expelled *Italy*, yet tarre more of them remained, *Italy* in that long time being growne well with their seed and posteritie.



steritie. The *Heruli* therefore, with their associates were the first, and the *Goths* the second of the barbarous Nations that inhabited *Italy*. The third and the last, were the *Longbards*, who comming into *Italy* about the yeere 570. and long time obtaining the Dominion and possession, in a manner of all *Italy*, namely about two hundred yeeres, and during the succession of twenty Kings or more, were neuer expelled forth of *Italy*, although at last their Dominion was fore broken by *Pipin* King of *France*, and after more defaced by his sonne *Charles* the Great, who first restrained and confined it to that part, which to this day, of them retaineth the name of *Lombardy*, and shortly after vtterly extinguished it, carrying away their last King captiue into *France*. Now although diuers \* Antiquaries of *Italy* there bee, which referre the beginning of the *Italian* tongue, and the change of the *Latine* into it, to these third Inhabitants of *Italy* the *Longbards*, by reason of their long and perfect coalition into one with the *Italian* people: yet certainly, the *Italian* tongue was more antient then so, for besides that there remaines yet to bee seene (as men \* worthy of credit report) in the King of *France* his Library at *Paris*, an Instrument written in the *Italian* tongue, in the time of *Iustinian* the first, which was before the comming of the *Longbards* into *Italy*: another euidence more vulgar, to this effect, is to be found in *Paulus Diaconus* his Miscellane History: where wee read that in the Emperour *Mauritius* his time, about the yeer 590. when the *Langbards* had indeed entred, and wasted *Gallia Cisalpina*, but had not inuaded the *Roman* dition in *Italy*, that by the acclamation of the word *Torna, Torna*, (plaine *Italian*) which a *Roman* Souldier spake to one of his fellowes afore, (whose beast had ouerturned his burthen) the whole Army (marching in the darke) began to cry out, *Torna, Torna*, and so fell to flying away.

\* Blond in Ital.  
Illustrata in  
Marchia Trivis-  
ana.  
Tinto della No-  
bilita diuerona. l.  
2. c. 2. & alij.  
\* Lipp. de Pro-  
nuntiat Ling. lat.  
cap. 3. & Merul.  
par. 2. Cosmog.  
l. 4. c. 18.  
Paul. Diacon.  
hist. Miscel. l. 17.  
longe ante med.

But the *French* tongue, if that afore mentioned were the cause of it, began a little before, in the time of *Valentinian* the third, when in a manner all the West part of the Empire fell away (and among the rest, our Countrey of *England*, being first forsaken of the *Romans* themselues, by reason of grieuous warres at their owne doores, and not long after conquered and possessed by the *Saxons*, whose posteritie (for the most part wee are) namely, about the yeere 450: *France* being then subdued and peaceably possessed by the *Franks* and *Burgundions*, Nations of *Germany*: the *Burgundions* occupying the Eastward and outward parts of it, toward the Riuer of *Rhene*, and the *Franks* all the inner Region. For although *France* before that had beene inuaded by the *Wandali*, *Sueni*, and *Alani*, and after by the *Goths*, who hauing obtained *Aquitayn* for their Seat and Habitation, by the grant of the Emperour *Honorius*, expelled the former into *Spaine*, about *An. 410*: yet notwithstanding, till the Conquest made by the *Franks* and *Burgundions*, it was not generally, nor for any long time mingled with strangers, which after that Conquest began to spread ouer *France*, and to become native Inhabitants of the Countrey.

But of all, the *Spanish* tongue for this cause must necessarily bee most antient: for the *Wandali* and *Alani*, being expelled *France*, about the yeere 410, beganne then to inuade and to inhabite *Spaine*, which they held and possessed many yeeres, till the *Goths* being expelled by the *Franks* and *Burgundians*, out of *France* into *Spaine*, expelled them out of *Spaine* into *Afrike* (the Barbarous Nations thus like nailes driuing out one another) and not onely them, but with them all the remnants of the *Roman* Garrilons and gouernment, and so becomming the entire Lords and quiet possessours of all the Countrey, from whom also the Kings of *Spaine* that now are be descended. Notwithstanding, euen they also within lesse then three hundred yeeres after, were driuen by the *Saracens* of *Afrike*, into the Northerne and mountainous parts of *Spaine*, namely *Asturia*, *Biscay*, and *Guipuscoa*, till after a long course of time, by little and little they recovered it out of their hands againe, which was at last fully accomplished by *Ferdinand*, not past one hundred and twenty yeeres agoe, there hauing passed in the meane time, from the *Moors* first entrance of *Spaine* at *Gibraltar*, till their last possession in *Granada*, about seuen hundred and seuentie yeeres.

Whereby you may see also, when the *Roman* tongue began to degenerate in *Afrike* (if that also, as is supposed spake vulgarly the *Latine* tongue, and if the mixture of barbarous people were cause of the decay, and corruption of it) namely, about the yeere 430. for about that time, the *Wandali* and *Alani*, partly wearied with the *Gottish* warre in *Spaine*, and partly inuited by the Gouernour *Bonifacius* entred *Afrike*, vnder the leading of *Gensericius*, a part whereof for a time, they held quietly, for the Emperour *Valentinianus* gift: But shortly after, in the same Emperours time, when all the West Prouinces in a manner fell vtterly away from the Empire, they also tooke *Carthage*; and all the Prouince about it, from the *Romans*. And although the dominion of *Afrike* was regained by *Belizarius* to the Empire almost 100. yeeres after, in *Iustinians* time, yet in the time of the Emperour *Leontius* (almost 700. yeeres after our Sauiours birth) it was lost againe, being anew conquered, and possessed by the *Sarracens* of *Arabia* (and to this day remaineth in their hands) bringing together with their victories, the language also, and religion (*Mahumatanisme*) into all that coast of *Afrike*, euen from *Egypt* to the Strait of *Gibraltar*, about 2000. miles in length.

About which time also, namely during the gouernment of *Valentinian* the third, *Bulgaria*, *Serua*, *Boscina*, *Hungarie*, *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Banaria* and *Suenia* (that is, all the North-  
border



border of the Empire, along the River *Danubius*) and some part of *Thrace*, was spoiled and possessed by the *Hunnes*, who yet principally planted themselves in the lower *Pannonia*, whence it obtained the name of *Hungarie*.

Out of which discourse you may observe these two points. First, what the Countries were, in which those wandering and warring Nations after many transmigrations from place to place, fixed at last their final residence and habitation. Namely the *Hunnes* in *Pannonia*, the *Wandales* in *Afrique*, the East *Gothes* and *Langbards* in *Italie*, the West *Gothes* in *Aquitaine* and *Spaine*, which being both originally but one Nation, gained these names of East and West *Gothes*, from the position of these Countries which they conquered and inhabited, the other barbarous Nations of obscurer names, being partly consumed with the warre, and partly passing into the more famous appellations. And Secondly, you may observe, that the maine dissolution of the Empire, especially in *Europe* and *Afrique*, fell in the time of *Valentinian* the third, about the yeere 450. being caused by the barbarous Nations of the North (as after did the like dissolution of the same Empire in *Asia*, by the *Arabians* in the time of *Heraclius*, about the yeere 640.) and together with the ruine of the Empire in the West by the inundation of the foresaid barbarous Nations, the Latine tongue in all the Countries where it was vulgarly spoken (if it were rightly spoken any where in the West) became corrupted.

Wherefore if the *Spanish*, *French* and *Italian* tongues, proceeded from this cause, as a great number of learned men, suppose they did, you see what the antiquity of them is: But to deliver plainly my opinion, having searched as farre as I could, into the originals of those languages, and having pondered what in my reading, and in my reason I found touching them, I am of another minde (as some learned men also are) namely, that all those tongues are more ancient, and have not sprung from the corruption of the Latine tongue, by the inundation and mixture of barbarous people in these Prouinces, but from the first vnperfect impression & receiuing of it, in those forraine Countries. Which vnperfectnesse notwithstanding of the *Roman* tongue in those parts, although it had, as I take it beginning from this euill framing of forraine tongues, to the right pronouncing of the Latine, yet I withall easily beleue, and acknowledge that it was greatly increased, by the mixture and coalition of the barbarous Nations. So that me thinkes, I haue observed three degrees of corruption in the *Roman* tongue, by the degeneration whereof, these languages are supposed to haue receiued their beginning. The first of them was in *Rome* it selfe, where towards the latter end of the Common-wealth, and after, in the time of the Empire, the infinite multitude of seruants (which exceedingly exceeded the number of free borne Citizens) together with the vnspeakeable confluence of strangers, from all Prouinces, did much impair the purenesse of their language, and as *Isidore* hath obserued, brought many barbarismes and solacismes into it. Inso-much, that *Tertullian* in his time, when as yet none of the barbarous Nations had by inuasion touched *Italie* (for he liued vnder *Septimius Seuerus* gouernment) chargeth the *Romans* to haue renounced the language of their fathers. The Second step, was the vnperfect impression (that I touched before) made of the *Roman* tongue abroad in the forraine Prouinces among strangers, whose tongues could not perfectly frame to speake it aright. And certainly, if the *Italians* themselves, as is remembered by *Cicero*, failed of the right and perfect *Roman* pronounciation, I see not how the tongues of strange Nations, such as the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* were, should exactly vtter it. And the Third, was that mixture of many barbarous people (to which others attribute the beginning of the languages in question) which made the Latine, that was before vnperfect, yet more corrupt then they found it, both for words and for pronouncing: So that, I rather thinke the barbarous people to haue beene a cause of increasing the corruption, and of further alteration and departure of those languages from the *Roman*, then of beginning them. And me thinkes I haue very good reasons so to be perswaded, beside all the arguments aboue mentioned, which I produced, both for the remaining of the vulgar languages, and for the vnperfect speaking of the *Roman* tongue in the Prouinces. First, because the *Gothes*, *Wandales*, *Langbards*, as also the *Franks* and *Burgundians* language was, by the consent of learned men, the *Germane* tongue, which hath but small affinitie or agreement with either the *Italian*, *French* or *Spanish* tongues. Secondly, because among all the auncient writers (and they are many) which haue written of the miserable changes made in these West parts of the World, by those infinite swarmes of barbarous people, I finde not one, that mentioneth the change of any of these languages to haue beene caused by them: which me thinkes some auncient writers among so many learned, as those times, and those very Countries, abounded withall, and whose writings yet remaine, would certainly haue recorded. But though we finde mention in sundry auncient writers, of changing these languages into the *Roman* (whom yet I vnderstand of that vnperfect change before touched) yet nothing is found of any recharging of those languages from the *Roman*, into the state wherein now they are. But it is become a question onely of some late searchers of Antiquity, but of such, as determine in this point, without either sound reason or good countenance of Antiquitie.

These reasons perhaps (ioyned with the other aboue alleadged, whereby I endeoured to proue that the Latine tongue perfectly spoken, was neuer the vulgar language of the Ro-

*Isidor. Origin.*  
l. 9. c. 1.  
*Tertul. in Apo-*  
*log. adu. Gent.*  
Cap. 6.

*Cicer. l. 3. de Ora-*  
*tore.*

\* *Irenic. Exeg.*  
*Germ. l. 1. c. 31*  
*Lazus. l. 10. de*  
*Migra. Gent.*  
*Corop. Origin.*  
*Antwerp. l. 7.*  
*Gesner. in Mi-*  
*thridate. Rhenan*  
*lib. 2. Rev. Germ.*  
*Leunclau. in*  
*Pandect. Turric.*  
*§ 71. & Alij*  
*multi.*

Objections  
touching the  
extent of the  
Latine tongue  
and the begin-  
ning of the  
mentioned  
Languages  
with their so-  
lutions. Chap. 6.



man Prouinces) may perswade you as they haue done mee, that the barbarous Nations of the North, were not the first corrupters of the Latine tongue, in the Prouinces subiect to Rome, nor the beginners of the Italian, French and Spanish tongues: yet some difficulties I finde (I confesse) in writers touching these points, which when I haue resolved my opinion will appeare the more credible.

One is out of *Plutarch* in his Platonique questions, affirming that in his time all men in a manner spake the Latine tongue.

*Plutar. in quest. platonice quest. 9*

Another before touched that *Strabo* recordeth the Roman tongue to haue beene spoken in Spaine and France, and *Apuleius* in *Africke*, which also may appeare by sundry places in *Augustine*, whose Sermons seeme (as *Cyprians* also) to haue bin made to the people in that language.

*Strab. l. 3. & 4. Apul. in Florid.*

A third, how it falleth if these vulgar tongues of adulterate latin be so ancient, that nothing is found written in any of them of any great antiquity?

A fourth, how in Rome and Latium, where the Latine tongue was out of question, native, the latine could so degenerate, as at this day is found in the Italian tongue, except by some forraine corruption?

To the first of these I answer, either, that as Diuines are wont to interpret many generall propositions; *Plutarch* is to be vnderstood *de generibus singulorum*, not *de singulis generum*: So that the Latine tongue was spoken almost in euery Nation, but not of euery one in any forraine Nation: Or else, that they spake the Latine indeede, but yet vnperfectly and corruptly, as their tongues would frame to vtter it.

To the second I answer: first, that *Strabo* speaketh not generally of France or Spaine, but with limitation to certaine parts of both, the Prouince of *Narbon* in France, and the Tract about *Bætis* in Spaine. Secondly, that although they speake it, yet it followeth not, that they speake it perfectly and aright (except perhaps in the Colonies) so that I will not deny but it might be spoken abroad in the Prouinces, yet I say it was spoken corruptly, according as the peoples tongues would fashion to it, namely in such sort, that although the matter and body of the words, were for the most part Latine, yet the forme, and sound of them varied from the right pronouncing: which speech notwithstanding was named *Latin*, partly for the reason now touched, and partly because they learned it from the Romanes or Latines, as the *Spaniards* call their language *Romance*; till this day, which yet we know to differ much from the right Roman Tongue: and as *Nithardus* (Nephew to *Charles* the Great) in his Historie of the dissention of the sonnes of *Ludouicus Pius* called the French then vsuall (whereof he setteth downe examples) the *Romane* Tongue, which yet hath no more agreement with the Latine then the French hath that is now in vye. Thirdly, to the obiection of *Cyprians* and *Augustines* preaching in Latine, I answer that both a *Hippo*, whereof *Augustine* was Bishop, and b *Carthage*, whereof *Cyprian* was Archbishop, were Roman Colonies, consiting for the most part of the progenie of Romans, for which sort of Cities, there was speciall reason. Although neither in the Colonies themselves (as it seemeth) the Roman tongue was altogether vncompact, both for that I alleadged before out of *Spartianus* of *Seuerus* his sister dwelling at *Leptis*, and for that which I remembred out of *Augustine* for *Hippo*, where they spake c *Ossum* and d *Floriet*, and e *Dolus*, for *Os* and *Florebit* and *dolor* (and yet were both *Leptis* and *Hippo* Roman Colonies :) And yet it appeareth further by *Augustine*, that in their translations of the Scriptures, and in the Psalmes sung in their Churches, they had these corruptions, where yet (as it is like) their most corrupt and vulgar Latine had not place.

*Nithard. de dissens. filior. Ludou. Pyl. 3.*

*Antonin. in Itinerario. Plin. l. vi. in Epi. l. 8. ad Canninum. a Plin. Sec. Hist. nat. l. 5. c. 4. Velleius l. 1. Ap. pian. l. de Bel. Punicis in fine. b Enarr. Ps. 138. c L. 2. de doc. Chr. c. 13. d Tract. 7. in Ioannem.*

*Tschud. Descript. Alpine cap. 36. Genebr. l. 4. Ebr. Secul. 11.*

To the third I answer, that two reasons of it may be assigned: One, that learned men would rather write, in the learned and grammaticall, then in the vulgar and prouinciall Latine. Another, that the workes of vnlearned men would hardly continue till our times, seeing euen of the learned ancient writings, but few of infinite, haue remained. Furthermore it is obserued of the *Germane* tongue, by *Tschudus* and of the *French* by *Genebrard*, that it is very little about 400. yeeres, since bookes began to be written in both those languages, and yet it is out of all doubt, that the tongues are much ancients.

*Quintil. Inst. Orator. l. 1. ca. 6.*

*Fest. in Diction. Latine loqui.*

*Fulu Ursin. not. ad Anton. Augu. de Lugh & enatus consus.*

To the fourth I say, that there is no language, which of ordinary course is not subiect to change, although there were no forraine occasion at all: which the very fancies of men, weary of old words (as of old things) is able enough to worke, which may be well proued by obseruations and instances of former changes, in this very tongue (the Latine) whereof I now dispute. For *Quintilian* recordeth, that the Verses of the *Salij* which were said to be composed by *Numa* could hardly be vnderstood of their Priests, in the latter time of the Common-wealth, for the abluteness of the speech. And *Festus* in his booke *de verborum significatione*, who lived in *Augustus* *Cæsars* time, hath left in obseruation, that the Latine speech, which (saith he) is so named of *Latium*, was then in such manner changed, that scarcely any part of it remained in knowledge. The Lawes also of the Roman Kings, and of the *Decemviri*, (called the Lawes of the twelue Tables) collected and published in their owne words by *Fulu Ursinus* are no lesse euident testimonies, if they be compared with the later Latine, of the great alteration of that language.

Further-



Polyb. l. 3.

\*Vid. Paul. Me-  
vul. cosm. par. 2.  
l. 4 c. 18. & Cel-  
sum. Cit. tad. in  
Tractat. de Orig.  
ling. vulgaris.  
Ital. cap. 7. & c.

Furthermore, *Polybius* hath also recorded, that the articles of league, betwixt the people of Rome and of *Carthage*, made presently after the expulsion of the Kings from Rome, could very hardly in his time be vnderstood, by reason of the old forsaken words, by any of the best skilled Antiquaries in Rome. In which time notwithstanding, they received very few strangers into their Citie, which mixture might cause such alteration, and the difference of time was but about three hundred and fifty yeeres. And yet to adde one instance more, of a shorter revolution of time, and a cleerer evidence of the change, that the Roman tongue was subiect to, and that, when no forraigne cause thereof can be alleadged: there remaineth at this day (as it is certainly recorded) in the Capitall at Rome, though much defaced by the iniury of time, a Pillar (they call it *Columnam rostratam*, that is, decked with beakes of ships) dedicated to the memory of *Duilius* a Roman Consull, vpon a nauale victory obtained against the Carthaginians, in the first Punicke warre, not past one hundred and fifty yeeres before *Cicerones* time, when the Roman tongue ascended to the highest flourish of Elegancie, that euer it obtained: And thus the words of the Pillar are (those that may be read) as I finde them obserued, with the later Latine vnder them.

*Exemet. Leciones. Macistratos. Castris. Exfociont. Pugnandod. Cepet. Eng. Nauebos. Mari.*  
*Exemit. Legiones. Magistratus. Castris. Effugiunt. Pugnando. Cepit. Ing. Naubus. Mari.*  
*Consol. Primos. Ornauet. Nauebons. Clascis. Panicas. Sumas. Cartacinienfis. Dictatored. Altod.*  
*Consul. Primus. Ornauit. Naubus. Classes. Punicas. Summas. Carthaginiensis. Dictatore. Alto.*  
*Societis. Triresmos. Naueis. Captom. Numei. Naualed. Pradad. Poplo, & c.*  
*Socijs. Triremes. Naues. Captum. Nummi. Nauali. Prada. Populo, & c.*

Where you see in many words, *e.* for *i.* *c.* for *g.* *o.* for *u.* and sometime for *e.* and *d.* superfluously added to the end of many words. But (to let forraigne tongues passe) of the great alteration that time is wont to work in languages, our own tongue may afford vs examples euident enough: wherein since the times neere after, and about the Conquest, the change hath beene so great, as I my selfe haue seene some evidences made in the time of King *Henry* the first, whereof I was able to vnderstand but few words. To which purpose also, a certaine remembrance is to be found in *Holinsheds* Chronicle, in the end of the Conquerours raigne, in a Charter giuen by him to the Citie of *London*.

Of the ancient  
Languages of  
Italie, Spaine,  
France and A-  
friue. Chap. 7.

**B**ut if the discourse of these points of Antiquitie, in handling whereof I haue declared, that while the *Roman* Empire flourished, it neuer abolished the vulgar languages, in *France*, or *Spaine*, or *Afriue*, howsoever in *Italie*. If that discourse I say, moue in you perhaps a desire, to know what the ancient vulgar languages of those parts were: I will also in that point, out of my reading and search into Antiquitie, giue you the best satisfaction that I can.

Inscrip. vet. pag.  
143. 144. 145.  
146.

And first for *Italie*: Certaine it is, that many were the ancient tongues in the seuerall Prouinces of it, tongues I say, not dialects, for they were many more. In *Apulia*, the *Mesapian* tongue: In *Tuscanie* and *Vmbria*, the *Hetruscan*, both of them vtterly perished: Yet in the booke of ancient Inscriptions, set forth by *Gruter* and *Scaliger*, there be some few Moniments registred of these languages, but not vnderstood now of any man. In *Calabria* both the higher and lower, and farre along the miritime coast of the *Tyrrhene* Sea, the *Greeke*. In *Latium* (now *Campagna di Roma*) the *Latine*. In *Lombardie*, and *Liguria*, the old tongue of *France* whatsoever it was. Of which last three, the two former are vtterly ceased to be vulgar: and the third, no where to be found in *Italie*, but to be sought for in some other Countie. And although, beside these fise, wee finde mention, in ancient writings of the *Sabine*, the *Oscan*, the *Tusculan*, and some other tongues, in *Italie*, yet were they no other then differing dialects of some of the former languages, as by good obseruations, out of *Varro*, *Festus*, *Seruius*, *Paul.* *Diaconus*, and others, might be easily prooued.

Cesar. l. 1. de Bel.  
lo Gallie. in prin-  
cipio Strab. l. 4.  
in princip.

Secondly, of *France* what the ancient tongue was, hath bin much disputed, and yet remaineth somewhat vncertaine: Some thinking it to haue beene the *Germane*, others the *Greeke*, and some the *Walsh* tongue. But, if the meaning of these resolvers be, that one language, whatsoever it were, was vulgar in all *France*, they are verie farre wide, *Cesar* and *Strabo* hauing both recorded, that there were diuers languages spoken in the diuers parts. But, to omit the speech of *Aquitaine*, which *Strabo* writeth to haue had much affinitie with the *Spanish*: And, of that part (in *Cesar* called *Belgia*) that at the Riuer of *Rhene* confined with *Germanie*, which for that neighbourhood, might partake much of the *Germane* tongue: To omit those I say, the maine question is, about the language of the *Celta*, which as inhabiting the middle part of *France*, were least of all infected with any forraigne mixture. And certainly, that it was not the *Greeke*, appeareth out of *Cesar*, written to *Q. Cicero*, then besieged by the *Gaules* in *Greeke*, lest the *Gaules* should intercept his Letters. And secondly, no lesse euidently by *Varro*, written of the *Massilians* that they spake three languages, the *Roman*, the *Greeke*, and the *Gallique* tongue: And thirdly, the remnants of that tongue, may serue for instance, whereof many old words are found disperfed in ancient writers, that haue no affinitie at all with the *Greeke*. The *Greeke* therefore, was not the ancient native language of the *Gaules*; Neither was it the *Germane*: for else it had

Ces. l. 5. de Bello  
Gallie. long.  
post med.  
Varro ap Hieron.  
in prefat. l. 2.  
Comment. epist.  
ad Galat. & a-  
pud Isidorum li.  
15. Orig. cap. 1.



had beene but an odde relation and reason of *Cæsars*, that *Arionistus* a German Prince, had liued so long in *Gallia*, that he spake the *Gallique* tongue: And that of *Tacitus*, that the *Gallique* tongue proued the *Gothines* to be no *Germanes*: And that of *Suetonius*, that *Caligula* compelled many of the *Gaules* to learne the *Germane* tongue. But *Hottoman* (of all that I haue read) speaking most distinctly, touching the originall and composition of the *French* tongue, diuideth it as now it is spoken, equally into two parts, of which he supposeth the one (and I thinke it is rather the greater part) to haue originall from the *Latine* tongue: and the other halfe, to be made vp, by the *German* and *Greeke*, and *Brittish* or *Walsh* words, each almost in equall measure. Of the deduction of the *French* words from the *Greeke*, you may read *Perionius*, *Postell*, and others: Of those from the *Germane*, *Tschadus*, *Goropius*, *Isacius*, &c. Of the *Walsh*, *Lhuid*, *Camden*, &c. Which last indeede for good reason, seemeth to haue beene the native language of the ancient *Celta*, rather then either the *Greeke* or *Dutch* tongues: for of the *Greeke* words found in that language, the neighbourhood of the *Massilians*, and their Colonies, inhabiting the maritime coast of *Pro- uince*, together with the ready acceptance of that language in *France* (mentioned by *Strabo*) may be the cause: As likewise of the *Germane* words, the *Franks* and *Burgundions* conquest, and possession of *France*, may be assigned for a good reason: But of the *Brittish* words none at all can be iustly giuen, saue, that they are the remnants of the ancient language. Secondly, it seemeth to be so by *Tacitus*, written, that the speech of the *Gaules*, little differed from that of the *Brittaines*. And thirdly, by *Cæsar* recording, that it was the custome of the *Gaules* that were studious of the *Druides* discipline, often to passe ouer into *Brittaine* to be there instructed: wherefore seeing there was no vse of bookes among them, as is in the same place affirmed by *Cæsar*, it is appa- rent that they spake the same language.

Thirdly, the *Spanish* tongue as now it is, consisteth of the old *Spanish*, *Latine*, *Gottish*, and *Arabique* (as there is good reason it should, *Spaine* hauing beene so long, in the possessions of the *Romans*, *Gothes*, and *Moors*) of which, the *Latine* is the greatest part (next it the *Arabique*) and therefore they themselves call their language *Romance*. And certainly I haue seene an Epistle written by a *Spaniard*, whereof euery word was both good *Latine* and good *Spanish*, and an example of the like is to be seene in *Merula*. But the language of *Valentia* and *Catalonia*, and part of *Portugall*, is much tempered with the *French* alio. Now the ancient and most generall language of *Spaine*, spoken ouer the Country before the *Romaines* conquest, seemeth to me out of question, to haue beene the *Cantabrian* tongue, that namely which yet they speake in *Biscay*, *Guipuscoa*, *Nauarre*, and *Asturia*, that is to say, in the northerne and mountainous parts of *Spaine*, neere the Ocean, with which the *Visconian* tongue also in *Aquitaine*, neere the *Pyrene* hills, hath as there is good reason (for out of those parts of *Spaine* the inhabitants of *Gascogne* came) much affinitie and agreement. And my reason for this opinion is, that in that part of *Spaine*, the people haue euer continued without mixture of any forraigne Nation, as being neuer subdued by the *Carthaginians*, nor by the *Moors*, no, nor by the *Romans* (for all their long warring in *Spaine*) before *Augustus Cæsars* time, and for the hillinesse, and barrenesse, and vnpleasantnesse of the Countrey, hauing nothing in it, to inuite strangers to dwell among them. For which cause, the most ancient Nations and languages are for the most part preserved in such Countries: as by *Thucydides* is specially obserued, of the *Aussques* and *Arcadians*, in *Greece*, dwelling in barren soiles: Of which Nations the first, for their Antiquitie, vaunted of themselves that they were *αὐτόχθονες*, and the second, *γενέτλητοι*, as if they had beene bred immediately of the Earth, or borne before the Moone. Another example whereof wee may see in *Spaine* it selfe, for in the steepy Mountaines of *Granata*, named *Alpuxarras*, the progeny of the *Moors* yet retaine the *Arabique* tongue (for the *Spaniards* call it *Arauiga*) which all the other remnants of the *Moors* in the plainer Region had vtterly forgotten and receiued the *Castilian* (till their late expulsion out of *Spaine*) for their vulgar language. The like whereof, is also to be seene in the old *Epirotike* speech and Nation, which yet continueth in the mountainous part of *Epirus*, being (for the tongue) vtterly extinguished in all the Country beside. And (to let forraigne instances goe) in the *Brittaines* or *Welsh-men* in the hilly part of our owne Countrey. What the reason thereof may bee, I will not stand now curiously to enquire: whether that being inured to labour, to watching, to sundry distemperatures of the aire, and much other hardnesse (for otherwise their liuing will not bee gotten out of such barren ground) they proue vpon occasion good and able Souldiers? Or, that the craggy Rockes and Hills (like fortresses of Natures owne erecting) are easily defended from forraigne Inuaders? Or that their vnpleasant and fruitlesse soile, hath nothing to inuite strangers to desire it? Or that wanting riches, they want also the ordinary companions of riches, that is proud and audacious hearts, to prouoke with their iniuries other Nations to be reuenged on them, either by the conquest or deuolation of their Countries? But whatsoeuer the cause may be, certainly in effect so it is, that the most ancient Nations and Languages, are for the most part to bee found in such vnpleasant and fruitlesse Regions: Insomuch that the *Biscaynes*, who gaue mee occasion of this digression, vaunt of themselves among the *Spaniards*, that they are the right *Hidalgos*, (that is Gentlemen) as some also report of the *Welsh-men* here in *Brittaine* to say of themselves, which yet I that am their neighbour (to confesse a truth) neuer heard them say.

*Cæs. l. de Bello Gallico. Tacit. l. de mor. German. prope finem. Sueton. in Caligula. c. 47. Hotom. in l. r. r. cogall. c. 2. Perion l. de Cognat. Li. 3. Gal. c. 1. de 12. Ling. Tschad. in Descr. Rhet. Alp. c. 8. Gorop. in Francicis. Isac. in Glossario Pr. 10. gal. Lhuid. in D. c. r. Britan. Camden in Britannia. Strab. l. 4. Tacit. in Julio Agricola. Cæs. l. 6. de Bel. Gallico.*

*Merul. Cosmogr. part. 2. l. 2. c. 8.*

*Thucyd. l. 1. parli. a princip.*

Now



Galut. de situ.  
Iapyg. pag. 98.  
\* Gesner. in Mi-  
thridate. in  
Ling. Afric. &  
Arab.  
Roccha de dia-  
lect. in Ling.  
Arabica.  
Postell. de Ling.  
12. in ling. Arab.  
Mas. in Gram.  
Syriaca. prop.  
Init. Bibliand.  
de ration. Lin-  
guar.  
Schidder.  
in Lex. Penta-  
glotto in voce  
הרר  
Mart.  
Galeotti. de  
doct. promiscua.  
c. 6. & alii multi  
\* Leo Afric. l. 1.  
Descrip. Afr.  
cap. de Ling.  
Africa.  
Flo. in Epitom.  
Liu. l. 51.  
Strab. l. 17.  
Plin. l. 15. c. 18.  
Strab. li. citato.  
Mela. l. 1. c. 7.  
Liu. li. 33. Plin.  
l. 5. c. 19. Appia.  
l. de Bel. Punicis  
in principio.  
Curtius. l. 4. &  
alii plures.  
\* פנינים  
Arias Mont. lib.  
Chanani. c. 8.  
Postell. in de-  
scrip. Syrie. c. de  
Syrie Nominib.  
Matth. 15. 22.  
Mark. 7. 26.  
Ios. 5. 1.  
\* Gen. 10. 19.

Strab. l. 16. non  
long. ante med.  
Plin. l. 5. c. 12.  
Ptolem. Tab. 4.  
Asie. Dionys. A-  
lex. in Perieges.

Aug. expos. in-  
choat. epist. ad  
Roman. in med.

Now lastly, touching the Punike tongue, as I am not of *Galatens* his opinion, that it was vtter-ly extinguished by the Romanes: So neither can I bee of the phantasie (for it is no better) that many \* other learned men are: namely, that it was the *Arabike*, that is to say the same language, that is vulgar in *Afrike* at this day. For it is well knowne to the skilfull in Histories, that the *Punikes* were of another off-springs (not of *Arabian* race) and that it is not yet a thousand yeeres, since that tongue was by the *Arabians*, together with their victories brought into *Afrike*. And as certaine also it is, that the remnants of the *Africans* progeny, as \* *Leo Africanus* hath recorded, hath a different language from the *Arabike*. But the *Punike* tongue seemeth to mee out of question, to haue bin the *Chananitish* or old *Hebrew* language, though I doubt not somewhat altered from the originall pronuntiation, as is wont in tract of time to befall Colonies, planted among 10 strangers farre from home. For first *Carthage* it selfe, the Queene of the Cities of *Afrike* (and well might she be termed so, that contained in circuit 24. miles, as *Plorus* in his abridgement of *Linie* hath recorded, and by the vtter wall 360. furlongs (that is 45. miles) as it is in *Strabo*: And held out in emulation with *Rome*, as is noted by *Pliny*, 120. yeeres, and to conclude (before the second *Punike* warre) had in subiection all the Coast of the Mediterrane Sea, from the bottome of the greater *Syrtis* in *Afrike*, to the Riuer *Ebro* (*Iberus*) in *Spaine*, which is about 2000. miles of length, that the same *Carthage* I say, and diuers other Cities of *Afrike* (of which *Pliny* nameth *Vuca* and *Leptis*, as being the principall) were Colonies of the *Phœnicians*, and namely of the *Tyrians*, is not onely by *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Linie*, *Plinie*, *Appian*, and many other certaine Authors, acknow- 20 ledged, and by none denied, but also the very names of *Pœni* and *Punics*, being but variations or mutilations of the name *Phœnicij* import so much, and lastly their language assureth it. For *Hierome* writing that their language was growne somewhat different from the *Phœnician* tongue, doth manifestly in these words imply, it had beene the same.

And what were the *Phœnicians* but *Chananites*? The *Phœnicians* I say, of whose exceeding merchandizing wee read so much in antient Histories, what were they but *Chananites*, whose very name \* signifieth Merchants: for, the very same Nation, that the *Græcians* called *Phanicians*

(φονικς) and the Romans in imitation of that name *Pœnos* & *Punicos*, for the exceeding store of good Palmes, wherewith that Countrey abounded: In- 30 somuch that in Monuments of Antiquitie, the Palme Tree is obserued for the Ensigne of *Phœnicia*: the same Nation I say, called themselues, and by the *Israelites* their next neighbours, were called *Chananites*. And that they were indeed no other, I am able easily to proue. For first, the same wo- man that in *Matthew* is named a *Canaanite*, is in *Marke* called a *Syropœnician*. 2. Where mention is made in *Iosua*, of the Kings of *Canaan*, they are in the Septuagints translation named, βασιλεις & φοι 3. To put it out of question. All that Coast, from *Sidon* to *Azzab* (that was *Gaza*) neere to *Gerar*, is registred by \* *Moses*, to haue beene pos- sessed by the posteritie of *Chanaan*: Of which coast the more Northrene part about the promontory of *Carmel*, or rather from the riuer *Chorsequ* (*Kison* the *Jewes* called it) that neere the promontory of *Carmell*, entreth the Sea to the Citie of *Orthofa*, about *Sidon* Northward, is by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolomy* and others, referred to *Phœnicia* (although *Strabo* ex- tend that name, along all the Maritime Coast of

*Palestina* also, to the confines of *Egypt*, as *Dionysius Periegetes* also doth, placing *Ioppa* and *Gaza*, and *Elath* in *Phœnicia*) which very tract to haue been the seuerall possessions of *Zidon*, and *Cebth*, and *Girgash*, and *Hark*, and *Arnade*, and *Chamash*, six of the eleuen sonnes of *Canaan* (the other fiue inhabiting more to the South in *Palestina*) they that are skilfull in the ancient Chorography of the Holy Land cannot be ignorant. Seeing therefore out of this part of the Land of *Canaan*, (for in this part *Tyrus* was) the *Carthaginians*, and other Colonies of the *Phœnicians* in *Afrike* came, it is out of all doubt, that they were of the *Chananites* progeny: and for such in very deed, and no other, they reputed and professed themselues to be: for as *Austine* hath left recorded, who was borne and liued among them, the Countrey people of the *Punikes*, when they were asked touching themselves what they were, they would make answer that they were *Channai*, meaning, 60 as *Austine* himselfe doth interpret them *Canaanites*.

Certain therfore it is, that the natieue *Punike* language was the *Chananitish* tongue: but that I added for explication this clause (or the old *Hebrew*, meaning by the old *Hebrew*, that which was vulgarly spoken among the *Jewes* before the captiuitie) you will perhaps suspect my credit, and

φονικς in the *Greek* signifieth the Palme, for as touching the deduction of the name *Phœnicia*, either from פון by *Montanus*, or from פניני by *Postellus*, signifying the delicacy of the Inhabitants by the first, and their obseruation or adoration of the fire, by the second, they are but late sprung fantasies, and haue not any ground of reason at all: for as much, as in all the *Hebrew* writings of the Bible, that Countrey is neuer termed by any name sounding toward *Phœnicia*, but in the *Greeke* onely. But in many old coynes that I haue seene, I haue noted the Palme Tree, as the speciall cognifance of *Phœnicia*, (as I haue also the Oliue branch, and Conies to be of *Spaine*: the Horse of *Mauritania*: the Elephant, or the spoile of the Elephant of *Afrike*: the Camell of *Arabia*: the Crocodile, or the Bird *Itis*, of 40 *Egypt*: and diuers other specialties for other Countreies:) And namely I haue seene sundry old Coynes of the Emperour *Vespasian*, of seuerall deuices and imagery, stamped for a memoriall of his conquest of *Iudea*, and taking of *Ierusalem* (for the Inscription is in euery of them, *Iudea capta*) & in each of them, I especially obserued a woman sitting in a sad and mournfull fashion, with her backe to a Palme tree: wherein, I make no doubt, but the desolate woman signifieth *Iudea*, and the Palme, *Phœnicia*, euen as *Phœnicia* is immediately toward the North, at the backe of *Iudea*. 50



and bee offended, for I am not ignorant how superstitiously Diuines for the most part are affected toward the *Hebrew* tongue: yet when I had set down the *Africans* language to haue been the *Canaanitish* tongue, I thought good to adde for plainesse sake (or the old *Hebrew*) because I take them indeed to bee the very same language, and that *Abraham* and his posterity brought it not out of *Chaldea*, but learned it in the Land of *Chanaan*. Neither is this opinion of mine, a meere paradox and fantasie, but I haue \* three or foure of the best skilled in the language and antiquities of that Nation, that the later times could afford of the same minde: And certainly, by \* *Isaiah* it is called in direct termes, the language of *Chanaan*: And it is moreover manifest, that the names of the places and Cities of *Chanaan* (the old names I mean by which they were called before the *Israelites* dwelt in them, as is to be seene in the whole course of the *Bookes of Moses* and of *Ioshuah*) were *Hebrew* names: touching which point, although I could produce other forceable reasons, such as might (except my fantasie delude mee) vex the best wit in the world to giue them iust solution, yet I will adde no more, both to auoid prolixity, and because I shall haue in another place fitter occasion.

But to speake particularly of the *Punike* tongue, which hath brought vs into this discourse, and which I proued before to bee the *Canaanitish* language: it is not onely \* in one place pronounced

\* As in the *Punike* tongue *Salu* three. *Augustin*. in expof. inchoat. epist. ad Roman. Heb. שלש. Edom, bloud. Enar. Psalm. 126. Heb. חרם. Mamon, lucre, De Sermon. Dom. in Mont. l. 2. c. 14. Heb. ממן. Bal. the Lord. Quelt. in Iudic. cap. 16. Heb. בעל. Samen, Heauen. Ibid. Heb. שמרים. Messe, to annoint. Traff. 15. in Ioan. Heb. משה. Alma, a Virgine. Hieron. in c. 7. *Isai*. Heb. עלמה. Gadir. a fence or wall. *Plinie*. l. 4. c. 22. גדר. and some other that diligence might oblerue.

by *Augustine* (who knew it well, no man better) to haue neere affinitie with the *Hebrew* tongue, which also the \* *Punike* wordes disperfed in the writings of *Augustine*, and others (as many as come to my remembrance) proue to be true. But more effectually in \* another place, to agree with it in very many, yea almost in euery word. Which speech, seeing they could in no sort haue from the *Israelites*, being not of *Abrahams* posteritie (both because no such transmigration of them

is remembred in the holy Histories, and for that the *Punike* Colonies, are specially mentioned to haue beene deduced from *Tyre*, which neuer came into the possession of the *Israelites*) but from the *Canaanites*, whose off-fpring they were: It followeth thereupon that the language of the *Canaanites*, was either the very same, or exceeding neere the *Hebrew*. And certainly, touching the difference that was betweene the *Hebrew* and the *Punike*, I make no doubt, but the great distance from their primitiue habitation, and their conuersation with strangers among whom they were planted, and together with both the length of time, which is wont to bring alteration to all the Languages in the World, were the causes of it. And although that *Punike* speech in *Plantus*, which is the onely continued speech of that language, that to my knowledge remaineth extant in any Author, haue no such great conuenience with the *Hebrew* tongue, yet I assure my selfe the faults and corruptions that haue crept into it by many transcriptions, to haue beene the cause of so great difference, by reason whereof it is much changed from what at first it was when *Plantus* writ it, about one thousand eight hundred yeeres agoe: And specially because in transcribing thereof there would bee so much the lesse care taken, as the language was lesse vnderstood by the Writers, and by the Readers, and so the escapes lesse subiect to obseruation and controlement.

Many are the Nations that haue for their vulgar Language, the *Slauonish* Tongue in *Europe*, and some in *Asia*. Among which the principall in *Europe* are the *Slauonians* themselves inhabiting *Dalmatia* and *Liburnia*, the West *Macedonians*, the *Epirotes*, the *Bosnates*, *Seruians*, *Russians*, *Bulgarians*, *Moldauians*, *Podolians*, *Russians*, *Muscovites*, *Bohemians*, *Polonians*, *Silesians*. And in *Asia* the *Circassians*, *Mangrelians*, and *Gazarites*. These I say are the principall, but they are not all: for *Gesner* and *Roccha* reckon vp the names of sixtie Nations, that haue the *Slauonian* tongue for their vulgar language. So, that it is knowne to be vulgarly spoken ouer all the East parts of *Europe* (in more then a third part of the whole) euen to the vtmost bounds of it the Riuer of *Droyna* and *Tanaus*; *Greece* and *Hungary*, and *Walachia* onely excepted. Indeed the Regions of *Serua*, *Bosina*, *Bulgaria*, *Rascia*, *Moldauia*, *Russia* and *Moscouia*, namely all the Nations of the Easterne parts, which celebrate their diuine seruice after the Greeke Ceremony, and professe Ecclesiasticall obedience to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, writ in a diuers sort of Character from that of the *Dalmatians*, *Croatians*, *Istrians*, *Polonians*, *Bohemians*, *Silesians* and other Nations toward the West (both which sorts of Characters are to bee seene in *Possels* Booke of the Orientall languages) of which, this last is called the *Dalmatian* or *Illyrian* Character, and was of \* *Hieromes* diuising, that other bearing for the most part much resemblance with the Greeke, is termed the *Seruian* Character, and was of \* *Cyrills* inuention: for which cause, as *Roccha* hath remembred, they terme the language written in that Character *Chiuirizza*. But yet notwithstanding the difference of Characters in the writing of these Nations, they speake all of them (the difference of dialect excepted) the same language.

But yet is not the *Slauonike* tongue (to answer your question) for all this large extent, the vulgar language of the *Turkish* Empire. For of the *Turks* Dominion onely *Epirus*, the West part

\* *Possel* lib. de Phœnic. l. c. 2. §. 5. *Aras* Mont. l. c. 2. *Chanaan* c. 9. *Genebrard* l. 1. c. 1. *Chron* an. Dilu. uij. 131. *Scalig.* ad fest. indi. Sarra. & in ep. ad Vbert. & ad Tomson. \* *Isa*. 19. 18. \* *Aug.* in ser. 35. de verb. Dom. in *Idang* sec. Luc.

\* *Aug* l. 2. cont. litter. *Petilian* cap. 104.

\* *Plut.* in *Paneg.* l. 1. 6.

Of the largesse of the *Slauonish*, *Turkish*, & *Arabike* languages. C. 8.

*Gesner* in *Mi.* l. 1. c. 1. *Illyrica*. *Boccha* in *Append* de dialect. in *Illyrica*.

\* *Possel* de l. n. *Dalmat* *hæch.* in *Biblioth. Vat.* cap. 161. c. 1. §. 1. *Roccha*. lib. citato pag. 103. id pag. 111.



of *Macedon, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Rascia*, and part of *Thrace*, and that hee hath in *Dalmatia* and *Croacia* (beside the *Mengrelli* in *Asia*) speake vulgarly the *Slavonian* tongue. But no where for the more precise limitation, neither in *Asia* nor in *Europe* is that language spoken more Southward, then the North Parallel of forty degrees: some part of *Epirus* onely excepted: I meane it is not spoken as the vulgar language of any Nation more Southward. For else, being acceptable and vsuall, as it is in the Great *Turkes* Serrail at *Constantinople*, and familiar with most of the Turkish Souldiers, by reason of their Garrisons and other great imployment in those parts toward the confines of Christian Princes, all which parts as before I said (*Hungarie* and *Walachia* excepted) speake that language: for these reasons I say, it is spoken by diuers particular men in many places of the Turkish Dominion, and the *Ianizares* and Officers for the most part can speake it, and many others also of the better sort, but yet the generall and vulgar language of his Dominion (excepting those places afore mentioned) it is not.

Michou. l. 1. de  
Sarmatia. c. 15.  
Rocch de dialect.  
in ling. Turcica.

But in *Anatolia*, although the old languages still remaine, being for the most part corrupt *Greeke*, as also in *Armenia* they haue their peculiar language, yet is the *Turkish* tongue very frequent & preuaileth in them both: which being originally none other then the *Tartarian* tongue, as *Michonius*, and others haue obserued, yet partaketh much, both of the *Armenian* & *Persian*, by reason of the *Turkes* long continuance in both those Regions, before they setled the Seat of their Dominion, and themselves among the *Grecians*, for which cause it is not without mixture of *Greeke* also, but chiefly and aboue all other of the *Arabike*, both by reason of their Religion written in that language, and their training vp in Schooles vnto it, as their learned tongue. And yet although the *Turkish* bee well vnderstood both in *Natolia* and *Armenia*, yet hath it neither extinguished the vulgar languages of those parts, neither obtained to it selfe (for ought I can by my reading find) any peculiar Prouince at all, wherein it is become the sole natieue and vulgar language, but is only a common scattered tongue, which appeareth to be so much the more evidently true, because the very Cities that haue been successiue the Seats of the *Ottoman Sultans*; namely, *Iconium* (now *Cogna*) in *Lycaonia*, then *Prusa* in *Bithynia*; thirdly, *Adrianople* in *Thrace*; and lastly, *Constantinople*, are yet knowne to retaine their old natieue language, the *Greeke* tongue: Although the *Turkish* tongue also bee common in them all, as it is likewise in all other *Greeke* Cities both of *Greece* and *Asia*.

\* Postell. in praefat.  
Grammat. Arabic. Ludovic.  
Reg. l. 8. de Pici-  
stud. Rer. ad finem.

\* Bellon. Obseruat. l. 3. c. 12.

Of the Syriake and Hebrew tongues. Ch. 9.

\* Masius in praefat. Grammat. Syric. Sixt. Senen. Biblioth. sancte. l. 4. in voce. Thargum.

Canin. in praefat. Fastitat. Syric.

Ar. Montan. de ratione Mazzoreth in apparat.

ad Bibl. Reg. Fabrit in praefat.

ad Lexic. Syro-chaldaicum.

Genebrard. l. 2. Chronog. ad An.

3690. Bellarm. l. 2. de verbo Dei.

c. 4. & 15. & c. Possuin. Apparat. sac. in Dic-

tionae. Biblia.

But in the East part of *Cilicia* beyond the Riuer *Pyramus*, as in all *Syria* also, and *Mesopotamia* and *Palestina*, and *Arabia* and *Egypt*, and thence Westward in all the long tract of *Africke*, that extendeth from *Egypt* to the Strait of *Gibraltar*, I say, in all that lieth betwixt the Mountaine *Atlas*, and the *Mediterrane Sea* (now termed *Barbary*) excepting *Marocco*, and here and there some scattered remnants of the old *Africans* in the Inland parts, the *Arabike* tongue is become the vulgar language, although somewhat corrupted and varied in dialect, as among so many seuerall Nations it is vnpossible but it should bee. And although I bee farre from \* their opinion, which write (too ouerlashingly) that the *Arabian* tongue is in vse in two third parts of the inhabited world, or in more, yet I finde that it extendeth very farre, and specially where the Religion of *Mahomed* is professed. For which cause (ouer and besides the parts aboue mentioned, in which it is, as I said, become the natieue language) in all the Northerne part of the *Turkish* Empire also, I meane that part that lyeth on the North side of the *Mediterrane Sea*, as likewise among the *Mahumetan Tartars*, it is thought not the *Vulgar* tongue, yet familiar with very many, both because all their Religion is written in that language, and for that \* euery boy that goeth to schoole is taught it, as in our Schooles they are taught *Latine* and *Greeke*: Insomuch, that all the *Turkes* write their owne language in *Arabike* Characters. So that you see the common languages of the *Turkish* Empire, to be the *Slavonian*, the *Greeke*, the *Turkish*, and *Arabike* tongues, seruing seuerally for the parts that I mentioned before.

The *Syriacke* tongue is certainly \* thought to haue had beginning, in the time of the Captiuitie of the *Iewes* in *Babylon*, while they were mingled among the *Chaldeans*. In which long reuolution of seuentie yeeres, the vulgar sort of the *Iewes* forgot their owne language, and began to speake the *Chaldee*: But yet pronouncing it amisse, and framing it somewhat to their owne Countrey fashion, in notation of Points, Affixes, Coniugations, and some other properties of their ancient speech, it became a mixt language of *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*: a great part *Chaldee* for the substance of the wordes, but more *Hebrew* for the fashion, and so degenerating much from both: The old and right *Hebrew* remaining after that time onely among the learned men, and being taught in Schooles, as among vs the learned tongues are accustomed to bee. And yet, after the time of our Sauour, this language began much more to alter and to depart further, both from the *Chaldee* and *Hebrew*, as receiuing much mixture of *Greeke*, some of *Romane* and *Arabike* wordes, as in the *Talmud* (named of *Ierusalem*) gathered by *R. Iochanan*, about three hundred yeeres after Christ, is apparent, being farre fuller of them, then those parts of the *Chaldee* paraphrase on the holy Scriptures, which were made by

R. 16-



R. *Jonathan*, a little before Christ, and by R. *Aquila*, whome they call *Onkelos* not long after.

But yet certaine it is, both for the great difference of the wordes themselves, which are in the *Syriake* tongue for the most part *Chaldee*, and for the diuerfitie of ~~the~~ adherents of wordes, which they call *prefixa*, and *suffixa*, as also for the differing found of some vowels, and sundry other considerations: Certaine it is I say that the vnlearned *Jewes*, whose vulgar speech the *Syriake* then was, could not vnderstand their *פְּרָשָׁה* & *מִשְׁנָה*, that is their lectures of *Moses* and the Prophets, vsed in their Synagogues in the *Hebrew* tongue. And that seemeth to haue bene the originall reason, both of the publike speeches and declarations of learned men to the people, vsuall in their Synagogues on the Sabboaths, after the readings of the Law and of the Prophets, whereof in the <sup>o</sup> New Testament wee finde some mention, and also of the translation of *Jonathan* and *Onkelos*, and others made into their vulgar language, for that the difference betwixt the *Hebrew* and the *Chaldee* was so great, that the tongue of the one Nation could not bee vnderstood by the other. First, the tongues themselves, which yet remaine with vs may bee euident demonstrations, of which wee see that one may bee skiltull in the *Hebrew*, and yet not vnderstand the *Chaldee*, and therefore neither could they, whose speech the *Chaldee* then was (although much degenerated) vnderstand the *Hebrew*.<sup>a</sup> Secondly, wee find that when <sup>r</sup> *Ezra*, at the returne from the Captiuitie, read the Booke of the Law before the people, others were faine to interpret that which was read vnto them. And thirdly, the answer made to *Rabshakeb*, by the Officers of King *Hezekiah* may put it out of question, willing him <sup>q</sup> to speake vnto them in the *Chaldee* tongue, that the common people of *Ierusalem* (in whose hearing it was) might not vnderstand what was spoken. But yet it might bee, that as at this day the *Jewes* vie to doe, so also in Christs time of conuersing on the Earth, they might also read the *Chaldee Targamin* (and certainly some <sup>\*</sup> learned men affirmed they did so) together with the *Hebrew* lectures of *Moses* and the Prophets; for certaine it is, that *Jonathan Ben Uziel*, had before the birth of our Sauour translated, not the Prophets onely into *Chaldee*, for it is his Paraphrase that wee haue at this day on the Prophets, and the Language which wee now call the *Syriake*, was but the *Jewish Chaldee*, although in the after times, by the mixture of *Greeke*, and many other forraigne wordes it became somewhat changed, from what in the times afore, and about our Sauours Incarnation it had bene) but the *Pentateuch* also: at least, if it bee true which *Sixtus* hath recorded, namely, that such is the Tradition among the *Jewes*, and which *Galatine* writeth, that

for of that part of the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, which we haue in the *Complutense*, and King *Philips* Bibles, on the Bookes of *Moses*, *Onkelos* is the Author: of that on *Iosuah*, the *Iudges*, the Booke of the *Kings* and of the Prophets, *Jonathan*. Of that on *Ruth*, *Hester*, *Iob*, the *Psalmes*, and the Bookes of *Salomon*, *R. Ioseph Cacus*.

himselfe hath scene that translation of *Jonathan*, beside that of *Onkelos*, the beginning of both which hee setteth downe, differing one from another in the first wordes. Which (namely, touching the publike reading of the *Chaldee Targamin*, either together with the *Hebrew* Text, or instead of it) I may as well conceiue to bee true, as that the forraigne <sup>t</sup> *Jewes*, dwelling in *Alexandria* and others parts of *Egypt*, in *Asia* also, and other *Greeke* Prouinces abroad, vsed publikely in stead of the *Hebrew*, which now they vnderstood not the *Septuagints Greeke* translation, as is euident in *Tertullian*: And of some others of them in the Constitutions of <sup>\*</sup> *Iustinian*. Which *Jewes* for that very cause, are sundry times in the <sup>u</sup> *Acts* of the Apostles termed *Ελληνισται*. For by that name, in the iudgement of learned men, the naturall *Gracians* are not meant, which are alwayes named *Ελληνες*, not *Ελληνισται*, But, the *Jewes* dispersed among the *Gentiles*, that vsed to read the *Greeke* Scriptures in their Synagogues.

And here shall be the period of my first Enquiry touching the Languages, and beginning of the second, concerning the sorts of Religions abroad in the World. In discoursing whereof you must bee content to accept of Moderne Authors, because I am to intreate of Moderne Matters: And if I hap to step awry where I see no path, and can discerne but few steps afore mee, you must pardon it. And yet this one thing I will promise you, that if either they that should direct mee, mislead mee not; or (where my reason suspects that my guides wander, and I am mislead) if my circumspect obseruing, or diligent inquiring, may preferue mee from error, I will not depart a haire from the way of Truth.

<sup>o</sup> *Act. 13. 15.*

<sup>q</sup> *Reg. 1. 2. ca. 18 v. 26.*

<sup>r</sup> *Iun. in Bel. larm. Con. 1. l. 2. c. 15. §. 11.*

*Sixt. Senenf. Biblioth. Saxt. l. 4. in dist. on. Syra editio.*

*Galatin. de Arcan. Catholice Verit. l. 1. c. 3. Vid. Salmeron. De Canonica.*

*Scriptura. Prolegom. 3. in Tomo. 1. & de interpretat. Septuagint. Prolegom. 5.*

*Tertull. in Apologetico. ca. 19. Nouell. 146.*

*u Act. 6. 1. & 9. 29. & 11. 20. Scalig. in Chron. Euseb. ad Annu. MDCCXXIV.*

*& Iun. contra. Belarm. Controu. 1. l. 2. c. 15. §. 21. & Druf. Prætorior. l. 5. Annot. ad. Act. Ap. 6. 1.*



## CHAP. XIII.

*Master BREWOODS Enquiries of the Religions professed in the World:  
Of Christians, Mahumetans, Iewes and Idolaters; with other  
Philosophicall speculations, and diuers  
Annotations added.*

Of the sundry  
parts of the  
World inhabi-  
ted by Christians  
Chap. 10.

Michou. de Sar-  
matia. l. 2. c. 3.

Boem de Morib.  
gent. l. 3. c. 7.

Buter. Relat.

Par. 3. l. 1.

Ziegler. in

Schondia c. de

Lapponia. Da-

mian. a Goas

tracl. de Lapetij.

Michou. l. 2. de

Sarmatia. c. 5.

Munster. Cosmo.

l. 4. c. 37. Buter.

Relation pa. 1. l.

c. de Bothnia.



LI Europe is possessed by *Christians*, except the vtmost corners of it, toward the East and the North, for the small company of *Mahumetans*, inhabiting their peculiar \* Villages about *Wilna* in *Litunia*, or the scattered \* remnants of Idolaters in the same Prouince, and in *Samogitia*, are not worthy mentioning. But toward the North, *Lappia*, *Scricfinia*, *Biarmia*, *Corelia*, and the North part of *Fin-*

marke (all which together passe commonly vnder the name of *Lapland*, and make a Region about nine hundred miles in circuit) are inhabited by Idolaters: and toward the East, all the Region betwixt *Tanaia* and *Borysthenes*, along *Maotis* and the *Euxine* Sea (the true native Countrey of the ancient *Gothes*) being more then twice as large as the former, and withall much better peopled, is inhabited by the *Tartars*, called *Crimai* or *Pracopita*, who are all *Mahumetans*, excepting onely a small remainder of *Christians* in some parts of *Taurica*.

But, in all the *Turkes* Dominion that hee hath in *Europe*, inclosed after a peninsular figure, betweene *Danubius* and the Sea, and containing in circuit about 2300. miles (for *Moldania*, *Walachia*, and *Transilvania*, I reckon not for the parts of his Dominion) namely, from about *Buda*, on *Danubius* side, and from *Ragusa* on the Sea Eastward, to the vtmost bounds of *Europe*, as also in the Iles of the *Aegean* Sea, *Christians* are mingled with *Mahumetans*. All which Dominion yet of the *Turkes* in *Europe*, though so much in circuit as I said, is neuertheless (measured by Iquares) no greater then *Spaine*, the Continent of it being no way answerable to the Circumference: both, because it runneth farre out in sharpe angles, toward the West and South, namely in *Hungary* and *Moraa*, and is beside in *Greece* in many places extraordinarily indented with the Sea. And in his Dominion of the *Turkes* in *Europe*, such is notwithstanding the mixture of *Mahumetans* with *Christians*, that the *Christians* \* make two third parts at least of the Inhabitants: 30 for the *Turke*, so that the *Christians* pay him his yeerely tribute (which is one fourth part of their increase, and a *Saltanie* for euery poll) and speake nothing against the Religion and Sect of *Mahumet*, permitteth them the liberty of their religion. And euen in *Greece* it selfe, although more dissolute: then any Region of *Europe* subiect to the *Turke* (as hauing bin anciently more wasted with intestine discord, and longest groaned vnder the *Turks* oppression) there remaine yet neuertheless in \* *Constantinople*, the very Seat of the *Turkish* Empire, about twenty Churches of *Christians*, and in the Citie of *Salonichi* (*Theffalonica*) about thirty, whereas in the later this *Mahumetans* haue but three, beside very many Churches abroad in the Prouince vnder suffragan Bishops, of whom the Metropolitan of *Salonichi*, hath no lesse then ten belonging to his Iurisdiction, as there are also recorded yet to remaine vnder the Metropolitans of *Philippi*, one hundred and fifty Churches: 40 of *Athens*, as many: Of *Corinth* one hundred, together with sundry suffragan Bishops vnder each of them.

But in *Afrike*, all the Regions in a manner, that *Christian* Religion had gained from Idolatry, *Mahumetanism* hath regained from Christianitie: Insomuch, that not onely the North part of *Afrike*, lying along the Mediterranean Sea, namely, betwixt it and the Mountaine *Atlas*, euen from *Spaine* to *Egypt*, where Christianitie sometime exceedingly flourished, as there wee reade Synodes of about two hundred Bishops to haue been gathered, and \* three hundred Catholike Bishops to haue been there expelled by *Gensericus* King of the *Wandales*: And in some one Prouince alone, b *Zengitana* by name (it is that wherein *Carthage* stood) to haue beene one hundred sixty foure Bishops vnder one Metropolitan: Not onely that North part of *Afrike* I say, is at this present vtterly void of *Christians*, excepting a few Towns belonging to the King of *Spaine* (of which onely *Septa* and *Tanger* are Episcopall Cities: ) but euen in all the vast Continent of *Afrike*, being about thrice as large as *Europe*, there is not any Region entirely possessed by *Christians*, but the Kingdome of *Habassia*, no, nor yet (which is more lamentable) any other where *Christians* are mingled, either with *Mahumetans*, but onely *Egypt*: or where with Idolaters, but the Kingdomes of c *Conga* and *Angola*: which two about one hundred twenty yeeres agoe, ann. 1491. began first to receiue Christianitie: All the rest of *Afrike*, being entirely gouerned and possessed by *Pagans* or *Mahumetans*. To which, if I should adde those few places in *Afrike* afore mentioned, neere the Strait of *Gibraltar*, which the Kings of *Portugall* and *Castile* haue conquered from the *Moors*, with the other few disperfed fortresses, which the *Portugalls* hold in other places on the Coast of *Afrike* (altogether euen betwixt *Spaine* and *India* are but eleuen or twelue) I know not where to finde euen among all the native Inhabitants of *Afrike*, any *Christians* more. For, as for the large Region of *Nubia*, which had from the Apostles time (as is thought) professed the *Christian* Faith, it hath againe about one hundred yeeres since forsaken it, and embraced

a Mariti. Polon.

Supput. An. 475.

b Vict. l. 1. de

Persecut. Van-

dalee.

Of the Chri-

stianitie of A-

fica, see Santos

& Gramays re-

lat. inf. l. 9. c. 12.

c Pigafer. biff.

Regni Congens.

l. 2. c. 2.

In these parts

Christianity is

lessened.



## CHAP. 13. Christians of Egypt, Habassia and other African Lands and Islands. 113

embraced instead of it, partly *Mahometanisme*, and partly *Idolatry*, and that by the most miserable occasion that might befall, namely famine of the word of God through lacke of Ministers: for as *Aluarez* hath recorded, at his being in the King of *Habassia* his Court, there were Embassadors out of *Nubia*, to intreate him for a supply of Ministers, to instruct their Nation, and repaire *Christianitie* gone to ruine among them: but were reiected.

*Aluarez, hist. Ethio, lib. 137.*

And you are the Christians of *Egypt*, namely those of the native Inhabitants, but verie few in respect of that infiniteness of people, where with *Egypt* doth, and ever did abound, as being esteemed not to passe 70000. And, as touching the Kingdome of *Habassia*, neither is it all Christians, but a great part of *Geniles*, namely toward the West, and South bounds of it, and some part *Mahometans*, toward the East borders: neither so large and spacious, as many mens relations have made it thought to be. For although I cannot assent to them, who assigne to that great Kingdome, but about 65 Leagues of compass, by which reckoning (suppose they were Spanish league) it should be little larger then *Germany* (for I know full well, by infallible obseruations, that sparing limitation of others, to be verie true) yet, neither can I yeelde to them, who esteeme it greater, then the vaste dominions of the Emperours of *Turkie* or of *Tartaria*, &c. Or, to them, that extend it from the one *Tropique* to the other, and from the red Sea, almost to the West Ocean. For first, certaine it is (that I may speake a litle of the limits of this Kingdome) that it attaineth not to the red Sea (Eastward) neither within the straits of *Babel mandel*, nor without: for within those straits, along the Bay of *Arabia*, there is a continuall ledge of Mountains, known to be inhabited with *Mores*, betwixt that Bay, and the dominion of *Habassia*: So that, onely one Port there is, along all that coast (*Ercos* by name) where those Mountaines open to the Sea, that at this present belongeth to it. Neither without those Straits doth it any where approach to the Ocean. All that coast, as farre as *Mozambique*, being well knowne to be inhabited with *Arabians*.

\* *Boter. Relat. pa. 1. l. 3. ca. de 1. popoli del Egipto. Thom. a les. de Conuers. gent. l. 7. par. 1. c. 5. Boter. Relat. p. 1. l. 3. c. de Abassia. \* Horat. Malaguz. nel discorso de 1. cinque masimi Signori. See hereof latter and better intelligence l. 7. c. 7. & 8. Abassia is reduced now to a small circuit.*

And as touching the west limits of *Habassia*, I cannot finde by any certaine historie or relation (vnlesfull men may rumour what they will, and I know also that the common Charts represent it otherwise) I cannot finde I say, that it stretcheth beyond the River *Nilus*, so farre cometh it short of the West Ocean. For it is knowne, that all the West banke of *Nilus*, from the River of *Zaire* to the confines of *Nubia*, is possessed by the *Anzichi*, being an idolatrous and man-eating Nation, and subiect to a great Prince of their owne; thus then it is with the breadth of the Empire of *Habassia*, betwixt East and West. And now to speake of the length of it, lying North and South, neither doth it approach Northward on *Nilus* side, further then the South end of the Isle of *Meroe* (*Meroe* it selfe is inhabited by *Mahometans*, and the deadly enemies of the King of *Habassia*) nor on the Sea side further then about the port of *Snachem*. And toward the South, although the bounds of that Kingdome be not perfectly knowne, yet that it approacheth nothing neere the circle of *Capricorne*, as hath bin supposed, is most manifest, because the great Kingdomes of *Moenheminge*, and *Banometapa*, and some others, are situate betwixt *Habassia* and that circle. But, as neere as I am able to coniecture, hauing made the best search that I can, in the itineraries and relations, that are extant of those parts, the South limit of that Empire, passeth not the South parallell of six or seuen degrees at the most, where it confineth with *Moenheminge*. So that to make a respectiue estimate of the largeness of that dominion, by comparing it with our knowne regions of *Europe*. It seemeth equall to *Germany* and *France*, and *Spain*, and *Italie* laid together: Equall I say in dimension of ground, but nothing neere equall in habitation or multitude of people, which the distemperature of that climate, and the dry barrenness of the ground, in many regions of it, will not allow. For which cause the torride parts of *Africke* are by *Piso* in *Strabo* resembled to a Libbards skinne, the distance of whose spots, represent the dispersedness of habitations or townes in *Africke*. But if I should absolutely set downe the circuit of that whole dominion, I esteeme the limitation of *Pigafetta*, nere about the truth, namely, that it hath in circumference 4000 miles (about 1500. in length, and about 600. in breadth) being inclosed with *Mahometans* on the North, and East, and with *Idolaters*, on the West and South.

\* *Boter. loco prox. citato. Sommar. dei regi. ni Oriental. apud Ramos. vol. 1. pag. 314. Boter. Relat. p. 1. l. 3. c. Loango. An. xichi. I doe not think it now to containe halfe so many Christians (which yet are but halfe Christians) as any one of those foure. The Author alloweth too much as *Pigafetta* alio, & in these times, it is little, except in misery. Better relations of these parts are since our authors death published by *Gadignus*, and out of him translated by *ther. l. 7. c. ult. Strab. l. 2. Pigafetta. de Reg. Cong. l. 2. c. 10.**

Such then as I haue declared, is the condition of Christians in the continent of *Africke*: but the Inhabitants of the Isles along the West coast of *Africke*, as namely *Madera*, the *Canaries*, the Isles of *Cabo verde*, and of *S. Thomas*, and some other of lesse importance, are by the *Portugals* and *Christians* instructed, become *Christian*: but on the East side of *Africke*, excepting onely \* *Zocotora*, there is no *Christian* Isle.

\* *Paul. Venet. l. 3. c. 38.*

Even such is the state of Christians in the firme land, and the adiacent Isles of *Africke*. And it is not much better in *Asia*, for excepting first the Empire of *Russia* (and yet of it, a great part is *Idolatrous*, namely the region betwene the Rivers of *Pechora* and *Ob*, and some part of *Permia*) secondly, the regions of *Circassia*, and *Mengrelia*, lying along *Maeotis* and the *Euxine* Sea, from *Tanaïs* East ward as farre as the River *Phasis*. Thirdly, the Prouine of *Georgia*, and fourthly the Mountaine *Libanus* in *Syria* (and yet the last of these is of the *Turkes* Dominion) excepting these few I say, there is not any region in all *Asia*, where *Christians* liue seuerall, without mixture, either of *Mahometans* or of *Pagans*, for although *Variacus* a man well experienced in some parts of the orient (as being Bishop of *Acon* and the Popes Legate in the East, at what time *Palestina*

*See To. 2. l. 1. c. 1. & l. 3. c. 1. of the Russian Christianity. Iacob a Vitissee Hist. Orient. l. 7.*



Since the Tar-  
tarian times  
Christianitie  
hath extir-  
pate out of  
Asia.

Paul Venet.  
L. I. c. 8.

Scaliger de  
Emendat.  
scilicet L. 7. An-  
not. in comput.  
Librop.

a *Utriac. Hi-*  
*stor. Orient. c. 78*  
b *Otho. Phrysi-*  
*gen. l. 7. c. 33.*  
c *Utr.*  
d *L. I. c. 45.*  
e *L. I. c. 47.*  
f *L. I. c. 48.*  
g *L. I. c. 39.*  
h *L. I. c. 38.*  
i *L. I. c. 40.*  
j *L. I. c. 41.*  
k *L. I. c. 61.*  
l *L. I. c. 61.*  
m *L. I. c. 64.*

and Syria were in the hands of *Christians*) hath left registered, that the *Christians* of the Easterlie parts of *Asia*, exceeded in multitude the *Christians* of the Greeke and Latine Churches: yet in his time (for he writ almost foure hundred yeeres agoe) Christianitie began to decline, and since his time, it hath proceeded infinitely to decay, in all those parts of *Asia*: first, by the inundation of the Idolatrous *Tartars*, who subdued all those Regions, and after by the intertaining of Mahumetanisme in many of them. The time was indeede, (and but about foure hundred yeeres agoe) when the King of *Tenduc*, whom the histories of those times name *Presbyter Iohannes* a Christian, but a *Nestorian* Prince, ruled farre and wide, in the North-east part of *Asia*: as having under his dominion, beside *Tenduc*, (which was his owne native and peculiar Kingdome) all the neighbouring Prouinces, which were at that time for a great part, Christian: but after that his Empire was brought to ruine, and he subdued by *Chingis* a rebell of his owne Dominion (and the first founder of the Tartarian Empire) which happened about the yeere 1190, the state of Christian Religion became in short time strangely altered in those parts, for I finde in *Marcus Paulus* who lived within fiftie yeeres after *Utriacum*, and was a man of more experience in those parts, then he, as having spent seuerall yeeres together in *Tartarie*, partly in the Emperours Court, and partly in traauailing ouer those Regions, about the Emperours affaires, that except the Prouince of *Tenduc*, which as I said was the Kingdome of *Presbyter Iohns* residence (for it was the Prince of that Kingdome, which is rightly and vsually, by the ancienter Historians named *Presbyter Iohn*, howsoeuer the mistaking fantasies of many, haue transported it out of *Asia* into *Africke* and by error bestowed it on the King of *Habassia*) except that Prouince of *Tenduc* I say, wherof *Marcus Paulus* confesseth the greater part, to haue professed the Christian Religion at his being in *Tartarie*, the rest of the Inhabitants, being partly Mahumetans, and partly Idolaters: in all the other Prouinces of those parts beside, that, he obserueth the Christians to bee but few, as namely in the Kingdomes of *Tanguth*, of *Chinchintales*, of *Sutcuir*, of *Caraian*, of *Cassar*, of *Carcham*, of *Ergimuli*, of *Cerguth*, of *Egrigaisa*, and in the other Regions of *Tartarie* mentioning no Christians at all. Two Cities onely I finde in him excepted, the one was *Cingiangifu* in *Mangi*, (that is *China*) where hee noteth, that many Christians dwelt, and the other *Quinsay*, in which later yet, (although the greatest Citie in the world) he hath recorded to bee found but one Church of Christians. But these places excepted before mentioned. I can finde no certaine relation, neither in *Paul Venetus*, nor any other, of any Christians of the native Inhabitants, in all the East of *Asia*, but Idolatrie keepeth still her olde possession, and ouerspreadeth all.

But yet indeede, in the more Southerly parts of *Asia* (especially in those where Christianitie was first planted, and had taken deepest roote) as *Natolia*, *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Chaldea*, *Offyria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Persia*, the North part of *Arabia*, and the South of *India*, Christians are not onely to be found, but in certaine of those Regions, as in *Natolia*, *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, somewhat thicke mingled with *Mahumetans*: as they are also in the South of *India* not farre from the Promontorie of *Comorin*, in some reasonable number, in the Kingdome of *Comtan*, of *Cranganor*, and of *Choromandel*, but mingled with Idolaters. But yet, is not this mixture of Christians with them of other Religions, in any part of *Asia*, after the proportion of their mixture in *Europe* (where I obserued the Christians to make the preuailing number) but they are farre inferiour to the multitude of the *Mahumetans*, and of the Idolaters, among whom they are mingled, and yet touching their number, decrease euery day, in all the parts aforesaid, *India* onely excepted. Where since the *Portugals* held *Goa* (which they haue erected into an Archbishopricke) and entertayned *Malabar*, and some other parts of *India*, what with commerce, and what with amitie, the number of Christians is greatly multiplied, in sundrie places of that Region, but yet not so, as to compare in any sort with the *Mahumetans*, and much lesse with the Idolaters among whom they liue.

Thus it is with Christians in the firme land of *Asia*: but in the Islands about *Asia*, Christianitie is as yet but a tender plant: for although it hath made some entrance into the Isles called *Philippinas*, namely into thirty of them, for so many onely of 11000. termed by that name, are subiect to the King of *Spain*. *Th. les. de Conu. gent. l. 1. c. 1.* by the industry of the *Castilians*, as also by the preaching of the *Portugals*, into *Ormuz* in the Bay of *Persia*, and into *Ceylan* in the Sea of *India*, and some few other of the infinite multitude of Islands, dispersed in that Easterne Sea, yet hath it hitherto found in all those places, rather some faire beginning, then any great proceeding. Onely in *Iaponia* Christianity hath obtained (notwithstanding many hinderances and oppositions) more prosperous successe. In somuch that many yeeres since, there were recorded to haue bene by estimation, about 200000. Christians in *Iaponia*.

Plat. de Bon.  
Stat. Relig. l. 2.  
cap. 30.

Lastly,



Hondius his Map of the Christian World.



Lastly, in *America*, there be four large regions, and those of the most fruitfull and populous part of it, possessed and governed by the Spaniards, that is, *Nueva España*, *Castilla del Oro* (otherwise termed *Nuevo Reino*) *Peru*, and part of *Brasil*, the first three, by the *Castilians*, and the fourth, by the *Portugals*, all which together, may by estimation, make a Region as large as Europe. In which, as also in the Islands, specially in the greater Islands of *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, and *Puerto Rico*, the Christian Region is so largely spread, that one hath presumed, to equall in a manner, the Christians of *America*, to those of the Latine Church in Europe: And another, hath left recorded, that within a few yeeres after the entrance of the Gospell among them, there were no lesse then seven Millions, or as others reported foureteene Millions, that in the Sacrament of Baptisme had given their names to Christ. But especially in the Kingdome of *Mexico* (or *Nueva España*) Christian Religion obtained that plentifull and prosperous success, that we finde recorded of sundry of the Preachers, employed about the conversion of that people, that they baptised each one of them, above 100000. and that in few yeeres: Insomuch, that as is storied by *Sorius*) It is to be found among the records of *Charles* the fifth, that some old Priest hath baptised 700000. another 300000. and certaine others very great multitudes. But yet, what manner of Christians many of those proselytes were, I am loath to remember, or report (and it may be by this time, they are better affected and instructed then they were) for certainly, *Oniedo*, and *Benzo*, men that had long lived, and were well experienced in those parts, have left recorded, the first of *Cuba*, that there was scarce any one, or but very few, that willingly became Christians, and both *Oniedo* of them, and *Benzo* of the Christians of *Nueva España*, that they had nothing almost belonging to Christianitie, but onely the bare name of Christians, being so vicerly mindelesse, and carelesse of Christian religion, that they remembered not any thing of the covenant and profession, they made in their baptisme: Onely they kept in minde, the name they received then, which very name also, they forgot soone after. But all the rest of *America*, except the regions afore mentioned, which compared to the parts possessed by the *Castilians* and *Portugals* (to make estimation by the Maps that we have of those regions, for the North and West coasts of *America*, are not yet perfectly discovered) may be as six to one, is possessed by Idolaters.

Ordas Indano  
apella. Iesuites  
can open their  
mouths wide  
in extolling  
their owne ex-  
ploits.  
These 12 yeeres  
Christianity hath  
there gone  
backward. See  
l. 5. c. 2. & l. 10. c. 2.  
\* Amand. Ziric:  
in *Chro. cric. An.*  
1519.  
\* *Sorius in Chr.*  
ad *An. Chr. 1558*  
Vid. *epist. Petri*  
Gauden in *Com.*  
Sedutij *ad vitam*  
S. *Francis. p. 129*  
\* *epi. Mart. a. 1519*  
l. 1. c. 1. p. 138.  
\* *Oniedo Histor.*  
Ind. Occident.  
l. 17. c. 4.  
Benz. *hist. Nov.*  
Orbis. l. 2. c. 19.  
See *l. 1. c. 1. p. 138*  
\* l. 7. c. 1. p. 138.  
Having l. 3. c. 4. c. 1.



Of the parts of  
the world pos-  
sessed by Ma-  
hometans. Ch. II.  
The Religions  
of the World  
brought into  
four heads or  
generall kinds.

a Matbia Mi-  
chou de Saimat.  
l. 2. c. 3.

b They reach  
to and beyond  
the River of  
Gambra. See  
Iobson infra l. 9.  
c. 13. as likewise  
on the East to  
Sofala. Santos l.  
9. c. 12. further  
then our Au-  
thor hath rela-  
ted.

c Paul Veret l.  
3. c. 39.  
Linschot. l. 1. c. 3.

d Leo Afric l. 1.  
c. de Relig. Afric.

e The Mogul  
as great a  
Prince as  
these, permits  
all Religions,  
but his greatest  
Commanders  
and best Soul-  
diers are com-  
monly Ma-  
hometans: Yea  
his sonnes, &c.  
f See of these  
places infra l. 8.  
c. 13.  
g Botes Rel p. 3.  
l. 2. c. de Ma-  
hometans.

Having declared the multiplicity of Christianities, I will proceed to shew the state of other Religions in the World, and with all, what parts of it, the Professours of those Religions doe severally inhabit; and lastly, what proportion they may have each to other, and all of them to Christians. To indeavour therefore your satisfaction in this behalfe. There are foure sorts or sects of Religion, obserued in the sundrie Regions of the World. Namely, Idolatry, *Mahumetanisme*, *Judasme*, and Christianitie. Of Christians I have already spoken: now therefore will I relate for your better contentment, of the other three; and first of *Mahumetans*.

*Mahumetans* then possesse in *Europe*, as I said before (having in that part but small mixture of Christians (all the Region betwixt *Tanaïs* and *Boristhenes* (Don and *Nieper* they are now called) being about a twentieth part of *Europe*: beside some Villages in *Litmania* about *Wilna*, where the vse of their Religion is by the King of *Poland* permitted them, for in *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Thrace*, *Bulgaria*, *Rascia*, *Sernia*, *Bosnia*, *Epirus*, the greatest part of *Hungaria*, and some part of *Dalmatia* (which may be together about one fourteenth part of *Europe*) although the gouernment be wholly the *Turkes*, yet *Mahumetans* scarcely passe one third part of the Inhabitants.

But in *Afrique*, *Mahumetanisme* is spread exceeding farre; for, first to consider the maritime Coast: It possesseth all the shoare of the *Atlantique Ocean*, from *Cape Blanco* to the Strait of *Gibraltar*, being about 1100. miles. Secondly, on the shoare of the *Mediterraine*, all from that Strait to *Egypt*, about 1400. miles, excepting onely on the one Coast, and on the other, some seuen Townes, in the possession of the *Spaniards*. Thirdly, on the East side of *Afrike*, all the Coast of the Bay of *Arabia*, even from *Suez* to *Cape Gardafu*, about 1600. miles, excepting onely one Port (*Ercoco*) being of the Dominion of the King of *Habassia*. And thence (doubling that Cape) Southward, all the shoare of the *Ethiopique Sea*, as farre as *Mozambique* (that is ouer against the middest of *Madagascar*) about 1800. miles. And in all the Coasts of *Afrike* hitherto mentioned, being altogether about 7000. miles (that is, by some excesse more then halfe the circumference of *Afrike*) the Professors of *Mahumeds Religion*, haue both possession and dominion, together with the Maritime parts, of the great Ile of *Madagascar*, and many other Ilands along the Coast of *Afrike*.

And yet, euen beyond *Mozambique* also as farre as to the *Cape des Corrientes*, it is vnder the Circle of *Capricorne*) although they haue there no rule, yet they are found mingled with Idolaters. But yet neuertheless, obserued it is, that along the East shoare of *Afrike*, namely from *Suachem* to *Mozambique* (being towards 3000. miles of the mentioned Coast) *Mahumetans* possesse onely the Margent of the Land, on the Sea shoare, and haue gotten but little footing in the Inland parts, except in the Kingdomes of *Dangali* and *Adel*, confining together, the first within and the second without the Strait of *Babel Mandel*, which yet are but small Prouinces. And this also (to extenuate their number) is also true, that from the Kingdome of *Adel*, and *Cape Guardafu*, to *Mozambique*, there is found among the *Mahumetans*, some mixture of Idolaters, although the Dominion be onely in the *Mahumetans* hands.

But yet on the North and West parts of *Afrike*, it is farre otherwise, and farre worse: *Mahumetanisme* hauing ouer-spread all the maine Land of *Afrike*, betwene the *Mediterrane Sea*, and the great River *Niger*: and along the course of *Nilus*, as farre as the Ile of *Metor*, which lieth also about the same parallel with the River *Niger*, and is possessed by *Mahumetans*. And yet beyond *Niger* also, it hath inuaded and obtained all the Kingdoms of the *Nigrites* that border on that River. So that all *Barbarie* and *Biled-elgeria*, and *Libya deserta*, and the Region of *Negrees*, are become of that Religion. Excepting first some Maritime parts toward the *Atlantique Sea*, namely from *Cape Blanco* Southward, which are inhabited by *Gentiles*. Secondly, the Kingdome of *Borno*, and some part of *Nubia*: And thirdly, certaine scattered multitudes of the olde *African Progenie*, that still retaine their ancient *Gentilisme*, and are found in diuers places heere and there in the Mountaines and wilder parts of *Barbarie*, of *Biled-elgeria*, and of *Libya*. These I say, being excepted, all *Afrike* beside, from the *Mediterraine Sea*, somewhat more Southward then the River *Niger*, is ouer-spread with *Mahumetans*: which (adding these before mentioned, along the East Coast of *Ethiopia*) may by estimation, take vp foure nine parts of *Afrique*.

And yet in *Asia*, *Mahumatisme* is farther spread, being embraced and maintained chiefly, by foure mightie Nations, namely, the *Arabians*, *Persians*, *Turkes*, and *Tartars*. *Arabia* was indeed the Nest, that bred and fostered that vnclane Bird, and had it bene the Cage also, for euer to enclose it, it had bene but too much space and libertie, for *Arabia* is in circuit about 4000. miles, and except a small mixture of Christians in *Eltor*, a Port Towne toward the inmost Angle of the Bay of *Arabia*; and *Petra* (*Krac* now it is called) a mid-land Towne; and two Monasteries about the Hill of *Sawai*, all is possessed with *Mahumetans*. But from *Arabia* that poylon hath in such sort dispersed it selfe through the veines of *Asia*, that neere the one halfe, is at this day corrupted by it. For although it hath not hitherto attained to the North Coast of *Asia*, which is partly inhabited by Christians, namely, from the River of *Dwyna* to *Petchora*, and partly by Idolaters from *Petchora* to the East Ocean: nor yet to the East Coast, which from the most Northerly part of *Tartary*, to the most Southerly part of *India* (except some few places in the Kingdome of *Siam*) Idolaters in like sort generally obtaine: yet neuertheless, it is as I said,



said, namely, that a very great part of *Asia* is infected with that pestilence. For first, all the Southerly Coast of *Asia*, from the Bay of *Arabia* to the Riuer *Indus*, is possessed by *Mahumetans*: and if we proceed further along that shoare, euen beyond the Riuer of *Indus* also, the great Kingdomes of *Cambaya* and *Bengala*, for a great part of them, and about one fourth part of the Inhabitants of *Malabar*, are obserued to be *Mahumetans*. And secondly, to consider the Inland parts: all from the Westerly bounds of *Asia*, namely the Riuer *Tanais*, with the *Euxine*, *Aegean*, and *Mediterrane* Seas, as farre Eastward, as the Mountaine *Imau* (which is more then halfe the length of *Asia*, is possessed by them: Except, first the <sup>h</sup> *Kirgessi* neere *Imau*, who are Idolaters: and secondly, the mixture of Christians among them, who yet haue very small proportion

<sup>h</sup> Guaguin. descr. Tartar. in Kirgessorum Florida.

(for their multitude) to *Mahumetans*, in any Prouince, of all the mentioned vast circuit, for howeuer *Burchardus* about 320. yeeres agoe, hath left recorded of those parts of *Asia*, that there were to be found in them thirtie Christians for one *Mahumetan*. *Deser. ter. sanct. pag. 2. c. 2. §. 9.* yet certainly, that in these present times the excesse of multitude is growne great on the *Mahumetans* side in respect of Christians, the experience of many putteth out of question. And if we shall proceed yet further Eastward in the In-land parts of *Asia*, and passe in our speculation, beyond the Mountaine *Imau*, euen there also sundry Prouinces are obserued, as <sup>i</sup> *Peim*, *Cotam*, *Lop*, where *Mahumetans* are the maine and sole Inhabitants, and many more, <sup>k</sup> *Cassar*, *Car-cham*, *Chinchutius*, *Tangut*, *Ergimul*, *Cergut*, *Tenduc*, &c. where they are mingled among Idolaters, which may for a great part, counteruaile those Regions of *Asia*, which Christians and Idolaters take vp on this side that Mountaine. So that, in my estimation, hauing about these points conferred Historie with Geographie in the most circumspect and considerate manner that I was able, about nine parts of twentie of *Asia* are possessed by *Mahumetans*.

<sup>i</sup> Paul. Venet. l. 1. c. 41. 42. 43. <sup>k</sup> Id. l. 1. c. 38. 40. 47. 62. 63. 64. &c.

Thus then is *Mahumetanism* spread ouer the one halfe almost of the firme Land of *Asia*. And yet moreouer in the Ilands also that are about *Asia*, that Religion hath found large entertainment. For not onely a good part of the small <sup>l</sup> Iles of *Maliduinia*, namely those of them that are inhabited (for they are aboue 7000. in all, and most without habitation) are possessed with *Mahumetans*, but moreouer, all the Ports of the Ile of *Ceilan* (except *Colombo* which the *Portugals* haue, the Sea Coasts of *Sumatra*, the Port of *Iaua*, with the Ile of *Sunda*, the Ports of *Banda*, of *Borneo* and of *Gilolo*, with some of the Ilands *Malucos*, are in the hands of *Mahumetans*.

<sup>l</sup> Nical de conc. Viaginate ndie. Barbof ap Ramus. Vol. 1. de Vager. p. 313. 318. 319. Botr. Relat p. 3. l. 2. de Mahometan. See a perfecter Relation of the Maliduel. 9. cap. vlt.

Of the great spreading and enlargement of which Religion, if the causes were demanded of me, I should make answer, that beside the Iustice of Almighty God, punishing by that violent and wicked Sect, the sinnes of Christians (for we see that by the Conquests of the *Arabians*, and *Turkes*, it hath chiefly leised on those Regions, where Christianitie in ancient time most flourished, both in *Afrike* and *Asia*, and partly in *Europe*) one cause I say, of the large spreading of their Religion, is the large spreading of their victories. For it hath euer beene the condition of the conquered, to follow for the most part the Religion <sup>m</sup> of the Conquerours. A second, their peremptorie restraint (euen on the paine of death) of all disputation touching their Religion, and calling any point of it into question. A third, their suppression of the studie of Philosophy, by the light whereof, the grossenesse and vanitie of many parts of their Religion might bee discovered, which is inhibited to be taught in their Vniuersities, and so hath bene, about these foure hundred yeeres, whereas till then, it greatly flourished among them, in *Cordona*, in *Fez*, in *Morocco*, in *Bagded*, and other Cities. And yet, as *Bellonius* and <sup>n</sup> others write, the *Turkes* fall now againe, to those studies afresh. A fourth cause may well be assigned, the sensuall libertie allowed by it, namely to haue many Wiues, and the like promise of sensuall pleasures, to succeed after this life (to the Religious obseruers of it) in Paradise wherewith men for the greatest part, as beeing of things wherewith their sense is affected, and whereof they haue had certaine experience, are more allured and perswaded, then with promises of spirituall delights, presented only to their hopes, and for which present and sensible pleasures must in the meane time be forsaken.

<sup>m</sup> Christian Religion (to shew the power and wisdom of Christ) hath contrariwise conquered the Conquerours: And by this meanes the Goths, Hunnes, Vandals, Frankes, Saxons, Normans, Danes, and other Heathen Conquerours

of Christians, haue yet beene conquered by their Religion: A grace denied Saracenicall Conquests, because almost all the Nations which now are *Mahumetan*, were before in part or wholly Christians, but rather in Faith then Workes: to which succeeded the Saracenicall Religion without the Church, and Papall Superstition within, the one professing moralitie of Workes without Faith in him which is, the way, the truth and life; the Other, on that fundamentall Faith of the Trinitie Incarnation, Sec. building their hay and stubble of *Worshipp* and merits of Workes: the one wholly excluding Christianitie, the other corrupting it; both in steed of that great mysterie of godlinesse, our Iustification by faith in Christ, obtruding mans moralitie, and a righteousness of our owne, euen therefore vnrighteousnesse. <sup>n</sup> *Bellon. Obser. l. 3. c. 30. Georgioutz. l. 2. de Ritib. Turcar. cap. de Scholis.* See *Withers* his *Seraglio*, l. 9. The *Saracens* at the first were so farre from reiecting Philosophie and Arts, that within the first hundred yeeres after the *Hegira*, they there most flourished, and *Abulqualid Iacob Almanzor* (whose Captaines conquered *Spaine*) erected and endowed eightie two Colledges for Arts, as many Hospitals, and aboue fise hundred *Mesquits*. Himselfe best wed euery Thursday in hearing disputations, and in his Librarie which contained fise and fiftie thousand Bookes. And after the *Barbarian Deluge* Christians recouered lost learning by helpe of *Arabs*.

Now



Of the sundrie  
Regions of the  
World inhabi-  
ted by Idola-  
ters. Chap. 12.

o Boem de Mo-  
rib gent. l. 3. c. 7.  
Boter. relat p. 3.  
l. 1. c. Lithuania.

p Leo African. l.  
7. c. de Borno  
regno.  
q Aluarez. hist.  
Ethiop. c. 30.  
r Leo Afric. l. 1.  
c. de vicys Afror.

Strab l. 2. Ptol. in  
tab. Orb. general.

f Vid. Ptol. in  
Tab. orbis uni-  
uer. & Merc. in  
tab. gener. Asia.

Now touching Idolaters, they possesse in *Europe*, a Region as I before obserued, about 900. miles in circuit (although the ordinary Geographical Charts represent it (but falsely) more then twice so large, containing *Lappia*, *Corelia*, *Biarmia*, *Scricfinia*, and the North part of *Finnuarch*. All which together, may by estimation make about one sixtieth part of *Europe*, or a little more, more I meane in magnitude rather then in multitude, for it is indeed a little greater then so. Beside which Prouinces, there are also to be found in diuers places of *Lituania*, and *Samagotia*, some scattered remnants of Idolaters.

But in *Afrike* their multitude is very great, for from Cape *Blanco* on the Coast of *Libya*, the most Westerly point of all *Afrike* (being about the North latitude of twenty degrees) euen all the Coast of *Afrike* Southward, to the Cape of *Buena Esperanza*: And thence turning by the backe of *Afrike*, as farre as the Cape of *Mozambique*, being (ouer against the middest of *Madagascar*) in the South latitude of fiftene degrees: all this Coast I say, being not much lesse, then halfe the Circumference of *Afrike*, is inhabited by Idolaters. Onely, on the East side, from *Mozambique* to Cape de *Corrientes* (which is the South latitude of twentie foure degrees) they are mingled with *Mahumetans*: And on the West side, in the Kingdome of *Congo*, and the North part of *Angola*, with Christians: But yet in both these places of their mixture, Idolaters are the greater multitude.

But now, if we consider the Inland Region of *Afrike*, all betweene the Riuer *Nilus*, and the West Sea of *Ethiopia*, from about the North parallel of ten degrees, to the South parallel of six or seuen degrees, but from that parallel of fixe or seuen degrees, euen all *Ethiopia* Southward, on both the sides of *Nilus*, from the East Sea of *Ethiopia*, to the West, euen to the most Southerly point of all *Afrike*, the Cape of *Buona Speranza*, is possessed by Idolaters: excepting onely some part of *Congo* and *Angola* afore mentioned, toward the West Sea, inhabited by Christians, and the vtmost shoare of the East Sea, from *Mozambique* Northward, which is replenished with *Mahumetans*: And yet, beside all the Regions before mentioned, euen all the Kingdome of *Borno*, and a great part of *Nubia* is possessed by them; to speake nothing of the infinite multitudes of the ancient *Africans*, dispersed in sundry Tracts of Barbary, of *Biled-elgerid*, and of *Libya Deserta*, which still continue in their ancient Paganisme. So that (euer and beside these last) very neere about halfe *Afrike*, is possessed by Idolaters.

And yet in *Asia* Idolaters abound more then in *Afrike*, euen as *Asia* is larger then *Afrike* for the Continent, and for the people, better inhabited; for of *Asia* also, very neere about the one halfe, or rather a little more is possessed by Idolaters. For first, if we consider the Maritime parts, all from the Riuer of *Pechora*, Eastward to the Ocean, and then turning downward, to the most Southerly point of *India* (and of all *Asia*) the Cape of *Cincapura*, and from that point returning Westward, by the South Coast, to the Out-lets of the Riuer *Indus*, all that Maritime Tract I say, is entirely possessed by Idolaters. Sauing onely, that in the neerer part of *India*, betweene *Indus* and *Ganges*, there is among them some mixture both of *Mahumetans* and *Christians*: and in the further part, the Citie and Territorie of *Malacca*, is held by *Portugals*, and some part of the Sea Coast of the Kingdome of *Siam*, by *Moores*. So that by this account, a good deale more then halfe the circumference of *Asia*, is possessed by Idolaters. And, although in the In-land parts their proportion be somewhat lesse, then in the Maritime, yet if we consider well, the whole dimension of *Asia*, we shall find by good estimation, as before I said, that the one halfe, or rather a little more, is replenished with Idolaters: for the better declaring of which point, you may vnderstand, that as *Strabo* and *Ptolomie*, haue obserued, of the Mountaine *Taurus*, that beginning in the West parts of *Asia* (in the Confines of *Lycia* and *Pamphilia* ouer against the *Chelidonian* Iles) it runneth Eastward euen to the Ocean, keeping betweene the parallels of thirty and forty degrees, and so deuiding the North part of *Asia* from the South. Euen so must we obserue of the Mountaine *Imaus* that beginning on the shoare of the North Ocean, it runneth along through the middest of *Asia* to the South, keeping still about the same Meridian, namely about the longitude of 130. degrees, and crossing (at right Angles in a manner) the Mountaine *Taurus* deuideth the East part of *Asia* from the West *Imaus*, therefore in this sort diuiding *Asia* into two parts, not much vnequall, diuideth also in a manner, betweene the Idolaters and *Mahumetans* of *Asia*, for although the hither part of *Asia*, West of *Imaus*, and possessed of *Mahumetans*, take vp more in the longitude of the Earth, namely East and West: yet the further part East of *Imaus*, spreadeth more in latitude, North and South, which may make some recompence toward that excessse.

But, if withall we subtraet those parts of the hither *Asia*, that are covered with the *Persian* and *Caspian* Seas, beside large parts of the *Euxine* and *Mediterrane*, the further *Asia* (I thinke) will fully equall it. Now, although many *Mahumetans* be also found on the other side of *Imaus*, toward the North-east of *Asia*, both seuerall in sundry Prouinces, and otherwise mingled with Idolaters or Christians, or with both, as before was partly obserued: Yet many more whole Regions of Idolaters (to counteruaile those *Mahumeians*) are found on this side *Imaus*, both toward the South, in the Kingdomes of the neerer *India*, and toward the North, betwixt *Imaus* and the Riuer



River *Pechora*, all which Coast of *Asia* is inhabited by Idolaters. And lastly, in the middest betwixt both, the *Kirgessi*, and some other of their Neighbour Nations. And not onely in the firme land of *Asia*, is Idolatry thus spread: but in those many thousand Ilands that lie disperied in the vast Ocean, on the East and South-east parts of *Asia*: which ouer against *China*, are recorded vpon the report of Mariners, long practised in those Seas, to be 7448. and about *India*, to be 27000. And which might for their largenesse, if they were all layed together, make a Continent as large as three foure parts of *Europe*. In those Ilands I say, Idolatry ouer-spreadeth all, excepting onely those few, which I before obserued, to bee possessed by the *Spaniards*, and by the *Arabians*.

*Pa. Ven. l. 3. c. 8*  
*u. Id. l. 3. c. 42.*

10 Finally, of all other parts of the Earth yet discovered, Idolatry spreadeth farthest in *America*, which being but little lesse, then the Easterne Continent (that wee terme the old World) is at least sixe parts of seuen, inhabited with Heathenish and idolatrous people. For, except the Regions about mentioned, possessed namely by the *Portugals*, and *Castilians* (and yet the inner, and wilder tracts euen of those, remaine still for a great part, in their ancient Paganisme) and many notwithstanding their Baptisme, withall worship Idols, together with some later Conuerts made in the Region about and about the Bay of *California*, of whom as yet, Histories make so little report, that of their number I can make no estimate: And lastly, two or three Fortresses, held by the *Spaniards*, on the Coast of *Florida*, with the *English* Colonies in *Virginia*, and the *French* in *Canada*, these I say being excepted, all the rest of *America* (being as I said about six seuenth parts) remaineth in their old Idolatry.

*Tba. Jes. de Con. gen. l. 1. c. 19*

20 And thus haue I declared the three principall Sects as touching Religion, that are at this present found in the seuerall parts of the World, with their particular Regions. But beside these, obserued there are, two or three irregular Nations, being for their Religion mingled as it were of some of the former Sects. As first, in *Asia*, the *Curdi*, inhabiting in the Mountainous Countrey about *Mozal*, betweene *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*. Secondly, the *Drusi*, dwelling in *Syria*, about the skirts of *Libanus*, the Religion of which Nations (such as it is) partaketh somewhat, both of *Mahumetanism* and *Christianitie*. And thirdly, the *Mordaites* in *Europe*, possessing the middle Confines betwixt the *Precopite Tartars*, and the *Musconites*, that are in a manner as touching their Religion, mingled of all three Sects: for they are both baptised like Christians, and circumcised like *Mahumetans*, and withall worship Idols.

*Curdi. Sec. l. 9. c. 4. & 5.*

30 Now will I intreat a little, of the Professors of the fourth sort and Sect of Religion, that is found in the World, namely of *Iudaisme*, for, although the *Jewes* haue not for their Mansion, any peculiar Countrey, but are disperied abroad among forreigne Nations, for their ancient Idolatries, and their later vnthankfulness, in reiecting their Sauour the Sonne of God: So that euen in *Ierusalem*, there be not to be found at this time, an hundred households of *Jewes* (Onely of all the Townes of *Palestina*, *Tiberias* (which *Amurath* the great *Turke* gaue to *Aluarez Mendez* a *Jew*) and *Staffiletto*, are somewhat peopled with them.) Neither haue they at this present, for any thing that is certainly knowne, any other Region in the World, seuerall to themselves: Yet because there bee some Prouinces, wherein they are obserued specially to abound, as others also, whence they are excluded and banished, I will consider a little of their present condition.

Of the *Jewes* disperied in seuerall parts of the World.  
*Chap. 13.*  
*Boter. relat. p. 3.*  
*l. 2. c. de Gindei*

40 The first Countrey of Christendome, whence the *Jewes* were expelled, without hope of returne, was our Countrey of *England*, whence they were banished, Anno 1290. by King *Edward* the first. Not long after they were likewise banished *France*, Anno 1307. by *Philippus Pulcher*: Onely of all the Countreyes of *France*, in the Iurisdiction of *Anignon* (the Popes state) some are remayning.

50 Out of *Spaine*, Anno 1492. by *Ferdinand*, and shortly after out of *Portugall*, Anno 1497. by *Emanuel*. Out of the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Sicilie*, Anno 1539. by *Charles* the first. In other Regions of *Europe* they are found, and in some of them in great numbers, as in *Germanie*, *Boheme*, *Polonia*, *Lituania*, *Russia*, and part of *Italie*, specially *Venice* and *Rome*. In *Greece* also a great multitude, wherein two Cities (beside all them of other places) *Constantinople* and *Thessalonica* are esteemed to bee about sixteene hundred thousand *Jewes*. As also they are to be found by plentifull numbers, in many parts of the *Turkes* Dominion, both in *Asia* and *Afrike*.

60 And for *Asia*, specially in *Aleppo*, in *Tripoli*, in *Damascus*, in *Rhodes*, and almost in euerie Citie of great Trade and Traffique in the *Turkish* Empire: As likewise in diuers parts of the *Persian* gouernment, in *Arabia* also, and lastly in *India* (namely about *Cranganor*) and in some other more remote Regions. And, to come to *Afrike*, they are not only found in the Cities of *Alexandria*, and *Cair* in *Egypt*, but, as in many other Regions and places of *Afrike*, so principally, in the Cities of *Fez*, and *Tremisen*: and specially, in the Hilles of *Sensaua*, and *Demen* in the Kingdome of *Maroccho*, many of which last, are by *LEO AFRICANVS*; specially noted to bee of that

*Leo African. l. 2. c. 3. & 6.*



that Sect, which the Jewes name \* *Karaim*, and by the other Jewes of *Africke*, are reputed no better then Heretiques.

But yet, beside these, and such like dispersions of the Jewish Nation, that may be elsewhere in the world, there is a phantasmie of many learned men, not unworthy some diligent consideration, that the *Tartars* of *Scythia*, who about the yeere 1200. or a little before, became first knowne abroad in the world by that name, and hold at this day a

great part of *Asia*, in subiection: That those *Tartars* I say, are of the \* *Israelites* progeny: Namely of the ten Tribes, which by *Salmanazar*, and some of his predecessors, were carried captiue into *Assyria*. Which although it be as I said no other then a vaine and capricious phantasmie, yet, hath it, not onely found acceptance and entertainment, with sundry learned and vnderstanding men: but reason and authoritie are produced, or pretended to establish it for a truth. For first, it is alleadged that the word *Tatari*, or *Totari* (for so indeede they are rightly called, as \* learned men obserue, and not *Tartari*) signifieth in the *Syriack* and *Hebrew* tongues, a Residue or Remainder, such as these *Tartars* are supposed to be of the Ten Tribes. Secondly, because (as the Patrons of this phantasmie say) they haue alwaies embraced (the ancient character of *Judaisme*) Circumcision. And thirdly, the authoritie of supposed *Esdra*s (the verie spring I take it, whence hath flowed this streame of opinion) is alleadged. Namely, that the Ten Tribes tooke this course to themselves, that they would leaue the multitude of the heathen, and goe forth into a farther Countrey, where neuer mankinde dwelt. That they might there keepe their statutes, which they neuer kept in their owne land. And that they entred in at the narrow passages of the River *Euphrates*. The most high shewing them signes, and staying the Springs of the flood, till they were passed ouer. And that their iourney was great, euen of a yeere and a halfe, and the region is called *Arfareth*.

But to the first of these arguments, I may answer, that the *Tartars* obtained that name, neither from *Hebrew* nor *Syriack* originall, and appellation, but from the River *Tartar*, saith *Leunclavius*, and others. Or else from the Region, saith *Hauho*, where the principall of them anciently dwelled. Secondly, that the name *תתרי* or *תתרי* in the *Hebrew* or *Syriack* signification, importing a residue or remainder, can but full ill (as it seemes) be applied to the *Tartars* in relation of the *Israelites*, whom they exceedingly surpass in multitude, as ouerspreading halfe the vast continent of *Asia*, or thereabout. For all the Nations of *Asia*, from the great Rivers of *Volgha* and *Oby*, Eastward, and from the *Caspian* Sea, the River *Oxus*, the Countries of *India* and *China*, Northward, are contained vnder the Appellation of *Tartars*: and yet without these bounds manie *Tartars* there are, both toward the West and South. And what if the innumerable people of so manie Nations, as are knowne to inhabit and ouerspread the huge continent of *America*, be also of the same of-spring? Certainly, if I be not greatly deceiued, they are no other. For first, that their originall must be deriued from *Asia* is apparent, because (as he that readeth the relations and histories of those Countries of *America* may easily obserue) they haue no rellish nor resemblance at all, of the Arts, or learning, or ciuilitie of *Europe*: And their colour testifieth, they are not of the *Africans* progenie (there being not found in all that large Continent, any blacke men, except a few about the River of Saint *Martha*, in a small Countrey called *Quarequa*, which by force and violence of some tempest, are supposed to haue bene transported thither, from the parts of *Guinie* or *Aethiopia*.) Therefore it seemeth, that they had their originall from *Asia*. Which yet will appeare more credible, if it be obserued, which by the *Spaniards* discoueries is well known to be true, namely, that the West side of *America* respecting *Asia*, is exceeding much better peopled then the opposite or East side, that respecteth toward *Europe*. And, as for these reasons it is verie likely, that *America* receiued her first inhabitants, from the East border of *Asia*: So is it altogether vnlike, that it receiued them from any other part of all that border, saue from *Tartarie*. Because, in *America* there is not to be discerned, any token or indication at all, of the arts or industrie of *China*, or *India*, or *Cataia*, or anie other ciuill Region, along all that border of *Asia*: But in their grosse ignorance of letters, and of arts, in their Idolatrie, and the specialties of it, in their inciuilitie, and many barbarous properties, they resemble the old and rude *Tartars*, aboue all the Nations of the Earth. Which opinion of mine, touching the *Americans* descending from the *Tartars*, rather then from any other Nation in that border of *Asia*, after the neere vicinitie of *Asia* to *America*, this reason aboue all other, may best establish and perswade: Because it is certaine, that that North-east part of *Asia* possessed by the *Tartars*, is if not continent with the West side of *America*, which yet remaineth somewhat doubtfull: but certainly, and without all doubt, it is the least disioyned by Sea, of all that coast of *Asia*, for that those parts of *Asia* and *America*, are continent one with the other, or at most, disioyned but by some narrow channell of the Ocean, the rauinous and harmelesse beasts, wherewith *America* is stored, as Beares, Lions, Tigers, Wolues, Foxes, &c. (which men as is likely, would neuer to their owne harme transport out of the one continent to the other) may import. For from *Noahs* Arke, which rested after the deluge

\* *Postel. Descript.*

*Syriaca. l.*

*Genebrad. Chron.*

*l. 1. Euter. Relat.*

*p. 1. l. 2. c. vltima*

*partie de la Tartarie*

*l. 1. p. 3. l. 2.*

*c. de Gindei.*

\* *Leunclau in*

*Pandect. Hist.*

*Turcie.*

*Heb.*

*תתרי*

*Syri.*

*2 Esd. 13. v. 41.*

*42. 43. 44. 45.*

*Leunclau. in*

*Pand. hist.*

*Turcie. S. 3.*

\* *Boem. de Mo-*

*rib gent. l. 2. c. 10*

*Haiti. lib. de*

*Tartaris. cap. 16.*

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deluge, in *Asia*, all those beasts must of necessity fetch their beginning, seeing they could not proceede by the course of nature, as the ymperfect sort of living creatures doe, of Putrifaction: or if they might have Putrifaction for their parentage, or receive their originall (by any other new sort of generation) of the earth without speciall procreation of their owne kinde, then I see no necessity, why they should by Gods speciall appointment, be so carefully preserved in *Noahs Arke* (as they were) in time of the deluge, Wherefore, seeing it is certaine, that those ravenous beasts of *America*, are the progenie of those of the same kinde in *Asia*, and that men, as is likely, conueighed them not (to their owne prejudice) from the one continent to the other, it carrieth a great likelihood and appearance of truth, that if they ioine not together, yet are they neere neighbours, and but little disioyned each from other, for euen to this day, in the Isles of *Cuba*, *Iamaica*, *Hispaniola*, *Burichena*, and all the rest, which are so farre removed from the firme Land, that these beasts cannot swimme from it to them, the *Spaniards* record, that none of these are found. Wherefore it seemeth (to digresse no farther) that the Nation of the *Tartarians*, spreading so exceeding farre, as it doth, cannot certainly be the posterity of those captiue *Israelites*.

Iosep. Acosta De Natura Nou. Orb. l. 1. c. 21.

Michon. de Sam. ma. l. 1. c. 5. Of thele Tartars; See Tu. 2. l. 1. c. 2. in kub. Polo, Haic. n. lenk. n. c.

Diodor. Sic. l. 1. par. 2. c. 1. Phil. Iud. l. 1. de Circumcision. Strab. l. 16. Herodot. l. 2. parum. a Med. Strab. l. 16. long. 1. 1. med. x Diodor. Sic. l. 3. c. 2.

Agatharchid. l. 1. c. 1. Mar. Kub. c. 49 ap. Phot. in Bibliotheca Cypran. l. 1. de Circumcision. in principio Nicoph. Callist. l. 8. c. 35. Hieron. in Comment. loci iam citati. Epiphani. Panar. l. 1. ber. 30.

\* By Sozomen l. 6. c. 38.

Ambr. l. 2. de Abraham. Patriarcha. c. 12. x Saff. de Kiti. gent. l. 1. c. 10. x Bellon Obfer. l. 3. c. 28. George. uir. l. 2. de Kiti. Turcar. c. de Circumcisione.

Neither (to answer the second objection) doth their circumcision in any sort inforce it: for, neither was circumcision, among the *Tartars* ancienter then *Mahometanisme*, but was received among them together with it, as *Michonius* hath remembered, so that to this day, it is not intainted (for ought I can finde in Historie) among those *Tartarians*, which haue not received *Mahometanisme*, but remaine in their ancient Idolatrie, as for the most part, both the *Tartars* of *Cataia*, beyond the Mountaine *Imau* towards the East Ocean, and the *Tartars* of *Sarmatia*, towards the North, on both sides the Riuer of *Oby*, doe. Neither if it should be granted, that circumcision had bene ancienter among them then *Mahometanisme*, were that an argument of any impotence, to proue them to be of the *Israelites* progenie. Because it is certainly knowne, that the ceremony and custome of circumcision hath bene and still is vsuall among many Nations, of whom there was neuer any suspicion, that they descended from the *Israelites*, for *Diodorus* hath recorded of the *Colchians*, *Philo Iudeus*, and *Strabo*, of the *Egyptians*, *Herodotus* of both those Nations, and of the *Ethiopiens* besides, that they vsed circumcision, and that that custome among the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopiens*, did seeme very ancient, euen as it is also by both those Nations retained till this day. And yet, beside these Countries already mentioned, the like is also recorded of the *Troglodytes* by *Strabo*, and by others: Of the *Phenicians*, and *Arabians*, by *Cyprian* and *Nicephorus*. And (to leaue this accumulating of humane testimonies) it is not obscurely acknowledged by the Prophet *Jeremie*, to haue bene vsuall (beside the *Israelites*) with the *Egyptians*, *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, and the inhabitants of the desert, that is the *Israelites*, or *Sarracens* of *Arabia*: Of which Nations, *Hierome* also (to whom those regions were well knowne (as *Epiphanius* also of the most of them) hath left testified, that they retained circumcision, euen in his time. Touching some of which, although it may be probably coniectured, that they receiued it (in some sort) from the *Israelites*, yet not as their progenie (which yet in some sense may be said of the inhabitants of the desert, being the posteritie of *Ismael* the Sonne of *Abraham*; and likewise of the *Edomites*, being the seede of *Esau*, the sonne of *Isaac*) yet at least, by imitation of *Abrahams* familie, to whom also in blood they were allied, as the *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, the posteritie of *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers sonne, and who had liued long in his familiaritie and familie, Although I say of these Nations it may

\* For, that the *Israelites* and *Sarracens* are the same Nation, is manifest by *Hierome*, and *Sozomen*, and others, which being anciently termed *Secuite* (as *Ammonius* hath obserued) namely of the *Grecians*, and *Troglodytes*, because they dwelled in tents (for such to be the manner of their habitation, is not onely affirmed by *Hierome*, *Sozomen*, in *Isai* ca. 21. *Sozomen* *Hist.* l. 4. c. 28. *Ammonius* l. 2. c. 1. post. med. but signified, and not obscurely, by *Dauid* *Psal.* 120. v. 4. *etiam* *Jerem.* 40. v. 1. lamenting his dwelling in the tents of *Arabia* by which name *Arabia* desert is termed in the *Hebrew* were of their dwelling in the desert by the *Arabians* themselves named *Sarracens* (for *Sarra* signifieth a desert, and *Sarra* to inhabit in the *Arabique* tongue) or else, if not of their place, yet at least (as learned men extremely thinke, *Scaliger* in *Animadu. Eufob.* p. 17. an. 88. *Fallax. Misell.* an. *Theolog.* l. 1. c. 12. of their property they might obtaine that name of *Sarracens*, namely, because they liued much by rapine (for that the word *Sarrake* in *Arabique* doth import) to which about all Nations they euer were, and still are addicted. For the deduction of the name *Sarracens*, from *Sara*, as if they claimed descent from her being indeede *Hagar* (the progenie of *Hagar*) is a mere fancy and fable. They claime it not.

be coniectured, that their ceremonie of circumcision was taken vp, by imitation of the *Israelites*: yet that the same rite, or custome was also deriued originally, from them to the whole Nation of the *Arabians* (which was exceeding great) or to the *Egyptians*, or other neighbouring Provinces, I know not why any should conieure, or if they doe, yet appeareth it to be otherwise, because they circumcised not in the eight day, which is the inuolable custome of the *Israelites*: but the *Egyptians* in the foureteenth yeere, as is recorded by *Ambrose*, and the *Arabians* in the thirteenth (and some of them both sexes, as learned men haue recorded. Euen as the *Turkes* also at this day, who receiued the rite of circumcision from the *Arabians*, are knowne to circumsise in the eight or twelfth, or fifteenth yeere, or sooner or later, as opportunitie may serue. Of these Nations I say, how circumcision should proceede from the *Israelites* to them, I cannot con-



*Pigafet. de  
Regn. Cong. l. 1.  
c. 5.  
Buter. Relat. pa.  
let. 6. Loange.*

*Paul. Venet. l. 3.  
c. 47. Haith. l. de  
Tartar. c. 1.*

*d'Vicent. Spec.  
Historialis. 32.  
c. 6.  
Paul. Venet. l. 1.  
c. 55.*

*Guil. de Rubri.  
Itin. Tartar. c. 9.  
c. Sigism. com.  
Rev. Moscon.  
Guil. de Rubricis  
Itiner. Tartar.  
l. 5.  
Roem. de Morib.  
gentium. l. 2. c. 10  
t. Herodot. l. 4.  
g. Elish. de Ani-  
malib. l. 10. c. 17.  
x. Esdr. 2. 13.*

*y. Vers. 39.  
x. Vers. 41.*

*1. Chro. 5. 26.  
2. Kin. 17. 23.*

*x. R. Dan. Kim-  
chi & R. Shel-  
mo ex sententia  
seniorum apud  
Sext. Senens. Bi-  
blioth. Sancti. l. 1.*

*Abulen. in pref.  
Paralipom. in  
Questiō. 5.*

*Ioseph. Antic.  
l. 11. c.*

ceiue : no more then I can of the great Nation of the *Anzichi*, on the West side of *Nilus* be-  
yond *Nubia*, or of the inhabitants of *Iucatan* in *America*; whereof the first yet are, and the se-  
cond (till they came vnder the government of the *Spaniards*) were meere Idolaters, for of these  
also, the second had, and the first still haue circumcision in vse.

And although these instances, vtterly dissolve the force of this reason, touching the *Tartarians*  
circumcision (though it were admitted to haue beene anoiently in vse among them, as being v-  
suall with many other Nations, of whom no suspicion at all can be conceiued, to be of the *Is-  
raelites* progenie) yet this may furthermore declare them, not to be of that race, because namely,  
nothing else was to be found among them, that might saue of *Israel*. For first, they were  
meere Idolaters, and without knowledge of the true God, as is recorded by *Marcus Paulus*, by 10  
*Haitho*, and others. Secondly, they had no remembrance of the Law at all. Thirdly, they nei-  
ther obserued the Sabbath, nor other rites and ceremonies of the *Israelites*: but touching their  
Matrimonies, married without impeachment the verie c wiues, and sisters of their Fathers:  
and touching their feeding, abstained not at all from vnclane Beasts, but fed on the flesh of  
Hories, Dogges, Cats, and dead Carrion, and drunke their blood, all vtterly forborne and  
forbidden among the *Israelites*. Fourthly, they haue no records, nor regard of their ancestors  
and linage, from whom, or by whom, they are descended, whereof *Israelites* were euer curious.  
Fifthly, they haue no affinitie of language at all, with either the *Hebrew* or *Chaldees* tongues, nei-  
ther had any vse of those Letters, nor of any other, till together with *Mahumetan* Religion,  
the *Arabique* characters came in vse among some of them. Neither (in a word) doe I finde any 20  
thing at all, wherein the *Tartarians* saued of *Israelites*; for touching their abstinence from  
Swines flesh, which we finde recorded of them, neither is it generall among them, but peculiar to  
those that are *Mahumetans*: Nor if it were so, were that any good argument, because we know  
that the ancient *Scythians*, and *Egyptians*, and *Arabians* did, and almost all *Mahumetans*  
at this day doe the same, which yet are well knowne to be in no sort descended from the  
*Israelites*.

Now touching the authoritie of forged *Esdra's*, which hath stirred vp as it seemeth this va-  
pourous fantasie, in the braines of new fangled antiquaries: neither doth that which he writeth  
of the ten Tribes, agree at all with the *Tartars*: nor, if it did, could yet the circumstances of that  
historic agree with the truth. It agrees not with the *Tartars* I say, for whereas they are noted 30  
in that Reuelation, to be *a peaceable people, and that they left the multitude of the heathen, that  
they might keepe their statutes, which they neuer kept in their owne land*: neither of both those pro-  
perties hath any conuenience or agreement at all with the *Tartarians*. For how are they a peace-  
able people, that with their warres haue troubled and ouerturned almost all *Asia*, and sundry  
Countries of *Europe*, and hold a great part of the former in subiection to this day? Or how kept  
they the statutes of the *Israelites*, that were meere Idolaters, and vtterly ignorant of all Iewish  
Lawes and Ceremonies? And touching the Historie it selfe of the *Israelites* departure out of *As-  
syria*, as it is set downe in that Apocryphall *Esdra's* (how soeuer it might otherwise agree with the  
*Tartars*) there is no wise or considerate man I thinke, that can bring his vnderstanding to giue  
credit to it. For first it contradicteth the vndoubted canonicall histories of the *Chronicles*, and 40

of the *Kings*, in both which it is recorded of  
them, that they were carried away into *As-  
shur*, and disposed in seuerall parts of the Em-  
pire namely *Calach*, and *Chabar*, and *Hara*,  
and *Gozan*, vnto this day; which limitation  
of time (vnto this day) must at least of neces-  
sitie import, the time wherein that Historie  
(of their remaining in *Asshur*) recorded in the  
bookes of the *Kings*, & of the *Chronicles* was  
written. Of which later, either *Esdra's* him-  
selfe was the Author, as in the iudgement of  
learned men he is reputed, and therefore could  
not (as it seemeth) be the Author of that A-  
pocryphall Historie: or, at least, if *Esdra's* were  
not the Author, yet, that the Author (whoe-  
uer he was) liued and writ that historie of the

*Chronicles*, after the returne of the *Iewes* from the captiuitie, or in the end of it (that is in *Esdra's*  
time) is euident by the end of the Book: where *Cyrus* his benignitie, for restoring the *Iewes*, and  
his Proclamation for their returne to Ierusalem is recorded, and that in the verie same words,  
wherein *Esdra's* in the beginning of his owne booke hath registred them. At that time therefore, 60  
it is euident, that the *Israelites* were not departed out of the dominions of *Asshur*. No nor long  
after that in *Iosephus* his time who hath recorded that euen then the ten Tribes remained be-  
yond *Euphrates*, and were there growne into innumerable multitudes: neither yet manie hun-  
dred yeeres after *Iosephus* was dead; for *R. Benjamin* a Iew, that liued but about 440. yeeres agoe,

if *Asshur* be *Cholchi*, and *Iberia*, & *Armenia*,  
so called for the mountainousnesse of it) & *Gauzanie*  
in *Media*, then al conjoined together, & bounded the North  
side of the *Assyrian* Empire, which stretched Northward,  
but to that Isthme betwene the Euxine & the Caspian  
Seas: So that, the *Israelites* were by that meanes, seated  
farthest off from their owne Country, and placed in the  
parts of the Empire most wast & desolate of inhabitants,  
as the confines of warring Nations vsually are. But if *Ca-  
lach* be *Calsete*, and *Chabar* the hill *Chaboras* (being part of  
*Taurus*, and seuering *Assyria*, from *Armenia*, and *Media*) 50  
and *Hara* the other hilly parts in the North side of *Assy-  
ria*, it seemeth more agreeable to the obseruations of *Ben-  
iamin Tudelensis*, for about those parts, hee found in his  
trauaile, the greatest multitudes of the *Israelites*, then in  
the places alleadged, I would vnderstand by *Asshur*, not  
the Empire or Dominion, but the peculiar Kingdome  
of *Assyria*.



and traualled diligently those parts of the world, and many other to visite his disperfed Countymen, hath in his *Itinerary* left obserued, not onely, that he found exceeding farre greater multitudes of the Israelites, to be then remaining in those Prouinces of the ancient Domiaion of *Asshur*, then he found in other places, possessing e large Regions, and s many Cities, so that in the Cities of some one Region<sup>b</sup> 300000. *Jewes* were by him numbred, obseruing specially, that in the parts of *Media*, many thousand Israelites of the progeny of them that *Salmanafer* led into captiuitie, were then remaining, but withall, he setteth downe particularly and precisely, the very places of those Regions, where certaine of the Tribes were seated, and there growne into great multitudes: as namely, in i one place, the Tribes of *Ruben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*: And in k another, the

10 foure Tribes of *Dan*, *Assher*, *Zebulon*, and *Nephthali*.

But yet if there were neither authoritie of holy Scripture, nor experience to refell this fable, and the fancies that haue sprung of it: yet ordinary reason, at least of men that are not ignorant of Geography and are meanly skilled in the affaires of the world, may easily discerne the futilitie of it. For first, what neede was there of such a miracle, as to stay the course of *Euphrates*, for the Israelites passage from *Assyria*, or *Media* toward *Tartary*, the Riuer lying farre to the West, both of the one Region and of the other, and no way crossing or impeaching their iourney, which lay Northward betweene that Riuer and the *Caspian* Sea? Or, how might those poore captiue

20 *Israelites*, disarmed as they were, and disperfed in sundry Prouinces of the *Assyrian* Empire, and being vnder the ouersight & gouernment of *Assyrian* Presidents, be able to leaue the places, where by the Kings commandement they were to inhabite? Or, if the Israelites were able by force to depart, and free themselues from the dominion of the King of *Asshur*, yet were they so wise also, as to forsake the places where they were peaceably settled, and venture their small remainders vpon perils and vncertainties, namely, to finde out a place where neuer mankind dwelt? Or, if their stomacke serued them so well, and their wit so ill, as in such manner to forsake *Assyria*, yet were they also able to make themselues way (euen a way as hee saith, of eightene moneths passage) through the fierce and mighty Nations of *Scythia*, whom neither the conquerors of the *Israelites*, the *Assyrians* I meane, nor the *Persians* (and I might adde also the *Grecians* and the *Romans*) were neuer able to subdue, but were in the aftertimes subdued by them? for that the parts of *Scythia* should be without Inhabitants (and in *Scythia* it must be where they would finde that Country

30 where neuer mankind dwelt, or else it is not in *Tartary*) is scarce credible, as whereof we reade in histories, to haue contended with *Egypt* for antiquitie of habitation, and to haue preuailed, and for the abundance of people, to be termed *Hominum Officina*. Insomuch that the greatest occasion of swarming abroad of those Nations of *Scythia*, and of their ouerwhelming of *Asia* and *Europe*, with their infinite multitudes and Colonies, is in histories recorded, to be lacke of roome for habitation in their owne Countries.

And lastly, to make an end of this tedious discourse, with the end of their imagined tedious journey: what ancient Geographer or Historian is there (set our *Esdra*s aside) that euer remembred of such a Region as *Arfareth*, where they are said to haue seated themselues. True it is indeede that I finde the Citie of *Arfareth* mentioned both in *Berosus* fragments, and in *Ptolomie*

40 placed neere the issue of the Riuer *Araxes* into the *Caspian* Sea: and, it was perhaps one of the *Israelish* Colonies, planted in the confines of the Empire of *Assyria*: for it may well be that *Arfareth*, is but ארר שארית, or ארר שארית, that is the Citie, or the hill of the remainder, or perhaps ארר שארית (the last letter of the first word cut off in the Greeke pronunciation for sounds sake) the Land of the remainder: but the tale of eightene months iourney, will no more agree with this Citie, then the Region of *Arfareth* doth, with Geography or History.

So that me thinkes this forged storie of the Israelites voiage and habitation, in such remote regions where neuer mankind dwelt, fauoureth of the same phantasticall and Talmudicall spirit, that e another tale of the same author doth, touching the collection of all the waters, into a seauenth part of the earth, the other fix being left vncovered: or, a third, of (the Elephant and the

50 Whale) *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*: namely, that God appointed the Sea to one of them, and the Land to the other, because they were so great that the Sea could not hold them both: for else belike, if the Sea had beene large enough, we might haue gone a fishing for Elephants. For how is the Sea gathered into a seauenth part of the earth, whose expansion is not onely by the most skilfull Philosophers esteemed, but found by experience of nauigations hitherto made, to ouerspred as neerely as may be discerned, about halfe the compasse of the Earth? Or, being of that breadth, and withall of the depth, that it is knowne to be, how should it not be spacious enough, to receiue Elephants and Whales together? The dimensions of the Elephant, euen of the greatest sort of *Indian* Elephants, (and the earth breedeth none so large as those of *India*) are, saith *Alianus*, nine cubits of height (the length in that beast is equall to the height) and five of breadth, the greatest that haue beene seene in *Europe*, being o obserued to be farre lesse. The dimension of the Whale indeede is farre greater (five times saith *P. Alianus* then the largest sort of Elephants.) But yet his ordinary dimension is but six and thirty cubits long, and eight cubits high, as *Rondeletius* hath obserued. But admit notwithstanding some of them to be fittie cubits, of which length, *Nearchus* in *Arrianus* is said to haue measured one in the East Ocean;

Beniamin  
ner p. 7  
70. 7  
76. 77  
81. 86  
e Pag. 77. c. 11.  
f Pag. 76. c. 6.  
g Pag. ead.  
h Pag. 77.  
i Pag. 87.

2 E/dr. 13.  
k And the most  
high the new  
ed them signes  
and staid the  
springs of the  
flud (Euphrates)  
till they  
were passed  
ouer. vers. 44.

They tooke  
this counsell to  
themselues  
that they  
would leaue  
the multitude  
of the Heathen  
ver. 41.

And goe forth  
into a Country  
where neuer  
mankind  
dwelt. v. 41.  
Iustin. hist. l. 2.  
in princip.

Beros. l. 3. Ptole.  
Georg. l. 5. c. 13.  
e in Tab. 3.  
Asia.

m E/d. 6. 42.  
n Cap. cod. v. 56.

Aliande Ani.  
malib. l. 12. c. 8.  
o Vid. Gillium  
in Description.  
Elephant. c. 6.

Gorep. l. 2. Orig.  
Antuerpian.  
P Alian. l. 1. c.  
c. 12.  
Rondelet. de Pi.  
scib. l. 16. c. 11.  
Arrian. de Reb.  
Indicis longa  
ant. p. 100.



Plin. l. 32.  
Basil. in Evae-  
mer. Homil. 7.

may, to be six hundred foot long, and three hundred and sixtie foot thicke, as <sup>a</sup> *Inba* in *Plinie* related to be found in the Bay of *Arabia* (where yet, as it is well knowne by the soundings of Nauigators, that Sea is not by a good deale three hundred and sixtie foote deepe.) Or, let them be more yet, euen foure Acres long (that is nine hundred and sixtie foot) as *Plinie* hath related of some in the Sea of *India*. For, although the two last reports be in truth no better then fancies and fables, which the impudence of some, hath made the ignorance of others to beleue, yet I will exclude none, but onely *Basil*, as intollerably hyperbolicall, affirming namely that Whales are equall to the greatest mountaines, and their backs when they shew aboue the water, like to Islands. But admitting all the rest I say, what proportion haue those dimensions of the Whale and the Elephant, to the huge bredth and depth of the Ocean?

Fabian apud Plin.  
l. 2. c. 102. Cleom.  
Meteor. l. 1. c. 10.  
Plutarch in Vita  
Emily Pauli.  
Scalig. de Subj-  
litate. Exerc. 38.  
b. and. Baccius de  
Thermis. l. 1. c. 4.  
et Alij.

Theon, in Com-  
ment. Magna  
Constructio.  
Ptolom. l. 1.

Plin. l. 2. c. 63.  
Plutarch loc.  
supra citato.

Cleomed. l. 1.  
Meteor. c. 10.  
Alhazen de Cre-  
puscul. propos. 1.

Damasen. l. 2. de  
fide Orthodoxa  
c. 10.

Genes. 1. 9.  
Aquinas in Sum.  
p. 1. q. 69. a. 1.  
Dionys. Carth.  
Cathar. n. 5. A.  
ly in Comment.  
cap. 1. Genes.

For if I may without offence insert a short Philosophicall speculation: the depth of the Sea (to speake nothing of the breadth, which euery common Map doth represent) is determined by *Fabianus* in *Plinie*, & by *Cleomedes*, to be fifteene furlongs, that is, one mile and seuen eight pars: Or else, equall to the height of the greatest Mountaines, to whose height, and the deepenesse of the Sea, the Geometricians (as *Plutarch* hath recorded) anciently assigned equall dimentions. Or yet rather (if you will any thing respect my opinion) it is a great deale more. For, as for the shallow speculation of *Scaliger*, and <sup>b</sup> others, of the shallownesse of the Sea, determining the height of Hills, farre to surpass the deepenesse of the Sea: And that in very few places, it attaineth one hundred passes of depth, is indeede true in the narrow Channels and Straits of the Sea: But in the free and large Ocean, it is by the experience of Nauigators knowne to be as false as the Gospell is true. Indeede touching the height of Mountaines, I finde it pronounced by the great Mathematician *Eratosphenes* in *Theon*, that the highest sort of them, passe not in perpendicular erectnesse ten furlongs (that is one mile and one fourth part) of which height also, it is obserued in *Plinie*, that *Dicaarchus* by Dioptrical Instruments, found the Hill *Pelion* in *Theffalie* to be, and in *Plutarch*, that *Xenagoras* (another Mathematician) obserued the height of *Olympus*, in the same Region, sauing, that in this later, there is an addition of twenty passes, for the whole number of passes, is 1270. Neither doe I finde any greater perpendicular height attributed to Mountaines, by any ancient writer, *Cleomedes* excepted: who assigneth to the height of Hills, as he doth also to the depth of the Sea, fifteene furlongs. (For *Alhazen* I omit, because he onely restraineth the height of hills, as namely, not to exceede eight miles, without determining what their height should be) But yet, all these, are to be vnderstood, I take it, with relation to the Mountanes in and about Greece, with which themselves were acquainted, which may in no sort compare with the huge Mountaines of vast Continents, such as are the *Alpes* in *Europe*, *Atlas* in *Afrique*, *Caucasus* in *India*, the *Andes* in *Peru*, and such other.

But, whatsoeuer the height of Hills may be aboue the common superficies of the Earth, it seemeth to me after good consideration, that the depth of the Sea is a great deale more. For declaration of which point, I require to be supposed, first, that the Earth at the first forming of it, was in the superficies, regular, and sphericall: which the Holy Scripture directs vs to beleue, because the water couered and compassed all the face of the Earth: And secondly, that the face of the Land is in largenesse and expansion, at least equall to that of the Sea: And thirdly, that the vneuenesse and irregularitie, which is now scene in the superficies of the Earth was caused (as is noted in *Damasen*) either, by taking some parts out of the vpper face of the Earth in sundry places, to make it more hollow, and laying them in other places, to make it more conuexe: Or else (which in effect is equi uolent to that) by raising vp some, and depressing others to make roome and receit for the Sea: that mutation being wrought by the power of that word, *Let the waters be gathered into one place, that the dry land may appeare*. For, as for the fancy of *Aquinas*, *Dionysius*, *Catharinus*, and some other Diuines; namely, that that gathering of waters, and discouery of the Earth, was made, not by any mutation in the Earth, but by a violent accumulation of the waters, or heaping them vp on high, it is too vnreasonable. Because it is vtterly against the nature of water, being a flexible & ponderous body, so to consist, and stay it selfe, & not fall to the lower parts about it, where in nature there is nothing at all to hinder it. Or, if it be hindered and restrained supernaturally, by the hand and bridle of the almighty, lest it should ouerwhelme and drowne the Land, it must follow thereof, that God in the very institution of nature, imposed a perpetuall violence vpon nature: And this withall, that at the Deluge, there had beene no necessity at all, to breake vp the springs of the deepe, and to open the *Cataracts* of Heauen, and powre down water continually, so many dayes and nights together vpon the Earth, seeing, the onely withdrawing of that hand, or letting goe of that bridle, which restrained the water, would presently haue ouerwhelmed all.

But to come to the Point. It seemeth vpon the former suppositions (of which, the holy Scripture establisheth the first, Experience of Trauellers, and Nauigators the second, and Reason the third) that in making estimation of the depth of the Sea, are not to reckon and consider onely, the height of the Hills, aboue the common superficies of the Earth, vnto which the extraordinary depths or whirlpooles, that are found in the Sea, doe properly answere (descending beneath the ordinary bottome of the Sea, as the Hills ascend aboue the ordinary face of the Land) but,



but, the aduantage or height of al the dry land about the *Superficies* of the Sea. Because the whole Masse of the Earth, that now appeareth about the waters, being taken as it were out of the place, which the waters now possesse, must be equall to the place out of which it was taken, and consequently it seemeth, that the height or eleuation of the one, should answer the depth or descending of the other. And therefore as I said, in estimating the deepnesse of the Sea, wee are not to consider onely the erection of the Hills, about the ordinary Land, but the aduantage of all the dry Land about the Sea. Which later, I meane the height of the ordinary maine Land, (euen excluding the Hills) is in my opinion more in large Continents about the Sea, then that of the Hills, is about the Land.

10 For first, that the plaine and common face of the dry Land, is not leuell, or equally distant from the Centre, but hath great declinitie and descent toward the Sea, and acclinitie or rising toward the Mid-land parts, although it appeare not so to the common view of the Eye, is to reason notwithstanding manifest. Because as it is found in that part of the Earth, which the Sea couereth that it descendeth lower, and lower toward the middest of the Sea (for the Sea which touching the vpper face of it, is knowne to be leuell by nature, and euenly distant from the Centre, is withall obserued to waxe deeper and deeper, the farther one sayleth from the shoare toward the Maine) Euen so, in that part which is vncovered, the courings and streamings of Riuers on

20 \* By which rule of the proceeding of the Riuers by the proclinitie of the earth, & euer sliding from the higher ground to the lower, till they come to the Sea, is euident to be discerned, that in Continents, those Regions are the higher Land from which Riuers streame, and those the lower ground, to which they proceed, and consequently, that of all, those are the highest which receiuing no forreine Riuers, to which they giue passage through them, doe send forth the longest Riuers on all sides to the Regions round about them. By which obseruation is to be discerned, that *Hcluetia* and *Rhetia*, sending forth the longest Riuers of *Europe*, which on all sides descend from them and their Confines, *Danubius* toward the East, *Rhene* North, *Rhodanus* West, beside *Ticinus*, *Addua*, and others, that fall into *Padus* South, are the highest Land of *Europe*, As the Region of *Pamer*, and *Kijges*, with some other neere the crossing of the great Mountaines *Taurus* and *Imanus* about *India*, whence are directed, the greatest and longest Riuers of *Asia*, *Indus* and *Ganges* toward the South, *Oxus* and *Iaxartus* toward the West, *Oechardes* North, *Canton* East, is prooued by the same reason, to be the highest part of *Afrike* and *Asia*, and in my opinion of all the Earth. And as the Region also about the Springs of *Nilus*, from which beside *Nilus*, that runneth towardes the North, are sent forth, the Riuer of *Magnice*, towardes the South, of *Zaire* West, of *Coauo* and *Zuama* East, being (*Niger* excepted) the greatest Riuers of *Afrike*, is by the same reason, prooued to bee, the highest part of that Continent.

30 one cubit of declining, in two hundred and fortie foot of proceeding (for he saith, *unum cubitum* in *binos Actus*, and *Actus* as may be obserued in *Colamella*, and others is a dimension of one hundred and twentie foot long) *Vitruuius* and *Palladius* in their conduction of waters, require indeed somewhat lesse, namely, that in proceeding of two hundred foot forward there should be allowed one foot of descending downward, which yet in the course of one thousand miles (as *Danubius* or *Volgha*, or *Indus*, &c. haue so much or more) will make five miles of descent in perpendicular account: And in the course of two thousand or more (as *Nilus* and *Niger*, and the Riuer of *Amazon* haue) ten mile or more of like descent.

40 And although I know well enough, that water being (as it is) heauie and flexible, will slide away at any inequality, and therefore am altogether perswaded, that this rule of *Vitruuius* touching conueyance of waters, is not to be taken as a rule of necessitie, to be obserued in the deriu-  
50 uing of them, as if water could not runne without that aduantage (for in that respect the Conueyors of waters of these times content themselves euen with one inch in six hundred foot, as *Philander* also on *Vitruuius*, hath obserued) but is rather to be vnderstood as a rule of commodity, namely with relation to the expedition and wholesomenesse of the water so conueyed, lest resting too long in the pipes it should contract from them some vnwholesome qualitie, or else through the slacknesse of motion, or long closenesse, or banishment from the Aire, it might gather some aptnesse and disposition to putrifie. Although I say, such excesse of aduantage as in the artificiall conueyance of waters the forenamed Authors require, be not of necessitie exacted, in the naturall deriuation of them: yet neuertheless certaine it is, that the descent of Riuers, being as it is continual, and the course of some of them very long, and in many places swift, and here, and there headlong and furious, the difference of height or aduantage, cannot but bee great, betwixt the  
60 Springs of Riuers and their Out-lets, betwixt their first rising out of the Earth, and their falling into the Sea.

Vnto which declinitie of the Land, seeing the deepnesse of the Sea doth in proportion answer (as I before declared) and not onely to the height of Hills. It remaineth that we esteeme and deter-

all sides from the mid-land parts toward the Sea, \* whole propertie we know is to slide from the higher to the lower, euidently declare so much.

And although I am not able precisely to determine, what the ordinarie declinitie of the earth may be, yet, if that bee conuenient in the workes of Nature, which is required in the workes of Art, that imitateth Nature, it will be found true that before I said: Namely, that in great Continents, through which Riuers haue long Courses, some of one thousand or two thousand miles the height of the ordinarie Mid-land, about the face of the Sea, is more, then of the Hillies about the common face of the earth, for *Pliny* in the deriuation of water, requireth

*Plin. l. 31. c. 64.*

*Columell. de Re Rustica. l. 5. c. 1. Vitruu. Architec. l. 8. c. 7. Pallad. de re Rustica. l. 9. tit. 11.*

*Philander in Vitruu. l. 8. c. 11.*



*Arist. Met. l. 2 c. 1*  
*Strab. l. 1. longe*  
*post medium.*

termine that deepnesse to be a great deale more, then it hath beene hitherto by Philosophers commonly reputed. And although the deepnesse of the *Sardinian* Sea (which indeed *Aristotle* acknowledged for the deepest part of the *Mediterranean*) be specially recorded by *Posidonius* in *Strabo*, to haue beene found but one thousand fadomes (*ὑπὸ πύλας*) which is but a mile and one fift part: yet what may the depth in that narrow Sea be, compared to the hollow deepnesse of the vast Ocean? Or rather (to turne this Instance to our aduantage) if in so narrow a Sea as the *Mediterranean* is (whose breadth attaineth not where it is largest, sixe hundred miles) the depth bee so great, what may we esteeme the deepnesse of the huge Ocean to be, that is in many places aboue fife times as broad? especially, seeing that the broader that Seas are, if they be withall entire, and free from Ilands, they are answerably obserued to be the deeper.

But whether haue I bin carried by these Elephants and Whales? to what heights and depths, of Mountaines, and Seas? I pray you pardon me, for I see I haue digressed, that is, transgressed, now I returne into the way againe.

Of the quantitie and proportion of the parts of the Earth, possessed by the seuerall sorts of the aboue mentioned religions. *Ch. 14.*  
1. *Posidonius in praef. Gram. Arabic.*  
*Lud. Regius de Vicefuitud. Re- rum. l. 8. in fine.*

Now, if out of the former long discourse, I should collect a short summe, and estimate the proportion with respect to the whole Earth, that each one of the forementioned Religions, haue to the other. It being first supposed, which vpon exact consideration and calculation, will be found to swerue very little from the truth, that the proportions of *Europe*, *Afrike*, *Asia*, and *America*, are as one, three, foure and seuen. And that the professors of the forementioned Religions, possesse the seuerall portions and proportions, of each of them, which is before set downe: It will be found I say vpon these suppositions (which the best Geographie, and Histories doe perswade me to be true) that Christians possesse, neere about a sixt part of the knowne inhabited Earth: Mahumetans, a fift part (not as some haue exceedingly ouer-lashed, halfe the World or more) and Idolaters, two thirds, or but little lesse. So that if we diuide the knowne Regions of the World, into thirtie equall parts. The Christians part is as fife, the Mahumetans as sixe, and the Idolaters as nineteene, for the poore disperfed and distressed Christians, which are found in *Asia* and *Afrike*, mingled among Mahumetans and Idolaters, I receiue not into this account, both because they are but thinne disperfed, in respect of the multitudes of *Mahumetans* and Idolaters in those Regions among whom they liue (beeing withall vnder their dominion) and because also, many Mahumetans, are found mingled among Christians in *Europe*, to recompence and counteruaile a great part of that number.

Such therefore may be the generall proportion of Christians to *Mahumetans* and Idolaters, in the Continents of the Earth hitherto discovered, namely, in this our neighbour Continent of the East comprehending *Europe*, *Afrike*, and *Asia*, and in that other Continent of the West, called *America*, and in the Ilands belonging to them both. But if the South or Antartique Continent, be so large, as I am verily perswaded it is (euen no lesse, then that of the East before mentioned, which containeth *Europe*, *Afrike* and *Asia* together) then will the Idolaters be found to surpasse all the other Religions, in exceeding great proportion, for that the Inhabitants of that South Continent are Idolaters, there is no question at all (as I take it) to be made, both because in the parts hitherto knowne, as namely in the Region of *Beach*, ouer against *Iana*, they were found to be so: And also, because they are knowne to be no other then Idolaters, that inhabite all those parts of the other Continents, that neighbour most towards them, from whom it is likely, they should haue receiued the change of their Religion, if any were: for first, in *Asia*, both *India*, and the Ilands of the *Indian* Sea, whereof some lie close on the South Continent. Secondly, in *Afrike*, the Regions about the Cape of *Buona Speranza*. And thirdly, in *America*, the Countries that border on *Magaglians* Strait, which are the neereft Neighbours to the foresaid Continent of the South, are knowne to be all ouer-spread with Idolaters.

Now that the South Continent is no lesse then I before esteemed it, namely, then that of *Asia*, *Afrike*, and *Europe* altogether, although I might be probably induced to beleue so, because it is well knowne, both (touching Latitude) to approach in some parts neere the *Equator*, and (touching Longitude) to runne along in a continuall circuite about the Earth, fronting both the other Continents: Yet haue I also another reason of more certaine importance, to perswade me: Namely, because it is well knowne, that the land to the North side of the Line, in the other Continents (the old and new world) yet altogether is at least foure times as large as that part of them which lieth to the South.

*Archim. de Infi-  
nitib. Aquae. l. 1.  
Propos. 2.*

*in Vatro. l. 6. de  
ling. Lat. Isidor.  
Origin. l. 3. c. 12.  
& Aly.*

Now, for asmuch as it is certaine, first by *Archimides* his rule, \* that the face of the Sea, is in all parts naturally leuel, or equally distant from the center of the water, for which equalitie, it hath obtained the name of *Aequor* and *Aqua*, as Grammarians say. And secondly, by the Philosophers knowne rule, that the

\* For touching the first of these suppositions. It is the propertie of water, euer to fall that way, where it findeth decliuitie. Wherefore, if the water, in the vpper face of it, were higher in one place then in another it would necessarily fall from the higher position to the lower, because it is heauie and flexible, and hath nothing in the open and free Sea, to let or hinder it: And consequently, would neuer rest settled and stable, till the face of it were leuelled, in an euen distance from the Centre.

-And touching the second, if the Earth were vne-qually poysed on opposite sides of the centre, then must it follow, that the least and

Earth.



lighter masse of the Earth should presse downie as forcibly, as the greater and weightier, because it attaineth the centre as well as it. But if it be granted, which reason doth inforce, that the weightier part of the Earth should presse downward, with greater force, and with more right challenge the centre, then the lighter part: it must follow, that the lighter masse or side of the Earth, must yeeld and giue place to the weightier, so farre, till the centre of that whole masse of the Earth take possession of the centre of the world (for till then, one side will be still heavier then the other) and so the opposite halves of the Earth, in respect of heauinesse, be brought on all sides, about the centre, vnto a perfect equilibration.

10 And the third may be established, by manifest demonstration. Because, a clod of Earth, suffered to fall from any point of the Aire, wheresoeuer on the face of the Sea (the same doth water, falling on euen and plaine Land) when all is calme, and the Aire not troubled with winds, nor the Sea with waues, will descend by a perpendicular line, on the face of the water. In such sort I say, that the line by which it falleth maketh exactly equall and right Angles on all sides, with the face of the water whereon it falleth. Therefore it is manifest, that the Earth so falling, tendeth directly to the centre of the water. Because no straight line insisteth perpendicularly, on the face or circumference of any speciall bodie (as the water is) except only those that proceed directly to the centre of the Sphere: But certaine it is, that the Earth is withall directly carried toward it owne centre, therefore there is but one common centre of the Water and of the Earth.

20 of the South. And yet I omit all the Land that may bee about the Artique Pole, beyond the Scythian or Sarmatian Sea, which must be also counterpoysed in that Antarctike continent, for nothing comes within the compasse of my vnderstanding, to be hereto replied, except any would perhaps imagine, that either the Sea on the South side of the Equator, is very shallow, or that the land of that continent may be much higher above the face of the Sea, then the land of the other two (and so equall in masse, though lesse in circuit) or that the Earth on the South side of the Equator, should be of a more ponderous disposition, then on the North, in which cases, some compensation of weightinesse, may be made for the want of extention. But of these three, the experience of Saylers evidently refelleth the first: who in equall distance from the Land, obserue an equall deepnesse of the Sea, in both South and North Latitude. And neither is there any experience, nor good reason that can be alleadged to establish either of the later: which, but that I haue already too much offended by digressions, I could proue I doubt not against all exception. But this for a conclusion to this discourse, I dare pronounce touching that South continent, that it will certainly be found (in the after-times, when it shall bee better discovered) much larger, then any Globe or Map hitherto extant, hath represented it.

30 Such therefore (as I haue declared) is the generall state of Christianitie at this present in the World, and the proportion of it to other Religions. But because you require yet further to bee specially informed of the diuers sorts and sects of Christians that are abroad in the World, and withall of their diuers Regions and Religions, at least of those principall Characters of their Religion, wherein they specially differ each from other, I will here set downe my second period, touching the generall differences of Religions, and of the seuerall parts of the World where they are maintayned: and will now proceed to that particular consideration touching the Sects of Christianitie, and in deauour to giue you the best satisfaction that my poore reading, and obseruation may inable me to performe.

40 The Sects therefore of Christians, that carrie name and report at this present in the World, beside the Protestants and Romans in the West, of whom I will be silent, because you know their condition better then my selfe, are 1 the Grecians, 2 Melchites or Syrians, 3 Georgians, 4 Moscomites and Russians, 5 Nestorians, 6 Indians tearmed the Christians of Saint Thomas, 7 Iacobites, 8 Cophites, 9 Armenians, 10 Habassines, and 11 Maronites. Of which eleuen Sects, there be three Principall, namely the Grecians, Iacobites and Nestorians, with which the rest haue, for the most part, either some dependance and deriuation, or neerer conuenience and agreement.

50 The Grecians acknowledg obedience to the Patriarch of Constantinople, vnder whose Iurisdiction are in Asia, the Christians of Natolia (excepting Armenia the lesse, and Cilicia) of Circassia, of Mengrelia, and of Russia: As in Europe also, the Christians of Greece, Macedon, Epirus, Thrace, Bulgaria, Rascia, Serbia, Bosnia, Walachia, Moldania, Podolia, and Mosconia: together with all the Ilands of the Aegean Sea, and others about Greece, as farre as Corfu, beside a good part of the large dominion of Polonia, and those parts of Dalmatia, and of Croatia, that are subiect to the Turkish dominion,

60 Of which great extendment of the Greeke Patriarchs Iurisdiction, if you demand the reason: I haue obserued sundry occasions, from whence it hath proceeded. For first, his originall or Primitive

Earth is equally poyled, on both sides of her owne centre. And thirdly, that the center of the Earth and of the water are al one (both of them being indeed no other then the centre of the World) which though some phantastical heads haue called into question, yet no sound Philosopher euer doubted of: It followeth thereupon, that the earth should in answerable measure and proportion, lift it selfe and appeare above the face of the Sea, on the South side of the Line, as it doth on the North. And consequently, that what is wanting in the South parts of the two forelaid Continents towards the counteruailing of the North parts (which is about three fife parts of both the other Continents layed together) must of necessity be supplied in the continents

Of the diuers sorts or Sects of Christians in the World, and of their seuerall Regions. And first of the Grecians. Chap. 15.

Bellon. Obser. l. 1. c. 35.



Concil. Chalcedonensis. 28

Nouell. Leon  
De ordine Me-  
tropolitani. l. 2.  
tom. I. in O-  
rientis. Caro-  
palat. de Offic.  
Palat. Const-  
antinop. prope finē.  
\* Cromer de-  
scrip. Polon. l. 1.  
Heidenst. de Bel.  
Mose. l. 1. Gua-  
guin. Descript.  
on. Cisterciens. c. 2.

1. Concil. Florēt.  
Sess. 18. & se-  
quentib. Ierem.  
Patriarch. Con-  
stant. in Resp. 1.  
ad Germinos. c. 1.  
2. Concil. Florēt.  
prope Initium.  
Respons. Græc.  
ad cardin. Gui-  
s. Quest. 9.  
3. Resp. ad græ-  
cor. 2. 5. Ierē.  
Patr. Resp. 1. c. 1.  
4. Ierem. Resp.  
ad. c. 10. & 21.  
5. Possuin. de  
Rebus Mosco-  
uic pag. 43.  
6. Id. l. cita. p. 40.  
7. Ierem. Res-  
pons. cap. 21.  
8. Tom. unionis  
inter nouel. Co-  
stantin. Por phy-  
rogen. in Tomo.  
1. Iur. Orienta-  
lis. lib. 2. Zonar.  
Annal. Tom. 3.  
in Imp. Leonis  
philosophi.  
9. Resp. Græcor  
ad Guis. l. 1.  
Quest. 8. Poss-  
uin. de reb.  
Moscou. p. 44.  
10. Possuin. l. ci-  
tat. p. 41. & 42.  
Villamont en.  
Vorag. l. 2. c. 21. & Alii. 11. Possuin. l. citato. p. 42. 12. Nilus Episc. Thessal. de Primatu Papæ Barlaam de primatu Papæ & Alii. Leo. 9. epist. 1. ad Episcop. Constantinop. & Acridan. & in pluribus aliis. Sigebert. in Chronico ad An. 1054. Possuin. de Reb. Mosco. p. 38. & sequentib.

Of the Syrians  
or Melchites.  
Chap. 16.  
\* Botar. Relat.  
p. 1. 3. l. 2. ca. de  
Melchiti.  
a Possuin. in De-  
scrip. Syrie. p. 30

mitiue authoritie assigned, or rather confirmed to him (as Bishop of the Imperiall Citie) by the Councell of *Chalcedon*; contained all the Prouinces of *Thrace*, and *Anatolia* (*Isauria*, and *Cilicia* only excepted, which belonged to the Patriarke of *Antiochia*) and they were in all no lesse then twentie eight *Romane* Prouinces. Secondly, the voluntary submission of the Grecians, vpon their separation from the Latine Church greatly increased it: for thereby not onely *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Epirus*, *Candie*, and the Isles about *Greece* (in all seuen Prouinces) came vnder his obedience; but also *Sicilie*, and the East point of *Italy*, named *Calabria*, reuolted from the Bishop of *Rome*, and for a long time pertained to the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, as appeareth in the Nouell of *Leo Sophus*, touching the order and precedence of Metropolitans, belonging to that Patriarchy. And by the like ordination set downe by *Andronicus Palæologus*, in *Cyropalates*, where wee find the Metropolitans of *Syracusa*, and *Catana* in *Sicilie*, of *Rhegium*, *Seueriana*, *Rofia*, and *Hydruntum* in *Calabria*, registred among the Metropolitans of that Iurisdiction. Thirdly, it was enlarged by the conuersion of the North Regions to Christian Religion, performed by his Suffragans and Ministers, euen from *Thrace* to \* *Russia*, and the *Scythian Sea* (the like whereof was the principall cause, that so farre enlarged the Bishop of *Rome* his Iurisdiction in the West parts of *Europe*.) And fourthly, by the *Turkes* conquests made vpon the Westerne Countries, subiect before to the Bishop of *Rome*: all which, while partly the former Bishops and Pastors fled, to auoid the *Turkes* oppression (like the hireling that forsaketh the flocke, when he seeth the wolfe comming) and partly, while the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, to supply that default, was faine to prouide them of new ministers, they haue beene by little and little brought and trayned to the Greeke Religion.

Now as touching the proper Characters of their Religion, I must for the better designing and remembring of them, set before mee some instance or patterne to compare it, and other sects of Religion withall: And that is most fit to be the *Romane Church*, both because their differences with that Church specially, are in Writers most obserued. So that, by that meanes my discourse may bee the shorter, and yet no lesse perspicuous to you, that know the opinions of the *Romane Church* so well. The principall Characters then of the *Grecian Religion* (for none but the principall you require) and to mention euery slender difference of Ceremonies, would be but tedious and fruitlesse (and is beside without my compasse) are these that follow.

1. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father onely, not from the Sonne.
2. That there is no Purgatory fire.
3. That they celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds.
4. And in leauened bread, and thinke it cannot bee effectually consecrated in bread vnleauened.
5. That they reiect extreame Vnction.
6. And Confirmation.
7. That they deny the soules of holy men to enioy the blissefull vision of God, or the soules of wicked men to bee tormented in Hell, before the Day of Iudgement. *Th. a les. de Conu. gent. l. 6. c. 1.*
8. That they admit Priests marriages, namely, so that they may keepe their wiues married before their Ordination, but must not marry after Ordination.
9. That they prohibite vtterly the fourth marriage, as a thing intollerable. Insomuch, that (as we find recorded) their Patriarkes haue for that cause excommunicated some of their Emperors, although they had no issue left of their three former marriages.
10. That they reiect the religious vse of massie Images, or Statues, admitting yet Pictures or plaine Images in their Churches.
11. That they solemnize Saturday (the old Sabbath) festiuall, and eat therein flesh, forbidding as vnlawfull, to fast any Saturday in the yeere, except Easter Eue.
12. That they obserue foure Lents in the yeere.
13. That they eat not of any thing strangled, nor of bloud.
14. And lastly, that they deny the Bishop of *Romes* Primacy, and (reputing him and his Church for Schismatikes) exclude them from their communion: And so haue done, as I find in *Leo* the ninth his Epistles, and in *Sigebert*, about these five hundred yeeres. And if you desire to see more differences of the *Greeke* and *Romane Church*, you may see them (but they are of lesse importance then those I haue related in *Possuines* Booke of the matters of *Moscouia*.

**S**YRIANS are the same, that in some Histories are termed *Melchites*: being esteemed for their number, the \* greatest sect of Christians in the Orient. The first, being properly the name of their Nation: And the second noting the propertie of their Religion. *Syrians* they were named (to let vaine fancies goe) of the Citie of *Tyre*, which in the ancient language of the *Phœnicians*, was called *צור*: and certain-  
a For Possuin. fantasie deriuing *Suria* from *צור* is meere-  
ly vaine, and being neuer so named in the Hebrew tongue, but  
alwayes *צור*, by which name also it seemeth anciently  
ly,



to haue been knowne, euen among the *Greeians*, for ἀσσυρίοι mentioned in *Homer*, are no other, as *Possidonius* in *Strabo* expounds him; then the *Syrians*: *Strabo* himselfe also recording in other places, that the *Syrians* \* were called αἰνυοί in his time: And that the \* naturall Inhabitants of *Syria*, so called themselves. Yet neuertheless they were vulgarly knowne by the name of Συροι among the *Gracians*, because the Citie of ܣܪܐ, being the maine Mart Towne of all those parts, was the place where they had their Trade and Commerce with those *Aramites*. But when the *Phœnician* tongue began to degenerate into *Chaldee*, then the name of ܣܪܐ was conuerted into *Tur*, the later ܣ being turned into ܬ & ܪ in sound made ܬܪ. As \* they that obserue the differences of the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*, and the transitions of the first into the latter know to be ordinary.

ing seated in a small Iland (but nineteene miles in circuit, as *Pliny* noteth) a small Territory for such a City: or perhaps, because it was the strongest fortresse (for that also ܣܪܐ importeth) of all those Regions, as being founded on a Rocke, enuironed with the Sea (for it was before *Alexanders* time \* seuen hundred paces distant from the firme land) mightily strengthened by fortification of Art, populous as being the Metropolis of *Phœnicia*, and exceeding rich, as sometime the citie of greatest traffike in the world.

Of this Citie then, both the Region and Inhabitants of *Syria* obtained their names: but *Melchites* as I said they were termed, meerely in respect of their Religion, wherein namely they altogether followed the examples and decrees of the Emperours. For whereas after the Councell of *Chalcedon*, infinite perplexitie and trouble began to arise in the East parts, principally about the opinion of *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus*, of one, onely nature in Christ, which that Councell had condemned, but notwithstanding found many that maintained it, and reiected the Councell in those Easterne Countries: And thereupon the Emperour *Leo* began to exact (as diuers other of his Successours afterward did) the suffrages and subscriptions of the Easterne Bishops, for the better establishment of the Councell. Then began they that embraced and approued the authority of that Councell, because they followed the Emperours decrees made in behalfe of it, to be termed by their aduersaries *Melchites*, of *Melchis*, saith *Nicephorus* (rather מלכא) which in the speech of *Syria* signifieth a King: (as one would say, Of the Kings Religion) whereas they that opposed themselves to the Councell, were distracted into no lesse then twelue seuerall Sects, and not long after into more, as the same \* *Nicephorus* hath recorded.

Now although the *Syrians* or *Melchites*, are for their Religion meerely of the *Gracians* opinions. As:

1. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father.
2. That they celebrate Diuine Seruice as selemn: on the Sabbath, as on the Lords day.
3. That they keepe that day festiuall, eating therein flesh, and fast no Saturday in the yeere but Easter Eue.
4. That their Priests and Deacons contract not Marriage, being already in Orders, but yet re-  
taine their wiues before married.
5. That the fourth Matrimony is vterly vnlawfull.
6. That they communicate the Eueharist in both kinds.
7. That they acknowledge not Purgatory.
8. That they obserue foure Lents in the yeere, &c. And in a word, although they bee meerely

of the same Religion and communion with the *Gracians*: yet are they not of the iurisdiction of the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, but of the Archbishop of *Damascus*, by the title of the Patriarch of *Antiochia*. For *Antiochia* it selfe (where yet the name of Christians was first heard in the world, and was long knowne by the name of ܣܘܪܝܝܐ) lying at this present in a manner wast, or broken and dispersed into small Villages, of which onely one, of about sixtie Houses, with a small Temple belonging to Christians, & the Patriarchall Seat was translated thence to *Damascus* (where, as is reported, are \* aboue one thousand Houses of Christians) and there remaineth. For although the Patriarkes of the *Maronites*, and of the *Jacobites*, whereof the former keepeth residence in *Libanus*, and the later in *Mesopotamia*, intitle themselves Patriarkes of *Antiochia*, and by the Christians of their owne sects bee so acknowledged: yet doe the *Melchites*, who re-  
taine the ancient Religion of *Syria*, acknowledge none for Patriarke, but the Archbishop of *Damascus*, reputed both the other for Schismatickes, as hauing departed from the obedience and communion of the true Patriarke. And yet besides all these, a fourth there is of the Popes designation, that vsurpeth the title of the Patriarke of *Antioch*. For \* euer since the Latines surprised *Constantinople* (which was about the yeere 1200.) and held the possession of the East Empire, about seuentie yeeres, all which time the Patriarkes of *Constantinople*, were consecrated by the Pope: As also, since the holy Land, and the Prouinces about it, were in the hands of the Christian Princes of the West, which began to be about *An. 1100.* and so continued about eightie yeeres, during which season the Patriarkes of *Antiochia* also and of *Ierusalem*, were of the Popes consecration:

ly, that *Tyre* was anciently called *Sarra*, is recorded by the \* *Roman* Writers: and it is also acknowledged by \* *Vitriacus*, *Niger*, *Postell* and others, that the place of *Tyre*, (for the Citie was vterly ruined three hundred yeeres ago) is still called the Port of *Sur*, which name it seemeth to haue obtained, either because it was built on a Rocke, for so *Burchardus* that viewed the place hath obserued) which ܣܪܐ in the *Phœnician* tongue signifies: or else as *Hierom* deriues it, of the straitnesse and scarcenesse of roomes, as be-

\* *Gell. us. l. 14. c. 6*  
Festus in *Discl.*  
one *Sarra*.  
\* *Strab. l. 16. in fine.*  
\* *Vitria. histor. Oriental. c. 41.*  
\* *Niger in commentar. 4. Affe.*  
\* *Postell. in descrip. Syriae pag. 50.*  
\* *Strab. l. 17. non long. ante finem.*  
\* *Strab. l. 1. post. med. Burch. rd. descr. terra Sancta.*  
\* *Hieron. in lib. de Nominib. Hebraicis. Pl. n. l. 5. c. 19.*  
\* *Vid. Scaliger ad Fest. in discl. one Sarra. & Guidon. Fabr. c. in Grammatic. Chaldae. &c.*  
b. *Q. Curt. l. 4. c. Plin. loc. citato.*  
*Niceph. Calist. Histor. Eccle- siast. l. 18. c. 52.*  
\* *Lib. 18. c. 45. l. 2. 3. 4. 5. l. 206.*  
\* *Vitriaco. Hist. Orient. c. 75.*

4. *Villamont. ex voyag. l. 2. c. 22.*  
6. 7. 8. *Villamont. loco citato.*  
\* *Vitriac. loco iam citato. Sa- liguicis. Itiner. Tom. 8. c. 1. Ba- mugart. Pere- grin. l. 2. c. 9. & Alij.*  
g. *Bellou. obseru. l. 1. Chirra. de lia.*  
*Ecclesi. 7. pag. 5.*  
*Boter. Relat. p. 3. l. 2. c. de Maro- niti. Cus. Turco. gar. l. 4. p. 296.*  
ex relatione *Gerlachij.*  
h. *Boter. loco iam citato.*  
i. *Boter. Relat. p. 3. l. 1. c. del Patriarcha lat. nodi. Confus. timonit.*



cration: Ever since then I say, the Church of Rome hath, and doth still create successively imaginary or titular Patriarkes (without iurisdiction) of Constantinople, Antiochia, Ierusalem, and Alexandria, so loth is the Pope to loose the remembrance of any Superioritie or Title: that hee hath once compassed.

Of the Georgians, Circassians, & Mengrellians Chap. 17.

\* Volaterran. l. 11. c. de sect. Sy-  
rie Prateol. de  
sectis. heret. in  
Verbo. Georgia-  
ni. & alii.  
Mela. l. 1. c. 2.  
Plin. l. 6. c. 13.  
\* Paul. Venet.  
l. 1. c. 14.  
Chitre. de statu.  
Ecclesiar. p. 23.  
& 50. & Alii.

**T**He Georgians inhabite the Countrey, that was anciently named Iberia, betwixt the Euxine and the Caspian Sea: inclosed with Shernan (Media) East: with Mengrelia (Colchis) West: with Turcomania (Armenia the Greater) South: And with Albania (Zania) North. The vulgar opinion of Historians is, that they haue obtained the name of Georgians, from their deuotion to Saint George, whom they principally honour for their Patron: and whose Image they alwayes beare in their Military Ensignes. But yet (as I take it) this vulgar opinion is but vulgar error: because I find mention made of the Nation of the Georgians in those parts, both in Mela and Pliny, afore Saint George was borne whosoever he was. Touching the properties of whose Religion, this may be sufficient to obserue for all: That it is the same, both in substance and ceremonies with that of the Grecians, who yet are in no sort subiect (neither ever were) to the Patriarke of Constantinople: but all their Bishops (being eigheteene) professe absolute obedience to their owne Metropolitan, without any other higher dependance or relation. Who yet keepeth residence farre off, in the Monastery of Saint Katherine, in the Hill of Sinai. Prateo. de Heret. sect. verbo Georgiani. Bernard. Luxemburg. in Catalog. Heret. in Georgiani.

Next these, I must speake a little of their next neighbours, the Mengrellians and Circassians (Colchis and Zychi they were anciently called) seated betweene the Georgians, and the Riuer Tanais, along the Coast of Maotis and the Euxine Sea, as being also Christians of the Greeke communion, and beside of the Patriarke of Constantinople his obedience, and converted by his Ministers Cyrillus and Methodius to the Christian Religion. Which Religion notwithstanding at this present is exercised among them, not without some deprauation and mixture of strange fantasies, for the Circassians baptise not their children till the eight yeere, and enter not into the Church (the Gentlemen especially) till the sixtieth (or as others say, till the fortieth) yeere, but heare Diuine Seruice standing without the Temple, that is to say, till through age, they grow vnable to continue their Rapines and Robberies, to which sinne that Nation is exceedingly addicted. So diuiding their life betwixt Sinne and Deuotion, dedicating their youth to Rapine, and their oldage to Repentance.

Of the Muscovites & Russians Chap. 18.

Ioan. Metropol. Russ. in ep. ad Episcop. Rom. apud. Sigism. de Rebus Muscou. p. 31. Guaguin. descr. Muscou. c. 2. Sacran. de errorib. Ruthenor. c. 2. Sigism. l. citat. p. 41. Sacran. de Relig. Ruthenor. c. 2. Scarga. Polon. l. 3. c. 2. Scarga. Polon. l. 3. c. 2. Guaguin. descr. Moscou. c. 2. Ioan. Metropol. Russ. ubi supra p. 32. Guaguin. descr. Muscou. c. 2. Sigism. loc. citato. pag. 40. Sigism. loc. citato p. 40. Guaguin. loc. citato. 7. Guaguin. Ibid. 8. Ioan. Metropol. Russ. ubi supra. apud. Sigism. p. 31. Guaguin. loc. citato. Sacran. de errorib. Ruthenor. c. 2. 9. Sacran. loc. citato. 10. Sigism. lib. alleg. pag. 47. Possen. de Rebus Moscou. pag. 2. Guaguin. Descript. Moscou. cap. 2. 11. Sacran. de errorib. Ruthenor. c. 2. 12. Sigism. lib. citat. p. 28. Scarga. de vno pastor l. 3. c. 2. Possen. de Reb. Moscou. p. 1. Guaguin. loc. citat. 13. Possen. lib. allegato. p. 44. 14. Ioan. Metropol. Russ. ubi supra p. 31. Guaguin. loc. allegato. 15. Possen. in Moscouia. pag. 42. Sacran. de error. Ruthen. cap. 2. 16. Guaguin. loc. citat. 17. Sigism. lib. citato. pag. 33. Boter. Relat. par. 3. l. 1. c. de Moscouia.

**T**He Muscovites and Russians, as they were converted to Christianitie by the Grecians. Zonar. Annal. Tom. 3. Cromer. de reb. Polon. l. 3. so haue they euer since continued of the Greeke Communion and Religion.

1. Denying the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Sonne.
2. Reiecting Purgatory, but yet praying for the Dead.
3. Beleeuing that the holy men enioy not the presence of God afore the Resurrection.
4. Celebrating the Sacrament of the Eucharist, with leauened bread, and requiring warme water to mingle with the wine.
5. And communicating in both kindes;
6. But mingling both together in the Chalice, and distributing it together with a spoone.
7. And receiuing children after seven yeeres old to the Communion, saying, that at that age they begin to sin against God.
8. Omitting Confirmation by the Bishop.
9. Denying the speciall efficacie of extreame vnction.
10. Excluding the fourth marriage as vtterly vnlawfull; whereas they approue not the second, as perfectly lawfull, but onely permit it, but tolerate not the third, except on very important considerations.
11. Dissoluing marriage by diuorcement, vpon euery light occasion or displeasure.
12. Admitting neither Deacons nor Priests to Orders, except they be married: but yet prohibiting marriage to them being actually in Orders.
13. Reiecting carved or masse Images, but admitting the painted.
14. Reputing it vnlawfull to fast on Saturdaies.
15. Or, to eate of that which is strangled, or of bloud.
16. Obseruing foure Lents in the yeere.
17. Refusing to communicate with the Roman Church.

And (to conclude) excepting the difference in distributing of the Eucharist, and exacting of marriage to their Priests and Deacons, there is not any materiall difference in points of Religion, that I find betwixt them and the Grecians. With whom, they not onely maintaine Communi-

Ioan. Metropol. Russ. ubi supra. apud. Sigism. p. 31. Guaguin. loc. citato. Sacran. de errorib. Ruthenor. c. 2. 9. Sacran. loc. citato. 10. Sigism. lib. alleg. pag. 47. Possen. de Rebus Moscou. pag. 2. Guaguin. Descript. Moscou. cap. 2. 11. Sacran. de errorib. Ruthenor. c. 2. 12. Sigism. lib. citat. p. 28. Scarga. de vno pastor l. 3. c. 2. Possen. de Reb. Moscou. p. 1. Guaguin. loc. citat. 13. Possen. lib. allegato. p. 44. 14. Ioan. Metropol. Russ. ubi supra p. 31. Guaguin. loc. allegato. 15. Possen. in Moscouia. pag. 42. Sacran. de error. Ruthen. cap. 2. 16. Guaguin. loc. citat. 17. Sigism. lib. citato. pag. 33. Boter. Relat. par. 3. l. 1. c. de Moscouia.



on, but were also, and that not long since (and of right still ought to bee) of the same Iurisdiction and Government, for <sup>a</sup> their chiefe Metropolitan or Primate (who is the Archbishop of Mosco) was wont to be confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, but is now, and hath beene about some sixtie yeeres, nominated and appointed by the Prince (the Emperour of Russia) and vpon that nomination, consecrated by two or three of his owne Suffragans: Of whom euen all sorts together, Bishops and Archbishops, there are but a eleuen, in al that large Dominion of the Emperour of Russia.

Thus is it with those sorts of Christians hitherto related touching their Religion, and Governours. All which (as you may easily perceiue) are of the same communion, and in effect of the same Religion with the *Greeks*: And beside these, some large parts of the King of *Polonia* his Dominion, for *Podolia*, and for the most part *b* *Russia Nigra*, or *Rubra* as some call it (the larger *Russia* subiect for the greatest part to the Duke of *Mosconia*, they tearme *Russia alba*) are of the *Greeke* Religion. And although the Bishops of South *Russia*, subiect namely to the King of *Polonia*, submitted themselues almost twentie yeeres agoe (An. 1594) to the Bishop of *Rome*, as *Baron. Tom. 7. Annal. in fine. & Possuin. in Appar. sac. in Rutheni.* haue recorded, yet was it not without speciall reseruatiō of the *Greeke* Religion and Rites, as is manifest by the Articles of condition extant. *ap. Th. a les. de Conu. gent. l. 6. pag. 3. cap. 1. pag. 328. & seq.* tendered by them to the Church of *Rome*, and accepted, before they would accept of the vnion. So that it was not any reuolting from the *Greeke* Religion, but onely (in effect) from the iurisdiction of the *Greeke* Patriarch, to the Pope, and that also with sundrie limitations, And in *c* *Wilna* (the Metropolis of *Lutmania*.) Although the Archbishop professe obedience to the Pope, yet are there also in that Citie, as *Sigismund* hath obserued, more Temples of the *Greeke* Religion (there bee thritie of them) then of the Roman. *d* *Epist. ad Chitra. de Relig. Russor.* So that if wee should collect and put together all the Christian regions hitherto intreated of: which are all of the *Greeke* communion: And compare them with the parts professing the Roman Religion, wee should finde the *Greeke* farre to exceede, if wee except the Roman new and forraigne purchases, made in the West and East Indies.

**T**He *Nestorians*, who haue purchased that name by their ancient imitation, and maintayning of *Nestorius* his heresie, inhabite (though euery where mingled with *Mahumetans*, or with *Pagans*) a great part of the Orient, for besides the Countreys of *Babylon*, and *Affiria*, and *Mesopotamia*, and *Parthia*, and *Media*, wherein very many of them are found, that Sect is spread and scattered farre and wide in the East, both Northerly to *Casaya*, and Southerly to *India*. So that in *Marcus Paulus* his historie of the East Regions, and in *d* others, wee finde mention of them, and of no sect of Christians but them, in very many parts and Prouinces of *Tartarie*: As namely in *1* *Cassar*, *2* *Samarchan*, *3* *Carshan*, *4* *Chinghizales*, *5* *Tanguth*, *6* *Succhnir*, *7* *Ergimut*, *8* *Tenduch*, *9* *Caraiam*, *10* *Mangi*, &c. In somuch, that beyond the Riuier *Tigris* Eastward, there is not any other Sect of Christians to be found, for ought I can reade, except onely the *Portugals*, and the conuerts made by them in *India*, and the late migration of the *Armenians* into *Persia*.

The reason of which large spreading and preuayling of that Sect so farre in the Orient, if you enquire I finde to that purpose, recorded by *Paulus Diaconus* of *Cosroes* the King of *Persia*, that hee for the mortall hatred hee bare the Emperour *Heraclius*, by whom hee had beene sore afflicted with a grieuous warre, inforced all the Christians of the *Persian* Empire to *Nestorianisme* permitting no Catholickes to remayne in all his Dominions. By whose preaching, the Christian Religion being farre there enlarged and propagated into the East (as it seemes both because those of the *Persian* Dominion, were more Eastwardly then other Christians, and because it is certaine that all of them till this day acknowledge obedience to the *Nestorian* Patriarch in *Mesopotamia*, which Countrey was then part of the *Persian* Dominion:) It is no wonder if sowing their owne Tares and Christs wheat together, they propagated with the Gospell also their owne heresie. Shortly after which time, the *Sarracens* of *Arabia* (*Mahumetans*) conquering *Persia*, and bringing their Religion, together with their victories into all that large Dominion, there remayned but little outward meanes and slender hope of their repayre and reformation from any sound part of the Church (from which they were more now then afore diuided) except what affliction and time, and the grace of God might worke and repayre in them.

Now touching their Ecclesiasticall government: The Patriarch of the *Nestorians*, to whom all those of the East parts, acknowledge obedience (a number of whose Suffragan Bishops and Metropolitans, you haue reckoned vp in *Sauvages* booke de *Visibili Monarchia*, and whom they call *Iacelich*, laith *Paulus Venetus Brocardus*, and others, but mistake it (or else they of the East pronounce it amisse) for *Catholick*, as is obserued by *Leunclanius*) hath his seat in the Citie of *Muzal*, on the Riuier *Tigris* in *Mesopotamia*, or in the Patriarchall Monasterie of Saint *Ermes* fast by *Muzal*. *Th. a les. l. 7. pag. 3. c. 4.* In which Citie, though subiect to *Mahumetans*, it is recorded, that the *Nestorians* retayne yet, fiftene temples, being esteemed about fortie thousand Soules. *Th. a les. l. 7. par. 1. c. 4.* and the *Iacobites* three. Which Citie of *Muzal*, I either take with *Masius* and *Ortelius*, to bee the same, that anciently was called *Selusia* (and in *Plinio* *Se-*

x *Possuin. Rer. Moscon. Com. 1. pag. 1. Guaguin. de script. Moscou. cap. 2. a* *Possuin. loco proxime citato Sigism. in Mosco pag. 28.*

b *Boter. Rel. pag. 1. l. 1. c. Russia. Guaguin. de script. Moscou. cap. 2.*

c *Sigism. de Reb. Moscou. pag. 27. Guaguin. loco iam citato.*

Of the *Nestorians*. Chap. 19.

d *Guil. de Rubra. Itin. Tartar. c. Paul. Venet. l. 1. c. 38. l. 2. c. 40. cap. 39. 3. cap. 40. 4. c. 47. 5. c. 45. & 49. 6. c. 48. 7. c. 62. 8. c. 64. l. 2. c. 39. l. 1. c. 61. & 64. & c. Paul. Diacon. Hist. Miscel. lib. 18.*

*Sand. de Vis. Monarch. l. 7. An. 1556. Paul. Venet. l. 1. c. 15. Brocard. Des. Terr. Jan. Leunclau. Pand. Histor. Turc. § 3. c. Aubrey. Mir. Notitia Episco. Orb. pag. 5. Mas. in Ortel. in Theat. in Seleucia. Plin. l. 5. c. 25. Strab. l. 16. long. leutia An. l. Med.*



\* Gail. Tyrinus de  
bell. sac. l. 2. c. 8.  
a Concil. Nicen.  
Arab. l. 3. c. 33.  
c. 34.  
Vitriac. hist. Ori-  
ent. c. 31. Tit. de  
bell. sac. l. 2. c. 8.  
Scal. ad Chron.  
Euseb. A. M. D.  
CCX II.  
Ben in Itinerar.  
in Medio.  
See more ex-  
act relations of  
Bag. l. 9. c. 9. & c.  
My Pilgrimage  
l. 3. c. 2. §. 3.  
Strabul. 16.  
Plin. l. 6. c. 26.  
Ptol. Geog. l. 6. c.  
18. & 20. Dion.  
hist. l. 40. Plin. l.  
6. c. 26.

a Boter. relat.  
par. 3. l. 1. c. de  
Nestoriani. Tho.  
à les. de conuers.  
gent l. 7. par. 1. c.  
3. & 4.

1 Vitriac. hist.  
Orient. c. 8.  
2 Id. loco ci at.  
b Bot. relat. par.  
3. l. 2. c. de Nest.  
Thom. à les. de  
conuers. gent l. 7. par. 2.  
3 Bot. loco pro-  
ximo citato.  
4 Vitriac. hist.  
Orient. 78. Val-  
lamont en Voy-  
ages l. 2. c. 23.  
5 Vilk. loc. citat.  
6 Et. 7. Sula.  
Nest. profess. com.  
4. Biblioth. Vet.  
Patrum. p. 1054.  
8 Guliel. de Ru-  
bric. Itiner. Tar-  
tar. c. 17.  
Of the Indians  
or Christians of  
Saint Thomas.  
Chap. 20.  
c Sommar. d. po-  
poli Orient. ap.  
Ramus. Vol. 1. de  
Viaggi. p. 332.  
d Barbosa cod.  
Vol. p. 312.  
e Bot. rel. p. 3. l. 2.  
c. della noua  
Christianita d'  
India.  
f Bot. rel. p. 3. l. 2.  
c. della vecchia  
Christ. d' India  
Th. à les. de con-  
uers. gent. l. 7. pa.  
3. & 4.

lentia Parthorum) both because *Seleucia* was, as *Strabo* saith, the *Metropolis* of *Assyria*, euen as *Musal* is recorded to bee: And also, because I finde the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction of those parts committed by the fathers \* of the *Nicene* Councell, to the Bishop of *Seleucia*, assigning him with all, the name of Catholicke, and the next place of Session in Councels after the Bishop of *Ierusalem*, which name and authoritie in those parts, the Bishop of *Musal* now hath. Or if *Seleucia* were some other Citie, now destroyed, as for certaine reasons I am induced rather to thinke, yet at least, the Patriarchall Seate was from *Seleucia* translated to *Musal*, for the opinion of *Scaliger*, namely, that *Seleucia* was the same, that is now called *Bagded*, or new *Babylon*, my obseruations in Geographie and Historie, will not suffer mee to approoue. First, because *Seleucia* is remembred by *Strabo* to be three hundred furlongs (seuen and thirtie miles and one or two) *Plinie* saith, a great deale more, distant from *Babylon*, whereas *Bagded* is built close by the ruines of it. Secondly, because I find the position of *Seleucia* in *Ptolemie* to be two third parts of a degree, more North then that of *Babylon*, whereas *Bagded* is more South. Thirdly, because in *Dion*, and others, *Seleucia* is named for a Citie of *Mesopotamia*, which *Bagded* is not, but in the Province of *Babylon*, as being beneath the confluence of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.

The Bishop of *Musal* then, is Patriarch of the *Nestorians*. But yet at this present, if the Relations of these times be true, there is a distraction of that Sect: which began about sixtie yeeres agoe, in the time of Pope *Innocent* the Third: the *Nestorians* in the North, part of *Mesopotamia* (about the Citie of *Caramit*) submitting themselves to another Patriarch of the Pope erecting (that revolting from the Bishop of *Musal*, taking also on him, the title of the Patriarch of *Musal*, which the Pope bestowed on him) hauing first rendred and professed obedience to the See of *Rome*, in which obedience it is said, that those *Nestorians* about *Caramit* doe still continue.

Now touching the specialties of these *Nestorian* Religion, in relation to the *Roman*: they beleue,

First, that there are two persons in our Saviour, as well as two natures, but yet confesse, that Christ from the first instant of his Conception, was perfect God and perfect man *Th. à les. Ibid.*

Secondly, that the blessed Virgin ought not to be termed *Virgin*, which yet now in some sort they qualifye, confessing her to be the Mother of God the Son, but yet refusing to term her the Mother of God.

Thirdly, that *Nestorian* condemned in the third and fourth generall Councels, and *Dionysius Tarsensis*, and *Theodorus Mopsuestensis*, condemned for *Nestorianisme* in the fifth, were holy men: Rectifying for their sake, the third generall Councell held at *Ephesus*, and all other Councels after it, and specially detesting (the malt of *Nestorianisme*) *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, *Th. à les. Ibid.*

Fourthly, they celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist, with leaued bread.

Fifthly, they communicate in both kinds.

Sixtly, they vse not auricular confession.

Seuenthly, nor confirmation.

Eighthly, they contract Marriage in the second degree of consanguinitie. *Th. à les. Ibid.*

Ninthly, their Priests after the death of their first wiues, haue the libertie of the second or third or of other Marriage. *Th. à les. Ibid.*

Tenthly, they haue not the Image of the Crucifixe on their Crosses.

The Christians of *India*, vulgarly named the Christians of Saint *Thomas*, because by his preaching they are supposed to haue bene conuerted to Christian Religion (and his bodie as is thought, remayneth among them, buried in the Citie of *Maliapar* on the Coast of *Choremandel*) inhabit in the neerer part of *India*: namely, in that great Promontory, whose base lying betweene the Out-lets of the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, stretcheth out the sides farre toward the South (well nigh 1000. miles) till meeting in the point of *Comori*, they make, together with the base line forementioned (betwixt *Cambaya* and *Bengala*) the figure almost of an Equilaterall Triangle. In the more Southerly part of this great Promontory, I say neerer to Cape *Comori*, about the Cities of *Coulam* and *Cranganor* on the West side, and about *Maliapar* and *Negapatan*, on the East side, doe these Christians of Saint *Thomas* dwell, being esteemed afore the *Portugals* frequented those parts, about 15000. or 16000. Families, or after another's account 70000. persons: but on the West Coast, the farre greater number of them is found, and especially their habitation is thickest, about *Angamale*, 15. miles from the Citie *Cochin* Northward, where their Archbishop keepeth residence.

Now



Now as touching their government: Their Archbishop till twentie yeeres since or little more, acknowledged obedience to the Patriarch of Mozal,\* by the name of the Patriarch of Babylon, as

by those Christians of India he is still termed: & certainly that the Patriarch of Mozal, & challengeth their obedience, as being of his Jurisdiction, appeareth by the profession of *Abul-Isa*, a Patriarch of Mozal, of Pope *Pius* the Fourth his Inuesting (*Anno 1561.*) as is to be seene in *Sanders Booke de visibili Monarchia*. But then, the Archbishop of these *Indians*, reuolting from his former Patriarch, submitted himselfe by the *Portugals* perswasion, to the Bishop of *Rome*, retayning notwithstanding, the ancient Religion of his Countrey, which was also permitted by the Pope. In so much, that in a Synod held in *Goa*, for that purpose, hee would not suffer any alteration to be made of their ancient Rites or Religion, as one

\* For Mozal as I said before, is either *Seleucia*, or succeeded into the dignitie of it. And *Seleucia* is recorded to haue bin inhabited by the Citizens of *Babylon*, whereof it was a Colony: And such a Colony, as in short time it \* exhausted *Babylon* it selfe, of all the Inhabitants, passing, by reason of the more commodious situation, to dwell at *Seleucia*. So that *Seleucia* being inhabited by the *Babylonians*, and so becoming in stead of *Babylon*, the principall Citie of the Prouinces of *Babylonia*, and *Assyria*, the Citie \* obtayned the name of *Babylon* of her Inhabitants (as well as *Seleucia*, of her Founder) as *Plinie* hath recorded: And the Patriarch of it, the title of the Patriarch of *Babylon*. And although \* *Barbosa* note, that subordination of the Christians of *India*, to be to the Patriarah of *Armenia* (which no doubt he receiued from the *Indians* relation, among whom he was) yet certaine it is, that he meaneth no other, then this Patriarch of *Mozal*: because those *Armenians* which he meaneth, are by himselfe obserued to haue for their vulgar Language the *Arabik* tongue, and to celebrate their diuine Seruice in the *Chaldee*, both which agree with Christians of *Mozal*, but neither of both with those of *Armenia*, whose Language both in the vulgar and sacred vse is knowne to be no other then the *Armenian* Tongue. As also, because the *Indians* are knowne to haue beene *Nestorians*, to which Heresie the *Armenians* were most opposite, as being in a manner *Iacobites*. But as it seemeth, that Patriarch is said to haue bene of *Armenia*, for the neerthesse of *Mozal* to the Confines of *Armenia*.

that liued in those parts at that time hath recorded. But that Bishop being dead, his successour in another Synod, held by the Archbishop of *Goa*, at *Diampier*, not farre from *Malapour*, *Anno 1599.* made profession, together with his Suffragans, and Priests, both of the *Roman* obedience and Religion, renouncing in such direct sort, the Patriarch of *Mozal*, and *Nestorianisme*, that they deliuered vp all their Bookes, to the censure of the Archbishop of *Goa*, and suffered their *Lyturgie*, in the points that relished of *Nestorianisme* to be altered, euen in such sort as now it is to be seene in the last Edition of *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*.

But before this alteration of their Religion was procured by the *Portugals*, those Christians of *India* were *Nestorians*, as hauing the dependance that I related, on the Patriarch of the *Nestorians*, they could not well be any other. Some specialties of whose Religion I find thus recorded.

1. That they distributed the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds.
2. That they celebrated it with bread seasoned with Salt, (*pane salato*, saith my Historian) and in stead of Wine (because *India* affordeth none) in the iuyce of *Raisons*, softened one night in water and so pressed forth.
3. That they baptized not their Infants till they were fortie dayes olde, except in danger of death.
4. That they vsed not Extreame vnction.
5. That their Priests were married, but excluded from the second Matrimony. *Oser. de Reb. Emmanuel. l. 3.*
6. That they had no Images of Saints in their Churches, but onely the Crosse.
7. That detesting (the Mall of *Nestorianisme*) *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, they honoured *Nestorius* and *Dioscorus* as Saints, which yet mee thinkes were strange; beeing of so contrary opinions, as they were, the first, for two persons in Christ, as well as two natures: the second, for one nature, as well as one Person; but it may be that *Dioscorus* is by the Relater mistaken for *Diodorus*, who was indeed a great *Nestorian*, and for it condemned in the fift generall Councell.
8. That they denied the Primacie of the Pope.
9. That their New Testament which in their Churches they formerly read (and still doe) in

the *Syriack* tongue, was by the *Nestorians* in sundry places, which are now altered by the *Romanes*, corrupted to the aduantage of that Heresie, wherein yet, I thinke the Reporter is deceiued: because the same corruptions objected to them (whereof some are no corruptions at all, but agree rightly with the originall Text, much better then doth the vulgar *Latine*, by comparing whereof he examines them, and censures them for corruptions) the same I say, are found in the *Syriack* Edition that we haue, being so farre from being corrupted by the *Nestorians* that it was brought out of *Mesopotamia* into *Europe* (to be printed by *Moses Mardonius*, from the Patriarch of the contrary Sect, namely, of the *Iacobites*. But yet notwithstanding, I am indeed certainly perswaded that the *Syriack* Translation of the New Testament (whose euer was the Author of it) is nothing neer of that Antiquitie, which the *Syrians* (as *Belharmino* and others report of them) pretend it to

n The Imperfections of the *Syriack* Edition, consist partly in sundry defects: namely, 1. of all the Reuelation: 2. of the Epistle of Saint *Iude*: 3. of the second Epistle of Saint *Peter*: 4. of the second and third Epistles of Saint *Iohn*: 5. of the History of the Woman taken in adultery, in the eight Chapter of Saint *Iohns* Gospel, contrayning the first cleuen Verses: and 6. of the 7. Verse of the 5. Chapter

g *Plin. l. 6 c. 16.*  
\* *Tb. 2. l. 1. de conu. gent. l. 7. par. 1. c. 4.*

h *Sand. visib. Monarch. l. 7. p. 642.*  
\* *Plin. loco proximo citato.*  
\* *Apud Ramus. vol. 1. de Viaggi. p. 313.*

i *Possuin. in Appar. sacro in Diaperiense Concilio.*

*Biblioth. vet. Patrum Auct. Tom. 2. in fine.*  
1 *Oserius de rel. Emmanuel. l. 3. Bot. rel. p. 3. l. 2 c. della Vecchia Ch. istiana d' India.*

2 *Oleard. Barbof. p. Ramus. Vol. 1. p. 313.*  
3 *Nauigat. l. 1. c. pbi Indi, inter relationes noui orbis. c. 134.*

4 *Ioseph. Ind. li. citato c. 134.*  
5 *Oser. loco ante citato. Possuin. Appar. sacro in Diaperiense Concil. Tb. c. 15. l. 10. c. 15.*

6 *Ios. Ind. ubi supra c. 133.*  
7 *Possuin. loco citato.*

8 *Possuin. loco citato.*  
9 *Possuin. in Appar. sacro in Nestoriani. Widmanstad. in pref. Test. Syriac.*

*Belhar. de verbis Dei. l. 2. c. 4.*



be, namely to have beene the work of Saint *Marke*. First, because Saint *Marke* dyed in the eighth yeere of *Nero*, as *Hierome* with others hath certainly recorded, after which time many parts of the New Testament, were written: as namely Saint *Iohns* Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles (for all the History from the 24. Chapter to the end, relateth occurrents after Saint *Markes* death) the Epistles of Saint *Paul* to the *Galatians*, *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, to *Philemon*, and the second to *Timothy*. Secondly, because that *Syriake* Translation is not to be found once mentioned, in any of all those ancient and learned Writers, that liued in those East parts, and diligently sought out and obserued the seuerall Editions and Translations of the holy Scripture. And thirdly, because the Dialect discovereth it to be of a farre later Age, then that of the Apostles: which they will soone find to bee so (to omit some other Euidences) that shall compare the *Syriake* words recorded in the New Testament by the Euangelists (which allare noted by *Hierome* and by others) with the *Syriake* Booke: as for example, *μαμμωνα*, *Mat. 6.25.* *Mamounno. γαλλαβη* *Ioan. 19.13.* *Gephiphio. γολγοθα*, *Mat. 27.33.* *Gogoltho. Αχελσαμα*, *Act. 1.19.* *Chakaldemo, ωραδα*, *1.Cor. 16.22.* *Moraneto*. And to be short, there is not almost any *Syriake* word recorded in the New Testament, which varieth not from that ancient pronouncing that was vsual in the Apostles time, either in consonants, or vowels, or both: which could not be the alteration of any short course of time.

*Hieron. de Scrip. Ecclesiast. in Marc. Erasmus. Beza. Xunius. in Annot. ad loc. predict.*

*Hieron. l. de nominib. Hebr.*

Of the Iacobites Chap. 21.

*Damas. l. de heresib. post med. Niceph. hist. Ecclesiast. l. 18. c. 52. a Chitra de stat. Ecclesiast. p. 25. b Namely 15. Crust. in Turcog. l. 4. p. 297. c Bot. relat. p. 3. l. 2. c. de Iacobis. d Breitenbach. peregrin. c. de Iacobitis. Vitriac. hist. Orient. c. 76. e Paul Diacon. hist. Miscel. l. 18. Zonar. Annal. To. 3. in Heraclio f M. r. in notitia. Episcop. orb. p. 35. Bot. relat. p. 3. l. 2. c. de Iacobis. g Sabellio. Supplem. hist. l. 18. h Conc. Chalcedon. l. 1. c. i. Notitia provinciar. k Conc. Constantin. l. 1. prim. Con. 2. l. 1. Mira. notit. Episcop. orb. p. 36.*

*m Conc. Chalced. Actum 7.*

*1. 2. 3. 14. Iacob. a Vitriaco. Hist. Orient. c. 76. f. l. 2. c. 22. 2 Bucebing. hist. Ecclesiast. part. 2. p. 331. Saligniac. l. 1. r. To. 8. c. 1. To. a les l. 7. p. 1. c. 14. 4 Bucebing. loco citato.*

**T**He Iacobites obtained that appellation, as *Damasene* and *Nicephorus* haue recorded, of one *Iacobus* surnamed *Zanzalus*, of *Syria*, who liuing about *Anno 530.* was in his time a mightie inlarger of *Eutiches* Sect, and maintayner of his opinion, touching the vnitie of nature in our Saviour: And his followers are at this day in great numbers, knowne by the name of *Iacobites*, in *Syria*, in *Cyprus*, in *Mesopotamia*, in *Babylon*, and in *Palestine*. For, the Patriarch of *Ierusalem* who keepeth his residence itill in *Ierusalem*, (in which City, there yet remaine a ten, or more, Churches of Christians) is also a *Iacobite*. But although in all these forementioned Regions, these *Iacobites* are found (where they be esteemed to make about 160000. Families) or rather 50000, as *Leonard* the Bishop of *Sidon*, the Popes Visiter in those parts hath recorded. *ap. Th. a les l. 7. p. 1. cap. 14.* yet chiefly they inhabit in *Aleppo* of *Syria*, and in *Caramit*, and the Mountaine *Tur* of *Mesopotamia*: But yet their Religion vnder other Titles, is extended much farther, in so much that it is recorded to bee spread abroad in some 40 forty Kingdomes.

All which *Iacobites* of the places before specified, haue, and long haue had, a Patriarch of their owne Religion (for I find the Patriarch of the *Iacobites* spoken of in the Emperour *Heraclius* his time) to whom they render obedience. The Patriarchall Church of which Sect, is in the Monasterie of *Saphran*, neere to the Citie of *Mardin* in the North part of *Mesopotamia*: But the Patriarch himselfe, keepeth ordinary residence in the Citie of *Caramit*, the ancient Metropolis of *Mesopotamia*, and which at this day, consisteth for the greatest part of Christians, for that *Caramit* is the same Citie, which the ancient Writers called *Amida*, *Sabellius*, and others haue left obserued, and *Amida* to haue beene anciently the Metropolis of *Mesopotamia*, I find in the subscriptions of the ancient Councils plainly recorded.

But till *Eutichianisme* so mightily preuailed in those parts, as to worke in them a detestation of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, and a departure withall, from their ancient obedience: They belonged till then I say to the Iurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Antiochia*, as beeing 1 Provinces of the Diocesse of the Orient, which we find in the 2 second generall Councell, to be the circuit and limitation of that Patriarchs authoritie, which is the reason that the Patriarch of the *Iacobites*, keeping euer the name of *Ignatius*, intitlesh himselfe Patriarch of *Antiochia*: And that the 1 Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, who is also as I said a *Iacobite* acknowledgeth him (as some record) for superiour: Having therein (if it be so) but in some sort returned to the ancient obedience, wherein the Bishops of *Ierusalem* stood to the Patriarchs of *Antiochia*, euen till the time of the Councell of *Chalcedon*: for then began *Ierusalem*, to be erected into a Patriarchship: And (as we reade in the 2 actions of that Councell) with the consent and allowance of the Patriarch of *Antiochia*, the three Provinces of *Palestina*, which till then (*Anno 451.*) belonged to *Antiochia*, were withdrawne from it, and assigned to the Bishop of *Ierusalem* for his Patriarchall Iurisdiction.

Now as touching the Characters of their Religion.

1. They acknowledge but one nature, and but one will and one operation, *ex catechismo. Iacobitar. ap. Th. a les l. 7. p. 1. c. 15.* in Christ (as there is but one person) and in token of that, they make the signe of the Crosse, with one finger onely, which the other Christians of the East doe with two.
2. They signe their Children before Baptisme, many in the Face, some in the Arme, with the signe of the Crosse, imprinted with a burning Iron.
3. They vse Circumcision. *Saligniac. l. 1. r. Tom. 8. c. 1.* euen of both Sexes. *Vitriac. ut ibi.*
4. They confesse their sinnes to God onely, not to the Priest, and as others record, but ve-



ry seldom, so that many communicate without Auricular Confession. *Leonard Sidon. ap. à Iesl.*

7. p. 1. c. 14. They admit not of Purgatorie, nor of Prayers for the dead. *Th. à Iesl. 7. p. 1. c. 23.*

6. They consecrate the Eucharist in unleavened Bread. *Salign. Itin. Hieros. Tom. 8. c. 1.*

They minister the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds.

7. The Priests are married.

8. They beleene all the soules of iust men to remayne in the Earth till the Day of Iudgement, expecting Christs second coming, *ex Catechism. Iacobit.*

9. They affirme the Angels to consist of two substances, fire and light. *ex Catechism. Iacobit.*

10. They honour *Dioscorus* and *Iacobus Syrus* as *Santas*; but yet condemne *Eutiches* as an *Heresiarche*. *Patriarch. Iacobit. ap. Th. à Iesl. 7. p. 1. c. 14.*

These are the Properties (that I find registred) of the *Jacobites* Religion, namely of them, that are properly so called, and still retayne the ancient opinion of *Iacobus Syrus*. But it seemeth, that their principall error, and which occasioned their first Schisme and Separation from the Church, Namely, the Heresie of *Eutiches* touching one nature in Christ, is for the most part, long since abolished: for as *Vitriac* hath long agoe recorded, they denied to him (then the Popes Legate in those parts, and demanding the question) that they beleued one onely nature in Christ: And being further asked, why then making the Crosse, they signed themselves onely with one finger, their answer was, that they did it in acknowledgement of one diuine Nature, as also they did it in three severall places, in acknowledgement of three persons in that one nature. And be-

sides of late time, *Leonard* another Legate of Pope *Gregories* the Thirteenth in those parts, hath recorded of the Patriarchis profession made to himselfe, that although they held indeed but one personated nature to be in in Christ, resulting of the vnion of two natures not personated, yet they acknowledged those two natures to be vnited in his person, without any mixtion or confusion, and that they themselves differed not in vnderstanding, but onely in termes from the *Latine* Church. *Th. à Iesl. 7. p. 1. c. 14.* And although (as it is storied by some Writers of these times) some there be among them that still retaine that error, yet certainly, that it is no generall and received opinion among them, is most manifest, for we haue extant the confessions of the *Jacobites* of *Mesopotamia*, and of those of *Egypt*, and of *Ethiopia*, and of *Armenia*,

that is to say, all sorts of *Jacobites*, out of which it is euident, that that error of *Eutiches*, is clearly renounced, as articulary acknowledging that the humane nature of Christ was taken of the Virgin, and of the same substance with ours, and remayned, after the adunation with the Deitie without any mutation of properties) distinct from the diuine nature: All which the Heresie of *Eutiches* denied.

THE SECT of Christians named *Cophti*, are no other, the Christians of *Egypt*: And, it is the name of their Nation, rather, then of their Religion (in respect whereof they are meerely *Jacobites*) for as *Masius* hath obserued, the *Egyptians* in some ancient Monuments are termed *Egophti*, whom vulgarly we name *Cophti*, or *Copti*, and so they also name themselves, as may be seene, in the Confessions of these *Egyptians* recorded in *Baronius*. And certainly, that the *Egyptians* themselves, name their Countrey *Chibth*, *Ortelius* after *Theuet* hath recorded: As also it is obserued by *Scaliger*, that in the *Talmud* it is called *כנח*. And, by *Drusius*, out of *R. David*, and *R. Shelomo*, that *Egypt* is by them named *כנח*, but not without some traiection of letters *כנח* for *כנח* *R. David* in *praf. l. Radic. R. Shelom. in Exod. 13.*

But touching their Religion (to omit curiosity about the name (they differ not, as I said from the *Jacobites*. Inasmuch that (as *Damasen* hath obserued) the same Sectaries, that first were termed *Egyptij*, becaule among the *Egyptians*, that Heresie of one onely nature in Christ, found the mightiest patronage, were after of *Iacobus Syrus* aboue mentioned, named in *Syria*, *Jacobites*. And till this day *Seuerus*, *Dioscorus* and *Iacobus*, the principall parents and patrons of that Sect, are by the *Egyptians* honoured in the memorials of their *Lyturgies*. *Th. à Iesl. lib. 7. pag. 1. cap. 5.*

1. Vsing Circumcision: Yet I am not very certaine whether for Religion, or (which I obserued it before to haue beene) as an ancient custome of that Nation, which custome yet is reported *Th. à Iesl. 7. p. 1. c. 6. Boter. p. 3. l. 3. de Christ. de Egitto*, to be now abrogated among them, by the perswasion of the Bishops of *Romes* Legates in a Synod held at *Caire* about thirtie yeeres agoe, Anno 1583.

2. They conferre the inferiour sacred orders (vnder Priesthood) euen to Infants presently after Baptisme, altogether, their Parents promising for them and performing in their steads (till they be sixteene yeeres old or thereabout) what they promise in their bel alfes, namely chastitie, and fasting enery Wednesday and Friday, and in the foure Lents of the yeere. *Th. à Iesl. 7. p. 1. c. 5.* They repute not Baptisme of any efficacie, except ministred by the Priest and in the Church in what necessitie soeuer. *Th. à Iesl. 7. p. 1. c. 5.*

3. Neither baptize their children afore the fortieth day, though they should die without Baptisme. *Th. à Iesl. Ibid.*

*Alphonf. à Castro. l. 4. cont. Heres. Tit. Confessio Baumgar. Itiner. l. 2. c. 9.*

*Vitriac. hist. Orient. c. 76.*

*n Tom. 4. Bib. lioth. vet. Pa. trum p. 1050. o Apud Baron. in fine Tomi 6. Annal. p. Zag. Zabo. de Relig. & Morib. Ethiop. apud Damian. & Goes. q Confess. Armenior. Num. 26. 28. 29 &c. i Vid. Concil. Chalced. Actio. 1. & Theod. de baref. l. 4. in Eutiche.*

*Of the Cophti, or Chistians of Egypt. Chap. 22. Mas. in Syror. Peculio. Baron. in Legat. Eccles. Alex. ad sed Apostol. Tom. 6. Annal. in fine. Ortel. in Thesau. ro in Egyptus. Scal. ad Euseb. Chron. ad An. MDCCXXXIV. Drus. de Trib. sect. Iudeor. l. 2. c. 14. tit. de Philactery. Damas. l. de bx. sib. post med. 1 Bot. rel. p. 3. l. 3. c. de Christia. del Egitto.*



2 Theurt in  
Cosm. de Leuant.  
6.43.

4. Ministring the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds.
5. They minister the Sacrament of the Eucharist in leavened bread. *Th. à Ies. ibid.*
6. Give the Sacrament of the Eucharist to Infants presently after their Baptisme. *Id. Ibid.*
7. To sicke persons they neither minister Extreame Vnction, nor the Eucharist. *Id. Ibid.*
8. Although they acknowledge the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and the Sonne; yet in relating of the *Nicene Creed*, they leaue out those words (and from the Sonne) as the *Grecians* doe. *Id. Ibid.*
9. They admit not of Purgatorie, nor of Prayer for the dead. *Th. à Ies. l. 7. p. 1. 23.*
10. They contract Marriages euen in the second degree of consanguinitie without any dispensation. *Tecla. Abissin. ap. Th. à Ies. l. 7. p. 1. c. 13.*
11. They obserue not the Lords dayes, nor other Feasts, except in the Cities. *Tecla. Abissin. Ibid.*
12. In celebrating of the Eucharist, they eleuate not the Sacrament. *Tecla. Abissin. Ibid.*
13. Reiect all the generall Councils after that of *Ephesus*, expressly condemning the Councell of *Chalcedon*. *Id. Ibid.*
14. Reade the Gospel of *Nicodemus* in their Lyturgies. *Prateol. de Heresib. in Cophti.*
15. Repute the *Roman Church* hereticall, and auoid the communion and conuersation of the *Latines*, no lesse then of *Iewes*. And although *Baron. in fin. Tom. 6. Annal.* haue registred an Ambassage from *Marcus* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* to Pope *Clement* the Eighth, wherein hee is said to haue submitted and reconciled himselfe and the Prouinces of *Egypt* to the Pope, yet the matter being after examined was found to bee but a trick of Imposture, as *Th. à Ies. l. 7. p. 1. c. 6.* hath recorded.

*Thom. à Ies. de  
conu. gent. l. 7.  
par. 1. c. 5.  
3 Thom. à Ies.  
loco citato.  
Bot. loc. cit.*

1 Conc. Chalced.  
Actio 3.

*Euag. l. 3. c. 5. 6.  
22. 30. 33. & c.  
Leont. de Sect.  
Actio. 5.  
Niceph. l. 16. c. 2.  
4. & 5. & l. 18.  
& sequent.  
in Synod. 97.  
101. 103. 108.  
c. 45. 109. & c.  
in Ad fin. Concil.  
Chal. Tom. 2.  
Concil. Biny.*

*Bot. relat. par. 3.  
l. 3. c. de Christi-  
ani de Egitto.*

*o Chitre de sta.  
Ecclesiar. p. 11.  
at Alex.  
ap. Baron. Tom. 6  
in fine.*

16. Maintayning the opinion of one nature in Christ: yet in such sort, that although in the generall position touching one nature in our Saviour, they follow *Eutyches*, yet in the speciall declaration, at this day they differ very much from him. For they acknowledge him to bee truly, and perfectly both God and man: And, that the Diuine and humane natures, are become in him one Nature, not by any confusion or commixtion of them, as *Eutyches* taught: but onely by coadundation. Wherein although they Catholically confesse, that there is no mutation of properties in either nature, being vnited in Christ, from what the diuine and humane natures seuerally obtaine in seuerall Persons: Yet beeing not well able (as it seemes) to distinguish betweene the nature and the Person, they dare not say there be in Christ two Natures, for feare they should slip into *Nestorins* Heresie of two Persons. Which Heresie of one onely Nature in our Saviour, beginning with *Eutyches*, although after dispersing it selfe into many branches, hath euer since the time of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, by which *Eutychianisme* was condemned and for it, the Patriarch of *Alexandria* *1 Dioscorus* deposed, beene nourished and maintayned, as by other Christians of the East, so specially by the *Egyptians*. In somuch, that not onely sundry Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, and *Antiochia* (but specially of *Alexandria*) together with many other Bishops of the East parts, their Suffragans, and adherents, are recorded to haue maintayned and aduanced, that Heresie of *Eutyches*, but we find moreover, many Synods of those parts, registred or remembred in *Euagrius*, *Leontius*, *Nicephorus*, and the Booke called *Συδδον*, brought to light by *Pappus*, &c. wherein (in the behalfe of that Heresie) the Decrees of the Councell of *Chalcedon* were condemned. In which Councell, although we reade of the greatest Confluence of Bishops, that euer met about the Establishment of any point in Christian Religion (& yet beside the six hundred and thirty Bishops present in that Councell, there are extant in the *Booke of Councils*, the Suffrages of about thirtie Prouinciall Synods, that by their Epistles to the Emperour *Leo*, confirmed it, together with all the Bishops of the West, by whom it was likewise receiued) yet notwithstanding all this, that Heresie so preuailed in the East parts, and specially in *Egypt*, whereof we now entreate, that from that time to this it was neuer cleered of it. But as there was neuer Heresie that so grievously wounded the Church of God, as that of *Eutyches* (except perhaps *Arrianisme*) so was no part of the Church so deeply and deadly wounded by it, as that of *Egypt*. So that, euen at this day, although the wound be in some sort healed, yet the wemme or skarre still remayneth. For it is not many yeeres, since by certaine Iesuites, Agents for the Bishop of *Rome*, some conferences were had with the Patriarch of *Alexandria* and his Synod, wherein, although they confessed (if true relation be made of that conference) that Christ is true God and true Man: yet did they purposely refraine from mentioning two natures in Christ, lest they should by little and little slip into the Heresie of two persons.

Now as touching their Ecclesiasticall gouernment they are subiect to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, whose Patriarchall Seat is at this present translated (and so long hath beene) to the Citie of *Caire*, in either of which Cities, (*Caire* and *Alexandria*) there remaine at this day, but three Christian Temples a piece. Whereas *Burchardus* recordeth of his time (about three hundred and twentie yeeres agoe) that in one of them (*Caire*) there were aboue fortie, *Burch. descr. ter. sanct. par. 2. c. 3.* But yet, to the Iurisdiction of this Patriarch belong, not onely the native Christians of *Egypt*, who are but very few, considering the exceeding populousnesse of that Nation (for they are esteemed as I said before, not to passe fiftie thousand) which in *Burchardus*



his time, are by him recorded to have beene about 300000. *Id. p. 2. c. 3.* together with the small remainder of Christians, that are found about the Bay of Arabia, and in Mount Sinai Eastward, or in *Afrika* as farre as the greater *Syria* Westward: but the Christians likewise of *Ethiopia* acknowledge obedience to him. For although *Alvarez* in his *Storie of Ethiopia* have related (as he doth also some other matters touching the ancient condition of the Church, too grossely and boldly) that the Christians of *Nubia* till their defection from Christianitie, were of the Popes dependance and Iurisdiction, and received their Bishops by his consecration (and say nothing of the Patriarch of *Alexandria*) yet certainly, that they were not so, is manifest, for besides that *Saligniacus* (himselfe the Popes Protonotary, and whose travell had taught him some knowledge of the East parts, directly denieth the *Nubians* professing of obedience to the Bishop of Rome, observing, that they were governed by a Prelate of their owne, whome they termed the Priest of the Law. *Itiner. Tom. 8. c. 2.* Beside that direct testimony of his I say, there be other Evidences. First, because there cannot be produced any Instance, out of any Ecclesiasticall Historie, either ancient or moderne (as I am certainly perswaded) to that effect. Secondly, because the Fathers of the *Nicene* Councell, as we find in *Celsus Ciceronius*, are knowne to have assigned *Ethiopia*, whereof *Nubia* is a part, to the Patriarch of *Alexandria* his Iurisdiction. Thirdly, because the Patriarchship of *Alexandria*, lyeth directly betwene *Nubia* and Rome, as being immediately at the backe of *Egypt*. Fourthly, because the *Nubians* were in Religion *Iacobites*, as a Roman Cardinall *Viriacus Bocardus*, and others have recorded, and as their baptizing with fire remembred by *Burchardus* and *Saligniacus* did manifestly import *Burch. descr. terr. sanct. p. 2. c. 2. §. 9.*

7. *Saligniac. Itin. Tom. 8. c. 2.* of which Sect the Patriarch of *Alexandria* is knowne to be: which had the Pope the assignement or confirmation of their Prelates, it is utterly unlike they should have bin. Fifthly, because in time of their necessity, being left destitute of Bishops and Ministers, if they had pertained to the Bishop of Rome his Iurisdiction, they would rather have had recourse to him, for repaire of the decayed and ruinous state of their Church who both plentifully could, and no doubt readily would have releued them; rather, then suffered them to depart as they have done, from the Christian Faith: To him I say, they would rather have resorted for supply, then to the King of *Habassia* (as they did) being of another Patriarchall Iurisdiction. Certaine therefore it seemeth, that *Nubia* while it was Christian, belonged not to Rome but to *Alexandria*: By whom, if the *Nubians* in their distresses were not releued, no man can wonder, that knoweth the great want and misery of the Church of *Egypt*.

*Alvarez histor. Ethiop. c. 137.*

*n Nicen. Concil. l. 3. c. 36.*

*Viriac. hist. Orb. ant. c. 26. Brocardi descript. Terra. sanct.*

*o Alvarez. loca prox. citato.*

Now touching the *Habassines*, or mid-land *Ethiopian*s, whether they have obtained that name, by reason of their habitations (in houses) which the *Egyptians* called *Anafes*, as *Strabo* hath observed (for the ancient Bookes have *and us not ardon*) in difference from them, which dwelling neerer the Bay of Arabia, were called *Troglodite* (*τρογολιται*) because they dwelled in Caves, not in Houses, as *Plinie* and others have recorded: whether I say, for that reason they have obtained the name of *Abassins*, or no, let more curious men inquire. But as touching their Religion, they are in manner mere *Iacobites*: And their King (whom by error we call *Prestor John*) is sundry times in Histories termed the Prince of the *Iacobites*. And their leaving out of their memorialls (in their Liturgy) the Councell of *Chalcedon*, by which the heresie maintained after by *Iacobus Syrus* was condemned, whereas the Councells of *Nice*; of *Constantinople*, and of *Ephesus* are remembred, doth import so much. And in very deed considering the dependance, that the Church of *Habassia* hath of the Patriarke of *Alexandria*; it is almost impossible but they should be so; for as *Zaga, Zabo*, an *Habassine* Bishop hath left recorded, although they have a Patriarke of their owne, whom they call in their owne language *Abuna*, (our Father) and hee chosen by the *Habassine* Monkes of Saint *Antonie*s Order remaining in *Ierusalem*, yet are they limited to chuse one of the Iurisdiction of *Alexandria*, and a Monke of Saint *Antonie* he must be. And beside that, the confirmation and consecration of him belongeth to the Patriarke of *Alexandria*, and by him he is sent with Ecclesiasticall charge into *Habassia*. And (to be short) their prayer in their present Liturgie, for the Patriarke of *Alexandria*, terming him the Prince of their Archbishops, and remembring him before their owne Patriarke, evidently declareth their dependance and subiection to that Sea. Which supreme Ecclesiasticall power touching *Ethiopia*, to have belonged very antiently to the Patriarke of *Alexandria*, may appeare by the *Arabike* Booke of the *Nicene* Councell, translated by *Pisanus*, where that authoritie is found assigned to the Patriarke of *Alexandria*, touching that *Abuna* of *Ethiopia* (by the name of *Catholike*) and withall, to that *Catholike* of chiefe Bishop of *Ethiopia*, the seventh place in the Sessions of generall Councells, namely, next after the Bishop of *Seleucia* (whose Seat was next the Patriarke of *Ierusalem*) by the Decree of the same *Nicene* Fathers was allotted.

Of the *Habassines*. Chap. 23. *Strab. l. 2. c. 1. 17.*

*Plin. l. 5. c. 8. Strab. l. 2. c. 34.*

*Liturg. Ethiop. Tom. 6. Biblioth. vet. patrum. pag. 59. & 69. Zag. Zabo. de Relig. & Morib. Ethiop. ap. Damian. a. 600.*

*Liturg. Ethiop. Tom. 6. Biblioth. vet. Patrum. p. 62.*

*Concil. Nicen. l. 3. can. 36.*

You may observe, which I in my reading have done, that all the Patriarkes and other Bishops of the East, are Monkes, of the Orders, either of Saint *Basil*, or Saint *Anthony*, for the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, of *Antiochia*, and of *Armenia*, are Monkes of Saint *Basil*s Order: the Patriarke of *Alexandria*, of *Ethiopia*, of the *Iacobites*, and of the *Maronites*, are of Saint *Antonie*s: And the Patriarke of the *Nestorians* either of both.

And beside that, the confirmation and consecration of him belongeth to the Patriarke of *Alexandria*, and by him he is sent with Ecclesiasticall charge into *Habassia*. And (to be short) their prayer in their present Liturgie, for the Patriarke of *Alexandria*, terming him the Prince of their Archbishops, and remembring him before their owne Patriarke, evidently declareth their dependance and subiection to that Sea. Which supreme Ecclesiasticall power touching *Ethiopia*, to have belonged very antiently to the Patriarke of *Alexandria*, may appeare by the *Arabike* Booke of the *Nicene* Councell, translated by *Pisanus*, where that authoritie is found assigned to the Patriarke of *Alexandria*, touching that *Abuna* of *Ethiopia* (by the name of *Catholike*) and withall, to that *Catholike* of chiefe Bishop of *Ethiopia*, the seventh place in the Sessions of generall Councells, namely, next after the Bishop of *Seleucia* (whose Seat was next the Patriarke of *Ierusalem*) by the Decree of the same *Nicene* Fathers was allotted.

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But if you desire a register of some speciall points of their Religion ;

1.2.3.4.5.6.9.  
10.11. Zag. Zab.  
de Relig. &  
morib. Ethiop.  
ap. Damianum.  
4. Alvarez. Hist.  
Ethiop. c. 11.  
5. Alvarez ibi.

Tecla Abissin.  
ap. Th. a Ies. loc.  
alleg.

\* Tecla Abissin.  
ap. Th. a Iesu de  
conu. vers. gent.  
l. 7. pa. 1. c. 13.

Alvarez. loc.  
loco.

Zaga. Zab. loco.  
citato. Alvarez.  
lib. citato. c. 5.

Aluar. c. 13.  
Zaga Zab.  
ubi supra.

Herodot. l. 2.  
par. a Medio.  
Stephanus By-  
zant. repr. πρῶτα,  
in dictione  
Ἀβῆλῳσι.  
\* Liturg. Ethi-  
op. in Tom. 6.  
Bibliothecae  
Vet. Pat. p. 59.  
\* Zag. Zab. de  
Morib. Ethiop.  
apud Damian.

1. They circumcise their children the eight day, after the manner of the *Jewes*: Euen Females also as well as Males, wherein they differ from the *Jewes*.

2. They reuerence the Sabbath (Saturday) keeping it solemne equally with the Lords day.

3. They eat not of those beasts, which in the old Law are censured for vncleane.

4. They consecrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist in vneleavened bread: contrary to the custome of all the East, the *Armenians* excepted. Neuerthelesse *Tecla* an *Habassine* Monke and Priest, saith that they celebrate ordinarily in leavened bread, but on the day of the institution of the Lords Supper (the Thursday before Easter) they do it in bread vneleavened over al *Habassian*.  
*Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 1. c. 13.*

5. And communicate in both kinds, which they receive standing. And all of them, as well of the Laity as Clergy at leastwise euery weeke, the Priest ministring the bread, and the Deacon the wine with a spoone. *Tecla. Abissin. loc. Zag. Zab. de rel.* But yet onely in the Temple; it being not lawfull for any (not the King or Patriarke) elswhere to communicate. After the receiving whereof, it is not lawfull for them to spit that day till the setting of the Sunne. *Zag. Zab. ibid.*

7. And that euen to their yong Infants, presently after they are baptised: which in their Males is fortio dayes after their birth, and in Females eightie (except in perill of death, for then they are presently baptised. *Tecla. Abissin. ib.*) till which time be complete, their women also enter not into the Temple. *Zag. Zab. ibid.*

8. They professe but one Nature and one Will in Christ, yet without any mixtion or confusion of the Diuine and Humane substances. *Tecla. ap. Th. a Ies. l. 7. pa. 1. c. 13.*

9. Beleeue the reasonable soules of men, to bee traduced from parents by seminall propagation. *Zag. Zab. de Relig. Ethiop. in fine. Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 1. c. 8.*

10. Beleeue the soules of the Infants departing afore Baptisme to bee saued, because they are sprung from faithfull parents, and namely the verrue of the Eucharist, received by the mother after conception to sanctifie the child in her wombe. *Zag. Zab. ibid. Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 1. c. 8. Aluar. hist. Ethiop. c. 22.*

11. They presently vpon commission of sinne resort to the Confessor, and at euery confession (though it were euery day) receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist. *Zaga Zab. ibidem.*

12. They haue onely painted, not massie Images in their Churches. *Tecla. ubi supra.*

13. They accept onely the three first generall Councells, reiecting that of *Chalcedon*, for determining two Natures to be in Christ, and for condemning *Dioscorus* the Patriarke of *Alexandria*. *Tecla. Abissin. ib.*

14. Eleuate not the Sacrament in celebrating of the Eucharist, but keepe it couered: neither reserve it after the Communion.

15. To excommunicate obstinate sinners, is peculiar to their Patriarke, which yet is not vsuall among them, except in case of Murthar. *Zag. Zab. ibid.*

16. Their Priests, and other inferiour Ecclesiasticall Ministers (as also Monkes) liue by their labour, hauing no tithes for their maintenance, nor being suffered to craue Almes. *Zag. Zab. loc. citato.*

17. But the conferring of Bishopricks, and other Ecclesiasticall Benefices (except the Patriarchship) belongeth onely to the King. *Zag. Zab. ibid.*

18. Vse neither confirmation, nor extreame vnction.

19. Admit the first marriage in their Bishops and Priests, but not the second, except their Patriarch dispense.

20. Eat flesh euery Friday (as on other dayes) betwixt Easter and Whitsunday: as on euery Saturday also through the yeere, except in Lent.

21. Baptise themselves euery yeere on the day of the Epiphany, in Lakes or Ponds.

Concerning which first and last points, namely, of their Circumcision and annuall Baptismes, I haue somewhat to obserue: Namely, first, touching their Circumcision, that they obserue it, not so much perhaps of Religion, as of an ancient custome of their Nation. For although their circumcising on the eight day, semeth to imply that they received it from the *Jewes*, yet their circumcising of both sexes, as certainly agueth that they did not so. And if the *Habassines* bee of the race of the ancient *Ethiopi*ans, the doubt may bee the lesse: because *Herodotus* and others haue recorded it, for an ancient Ceremony of that Nation. Or, if they bee not of the *Ethiopian* race, but of the progeny of the *Arabians*, as by *Uranus* in *Stephanus Byzantinus* it should appeare, recording them for a Nation of the *Arabians*, neere to the *Saba*ns: euen in this case also, the occasion and originall of circumcising among the *Abassines* will bee discerned well enough: namely, because it is specially storied to haue been a very ancient Ceremony among the *Arabians*: among whom it might haue beginning, by reason of the

\* Which seemeth to bee true, both because in the *Ethiopian* \* Liturgie, they terme their owne Kingdome the Kingdome of *Sheba*, and also because the Kings of *Habassia* \* deduce lineally their descent, from the Queen of *Sheba* that came to see *Salomon*: which *Sheba* is to the skilfull certainly knowne to be in *Arabia*: and either the same that wee call *Arabia felix*, or some parts of it. And certainly it is descent



observed by learned men, that *Arabia felix* in the Easterne tongue, is named *שכנ*, as *Arabia deserta* *שכנ* and *Arabia Petrea*, *שכנ*, or *שכנ*. descent of many of the *Arabians*, from *Ismael*, and sonnei of *Abraham*, by *Keisrah*, planted in *Arabia*, of which *Sheba* by name recorded for one. But yet if the *Abassines* observe circumcision, not, as an ancient National Custome, but in any sort for Religion sake, then it may be excused in such manner, as one of their owne Bishops hath professed, namely, that it is done onely in remembrance and loue, and imitation of our Sauour, because he was circumcised, and not for any other opinion of holinesse at all.

And secondly, touching their annuall baptisings in the Feast of the Epiphany, which they (with many Ancients of the Church) suppose to be the day of our Sauours Baptisme, it is declared by the *Ethiopian* Bishop above mentioned to be practised among them, not as any Sacrament, or any conceit of sanctification to be obtained by it, but onely as a memoriall of Christs baptisme, because as on that day he was baptised in *Iordan*, Euen as the *Moscomites* also do the like on the same day in *Rivers*, and for the same reason, which appeareth the more evidently to be so, because this yeerely baptising is no ancient Ceremony of the *Habassins*, but a fashion of late taken vp among them, as *Aluarez* that lived long in those parts hath related, as being namely the institution of his grandfather, that then reigned in *Habasia*, being about one hundred yeeres agoe.

The *Armenians*, for Traffike to which they are exceedingly addicted, are to be found in multitudes, in most Cities of great Trade, specially in thole of the *Turkish* Empire, obtaining more fauour and priuiledge among the *Turkes*, and other *Mahumetans*, by a patent graunted that Nation vnder *Mahumet* owne hand, then any other sect of Christians. Infomuch that no Nation seemeth more given to Merchandize, nor is for that cause more dispersed abroad, then the *Armenians*, except the *Iewes*. But yet the natue Regions of the *Armenians*, and where they are still found in the greatest multitude, and their Religion is most supported, are *Armenia* the Greater (named since the *Turkes* first possession of it *Turcomania*) beyond *Euphrates*, and *Armenia* the Lesse on this side *Euphrates*, and *Cilicia*, now termed *Carmania*.

Now the *Armenians* touching their Ecclesiasticall gouernment, were anciently of the Iurisdiction of the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, as being 8. Prouinces of the Diocesse called *Pontica*, which together with the Prouinces of the Diocesses *Asiana*, and of *Thrace* (three of the thirteen Diocesses, into which the whole Empire was diuided) were by the Council of *Chalcedon*, assigned or else confirmed to the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, for his iurisdiction. But at this day, & very long since, euen before *Photius* his time (as is euident by his circular Epistle) the *Armenians* are departed, both from the gouernment of that Patriarke, & from the communion of the *Grecians* (whom at this present, they haue in more detestation then any other Sect of Christians) and that principally, for the very same occasion, for which the *Iacobites* of *Syria* withdrew their obedience from the Patriarch of *Antiochia*, namely, the Heresie of one onely nature in Christ. And euer since that depature, they acknowledge obedience, without any further or higher dependance, to two Patriarckes of their owne: whom they terme *Catholikes*. Namely one of the greater *Armenia*, the families vnder whose iurisdiction exceede the number of 150000. beside very manie Monasteries. *Leonard. Sidon. episc. ap. Tho. a Ies. l. 7. p. 1. c. 19.* who at this present keepeth residence, in the Monasterie of *Ecmeazin*, by the Citie, &c. *Leonard. Sidon. episc. ap. Tho. a Ies. loc. citato.* by the Citie of *Eruan* in *Persia*, being translated thither by occasion of the late warres betwixt the *Persians* and the *Turkes*: but his ancient seate was *Sebastia*, the Metropolis of *Armenia* the greater: And the other Patriarch of *Armenia* the lesse, the Families of whole iurisdiction are esteemed about 20000. *Leonard. Sidon. ubi. supra.* who anciently kept at *Melitenae*, the Metropolis of that Prouince, but now is resident in the Citie of *Sis*, not farre from *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, the middle limit on *Interstitium*, of thole two Patriarchs Iurdictions, being the Riuer *Euphrates*.

Such at this present is the state of the *Arminian* Church, and the iurisdiction of their Patriarchs, But it should seeme, by that I finde recorded, by *Otho Phrysingensis*, vpon the report of the Legates of *Armenia*, sent from the *Catholique*, to the Bishop of *Rome* in his time, that the iurisdiction of the *Catholique* of *Armenia* was then farre larger, as namely, that he had about a thousand Bishops vnder his obedience: Except *Otho* perhaps mistooke, as I verily beleue he did, obedience for communion: for as touching the communion, which the *Arminians* maintained with other *Iacobites*, it extended indeede very farre: But the iurisdiction of *Armenia*, for ought I can finde in any record of antiquitie, contained onely foure Prouinces, namely, the two *Armenias* before mentioned, the greater and lesse, and the two Prouinces of *Cilicia*. In which small circuit, that such a multitude of Bishops should be found, is vterly vncredible, especially because we finde registers extant, both of the Bishops of the two *Armenias*, in the *Nonell* of *Leo. Sophus* the Emperour, touching the precedence of Metropolitans: and likewise the Bishops of *Cilicia*, in *c. Guilielmus Tyrius*: and all of them put together, exceede not the number of thirtie. And although I finde that *Iustinian* diuided the two *Armenias* into foure Prouinces (which yet to haue beene after reduced againe into two, the *Nonell* of *Leo* euen now mentioned affureth

Gen. 25. 3.  
S. Shindler. in  
Dictionar.  
Pentaglot. in  
שכנ  
La a Zabo  
ubi supra.  
c. De Religion.  
Ethiop. long.  
aut. med.  
H. Poffen. de  
Reb. Moscov. p. 6.

c. Aluarez. hist.  
Bishop. c. 95.

Of the *Arme-  
nians*. Chap. 24.  
f. Vid. Poffel. lib.  
de 12. Linguis.  
Tit. de Lingua  
Armenica.

g. Notitia pro-  
uinciar. Orient.  
Concil. Chalce-  
don. Can. 18.

Photii epist. en-  
cyclica. apud Ba-  
ron. Tom. 10.  
Annal. An. 863.

h. Mira Notit.  
Episc. Orb. p. 36.  
Botcr. Relation.  
p. 31. 2. c. de  
Dioscoriani.  
k. Concil.  
Chalced. A. 451.  
1. in subscrip. b.

Otho. Phrysing.  
l. 7. c. 32.

Tom. 1. l. 1. 2.  
Oriental. l. 2.

c. De Bel. sacra  
l. 14. c. 12.  
Nouel. 31. c. 1.



- vs) yet were not for that cause, the number of Bishops encreased any whit the more. Now, touching the properties of their Religion.
1. They are charged with the opinion of one nature in Christ: yet not as *Eutyches* imagined it one, namely, by a permixtion and confusion of the diuine and humane natures; but yet by such a conjunction and coalition of them, that they both together, make but one compounded nature in our Saviour, as the body and soule, but one compound nature in man. But neuertheless, it seemeth by the confession of the *Armenians*, which we haue extant touching the Trinitie, sent by the mandate of the *Catholique of Armenia*, to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, not fiftie yeeres agoe, that at this present, they haue vterly renounced that phantasie.
  2. They beleue the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father.
  3. They celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist with vnleavened bread (as the *Romans* doe.)
  4. They denie the true body of Christ to be really in the Sacrament of the Eucharist vnder the Species of Bread and Wine. *Guido Sum. de heresib.* They mingle not water with wine in the Eucharist. An ancient opinion and propertie of theirs, for I finde it recorded of them (and condemned) in the first generall councill. But they retaine it notwithstanding still.
  5. They receiue Infants presently after baptisme to the communion of the Eucharist, affirming that baptisme cannot be conferred without the Eucharist. *Guid. Sum. de heresib.*
  - They denie the vertue of conferring Grace, to belong to the Sacraments. *Guido loc. alleg.* They reiect Purgatorie, and pray not for the dead. *Th. a lesl. 7. p. 1. c. 17.*
  7. They beleue that the soules of holy men obtaine not blessednesse till the vniuersall iudgement. *Th. a lesl. 7. p. 1. c. 17.* They admit married Priests, and as *Burchardus* hath recorded, *deser. terr. sanct. pa. 2. c. 2 §. 9.* admit none to be secular Priests, except they be married. They rebaptise those that come to their communion from the Latine Church. *Guid. Sum. de heresib.* but exclude their second marriage.
  8. They abstaine from eating vncleane Beasts.
  9. They eate flesh on fridaies betweene Easter and Ascension day.
  10. They fast Lent most strictly, without Egges, Milke-meats, Flesh, Oyle, Wine, &c, onely with Fruits, Herbs Roots, and Pulse.
  11. They celebrate not Christmasse day when other Christians doe (*Decemb. 25.*) but fast on it: and instead of it, celebrate the feast of our Saviours Baptisme, namely, on the day of the Epiphanie.
  12. They solemnise the feast of the Annunciation, the sixth day of *Aprill*. The purification the foureteenth of *February*, &c.
- T**HE *Maronites* who were so named, not of an heretique called *Maron*, as many falsely write, *Prateol. de sect. Heretic. in verb. Maronite.* But of a holy man of that name, for wee finde mentioned in the Booke of Councils the Monasterie of Saint *Maran*. *Concil. Constantinop. sub. Mon. act. 5.* the Monkes onely whereof at first were termed *Maronites*: they are found in small numbers, in *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, *Tripolie* of *Syria*, and in *Cyprus*: But their maine habitation, is in the Mountaine *Libanus*. Which although it containe in circuit about a seuen hundred miles, and 40 is possessed onely in a manner by the *Maronites*, who for that priuiledge, namely to keepe themselves from the mixture of *Mabumicians*, pay the *Turke* a large tribute: yet of all sects of Christians, they are the least, as being esteemed not to passe in all a 12000. houses, (all in scattered Villages) beside a few Monasteries, by reason of the indisposition of *Libanus* in most places, for frequent habitation. For beside the craggednesse or steepnesse of that Mountaine, which maketh many parts of it in a manner inaccessible, the higher Ridges of it (which by *Brocardus* his relation are so eminent, that they may be discerned fortie leagues off) are also couered in a manner continually with snow, 50 which it retaineth, as *Tacitus* with y others, hath left recorded, notwithstanding the heate of that climate, even in the neereft approach of the Sunne. And is scarcely, as hath beene obserued by *Postell*, in one Summer of thirtie to be found cleare of it: for which very cause and no other, that mountaine seemeth to haue gotten the name of *Libanon*. For *לבן* in the ancient language of those parts (the *Phenician* or *Hebrew* tongue) signifieth *White*, and *לבנון* *Whitenesse*: Euen as, for the like whitenesse of Snow, *Gerundensis* hath remembered *Camus* (the highest part of the *Pyrene* hills) to haue obtained that name. And as *Festus* supposeth the *Alpes*, for the same cause, to haue gayned theirs, that in the *Sabine* diale& being termed (saith hee) *Alpum*, which the Romans in theirs named *Album*. For so touching the originall of the name *Libanus*, had I much rather thinke, then bee led by the phantasie of *Isidorus* and some 2 others, namely, that *Libanus*, should purchase that name of *Francincense* which the Grecians call *λίβανος* and the Iewes *לבנון* For, if it bee not true, which yet *Theophrastus* and *Plinie* write, that *Francincense* is gotten onely in *Arabia felix*, (according with that of *Virgil*, *Solus est Thurca virga Sabaeis*) by reason of which propertie of place, to burne incense is termed in *Tertullian*, *aliquid Arabia incendere*: if that I say

1. Niceph. hist.

Eccle. 1. 18 c. 53

Confes. Armenio.

Art. 16, 17, 18.

29. 30. &amp;c.

2. Alfons. a Castro

45. cont. heresib.

Titul. de Dile.

Heresib. 1. Boem.

de Morib. gent.

1. 2. c. 16.

3. Nicephor. loc.

sup. citato. Litur.

gia. Armen. apud

Cassandrum de

Litur. 3.

4. Niceph. loc. cit.

Id. Li. 4. Armen.

nior. ubi supra.

\* Concil. Con-

stant. 3. Can. 32.

5. Boem. de Mo-

rib. gent. 1. 2. c. 10

6. Guido in Sum.

de heresib.

Alfons. a Castro. l.

12. cont. Heresib.

Tit. de Purgato-

rio. heresib. 1.

Boem. loc. citato.

7. Bellon. Obser.

1. 3. c. 12. PoBel.

in Lingua Tetr.

uiana.

8. Boem. loc. citat.

9. Nichol. Peregr.

Orient. 1. 4. c. 19.

Boter. Rel. pa. 3. l.

2. c. D. osoriani.

10. Vitriac. hist.

Orient. c. 79.

11. Vitriac. loc.

citato.

12. Boter loco.

citato.

Of the Maro-

nites. Chap. 25.

2. Possuin. Ap-

par. Sac. in Ma-

ronite.

b. Boter. Rel. at. p.

3. l. 2. c. de Ma-

roniti. Possuin.

loci citato.

Brocard. in Des.

Terr. sancte.

Tacit. historiar.

l. ultimo.

c. Vitriac. hist.

Orient. c. 84. Po-

stell. descript. Sy-

ria. pag. 53.

Gerundens. l. 1.

Paralipom. His-

par. ca. de terra

Rosilion. Fest. in

Diction. Album.

Isidor. Origin.

l. 4. c. 8.

\* Struk. in Com. ad

Arrian. Periplu.

Mar. Erythra. p.

47. Adricom.

Theatr. terr.

sanct. in Neph-

salim. Num. 63.

Theophrast. hist.

Plantar. l. 9. c. 5.

\* Namely, for euery one about 12. yeeres old 17. Sultanes by the yeere (the *Sultane* weigheth a dramme of Gold, about seuen shillings six pence of our money) and for euery space of ground sixteene spans square, one *Sultane* yeerely, as is recorded by *Possuine*.

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bee not true, for indeede, I finde in *Dioscorides*, record of Franckincense gotten in *India*, and in *Pedro Cieza* of the like in some part of *America*, yet is there no mention or remembrance in any historie of nature, or other, as I take it, that Franckincense was ever gotten in the Hill of *Libanus*.

The Patriarch of the *Maronites* (to come neerer to our purpose) who is noted to bee a Monke of Saint *Antonie*; and to have vnder his iurisdiction a eight or nine Bishops, keepeth residence for the most part in *Libanus*, in a Monasterie of Saint *Antonie*, and now and then in *Tripolie*: And is one of them, that challenge the title of the Patriarch of *Antiochia*, keeping ever the name of *Peter* as the Patriarch of the *Iacobites*, the other challenger of the same dignitie, doth of *Ignatius*. But touching Religion, the Patriarch of the *Maronites* professeth obedience at this present, to the Bishop of *Rome*, yet but lately, in *Clement* the eight his time: And both hee, and all the *Maronites*, are become of the Roman Religion (being the onely Nation of the East, except the *Indians*, lately brought also to the Roman Communion, that acknowledgeth that obedience) and haue a Seminary in *Rome* of *Gregorie* the thirteenth his foundation, for the trayning vp of the youth of their Nation in that Religion. But before that alteration, these were the Characters of their Religion.

1. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father. *Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 2. c. 6.*
2. That the soules of men were all created together from the beginning. *Id. loc. citato.*
3. Not to baptise male children together. *Interrog. Patriarch. Maronit. ap. Th. a Ies. lib. 7. p. 2. c. 5.*
4. That Heretiques returning to the Church are to be rebaptised. *Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 1. c. 6.*
5. That the childe is made vncleane by the touch of the mother till she be purified, which after a male childe is 40. daies, and 80. after a female, for which reason they baptise not their Infants afore those termes. *Th. a Ies. loc. citat.*
6. That they celebrated the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kindes. *Possuin. Appar. sac. in Maronita. Patriarch. Maronit. Interrog. 3. ap. Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 2. c. 5.*
7. And in leauened bread. *Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. c. 6.*
8. Distributing to all the Communicants each one a peece of the same Bread (which they consecrate in great Masses) together with these words of the Gospell, *be blessed, and brake, and gaue to his Disciples, saying, take, eate, &c. Mat. 26. 26.* *d. Patriarch. Interrog. 3. ap. Th. a Ies. loc. citat.*
9. To distribute the Sacrament of the Eucharist to children before the vse of reason, and first presently after baptisme. *Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 2. c. 5. q. 9. & cap. 6.*
10. Not to reserue the Sacrament of the Eucharist. *Patriarch. Maron. vbi supra.*
11. Nor to carry it to any sicke person in danger of death. *Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 2. c. 5.*
12. To omit confirmation by the Bishop. *Patr. Maron. Int. 2. vbi supr.*
13. To exclude the fourth Matrimonie, in euery person as vtterly vnlawfull. *Id. Ibid. Interrog. 5.*
14. That marriage is not inferiour to single life. *Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 2. c. 6.*
15. Vtterly to dissolue Matrimonie in case of adultery and marry another. *Patr. Maronit. Inter. 5. vbi supra.*
16. That the Father may dissolue the matrimonie of his Sonne or Daughter if hee mislike it. *Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 2. c. 6.*
17. Not to ordaine yong men Priests or Deacons except they were married. *Patriarch. Maronites Inter. 5. vbi supra. Possuin. in Appar. sac. in Maronita.* But yet to restrain their second marriage. *Th. a Ies. lib. 7. p. 2. c. 6.*
18. To create children five or six yeares old Subdeacons. *Patriarch. Maronit. Inter. 5. vbi supra.*
19. That no man entred the Kingdome of heauen before the generall Iudgement. *Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 2. c. 6.*
20. Not to fast on the Lords day, nor on the Sabbath. *Th. a Ies. loc. citat.*
21. In the daies of fasting not to celebrate Masse till the Euening. *Patr. Maron. ap. Th. a Ies. l. 7. p. 2. c. 5.*
22. Not to eate of any thing strangled or of bloud. *Id. l. 7. p. 2. c. 6.*
23. To exclude women during their monthly issues both from the Eucharist, and from the Church. *Patriarch. Maronit. Inter. 8. vbi supra.*
24. Their maine Errour was, the heresie of the *Monothelites*, touching one onely will and action in Christ. Which errour although they renounced about 400. yeeres agoe, and reconciled themselues then to the Roman Church, at what time those parts of *Palestine* and *Syria*, were in the Christians hands, as *Iacobus a Vitriaco*, and *Gustelmus Tyrius*, the one Bishop of *Acon*, and the other of *Tyre*, haue recorded: yet shortly after, when those parts were by *Saladin*, the King of *Egypt* and *Syria*, recovered from the Christians, those *Maronites* relapsed, and forooke againe the Roman communion, till the late times of Pope *Gregorie* the XIII. and *Clement* the VIII. with whom they againe renewed it.

And this heresie of the *Monothelites*, springing out of that bitter roote of the *Iacobites*, touching one onely nature in Christ, was the last of that long and wicked traine of heresies, which vpon the contempt of the councill of *Chalcedon*, exceedingly wasted and ruined the East Church, for after

*Plin. l. 12. c. 14.*  
*Virg. Georg. l. 2.*  
*Tertul. de coron.*  
*Milit. circa Med.*  
*Dioscorid de Me-*  
*dic. mat. l. 1. c. 7*  
*a Possuin. Appa.*  
*sacr. in Maronita*  
*b Boter Rel. p. 3.*  
*l. 2. c. de Maroni-*  
*ti. Possuin. loc.*  
*citato.*  
*\* Possuin. loc. citat*  
*Boter. loc. citato.*  
*Mira: notitia*  
*Episcop. Orbis. p.*  
*34. Th. a Ies. de*  
*Conu. Gent. l. 3.*  
*c. 3.*

*Vitriac histor.*  
*Orient. c. 78.*  
*Tyrius de Bello*  
*sacro l. 2. c. 8.*  
*Saligniac. uiner.*  
*Tom. c. 2.*  
*\* Vitriac. & Tit.*  
*locis tam citatis.*



after that the detestation of *Nestorius* heresie, touching two persons in our Sauour (condemned in the third generall Councell) had so immoderately dis tempered the phantasies of *Eutiches* in *Constantinople*, and the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Dioscorus*, with other their adherents, that they thought not themselves safe enough from the heresie of two persons, till they were fallen into the other & opposite extremitie of one nature in Christ; the Diuine and humane natures in Christ (in their conceits) by permixtion and confusion of substances, and of properties growing into one, vpon their adunation: and withall, that the humane nature of Christ, was not consubstantiall to ours, but of another kinde, and condition; which phantasies the fourth generall Councell condemned. After I say, this heresie of *Eutiches* and *Dioscorus*, had growne to that head in *Egypt* and *Syria*, that like a violent and furious stream, whose course would not be staid, it bare downe before it all oppositions, and among the rest, that great and reuerend Councell of *Chalcedon*, that had condemned it, and was contemned by it, it gaue occasion for an infinite traine of heresies to follow at the breach, which it had made.

Vid Nicenbor.  
Hisor Eccles.  
l. 18 c. 45. & sequent.  
Leont. de Stasis.  
Action. 5. & c.

For first (to omit infinite extrayagant branches that sprang from it, and infinitely deformed the Church, renting with many schismes the vnitie, and with as many heresies wounding the faith of it.) It drew after it the heresie of the passiblenesse of the Deitie, because the Deitie of Christ, was become (in their conceits) the same nature with the Humanitie, that was passible. Secondly, (the absurditie of that being discerned) it occasioned another extremitie opposite, namely of the Impassibilitie of the Humanitie of our Sauour (but on the same ground) because namely, it was become one nature with the Deitie, which now wee know to bee vnpassible. Thirdly, when the fondnesse of both were discovered, it bred a great deuice, touching one nature in our Sauour (as the wit of Heretikes will better serue them to deuise a thousand shifts to delude the truth, then their pride will suffer them once to yeeld and acknowledge it) It bred I say a new deuice, namely, to be one, not by permixtion or confusion of substances, as *Eutiches* first taught, but onely by composition, the Deitie and Humanitie, by coalition becoming one nature in Christ, as the Bodie and Soule grow into one nature in Man. And fourthly, when this fantasie began also somewhat to abate and relent in many: yet still a fraction, as it were, or rather a consequent of it was retained (for indeed it implieth by necessarie consequence the vnitie of nature) namely, that there was but one Will, and one Action of both natures in the person of our Sauour. And God knowes what a traine and succession of heresies might haue followed these, if that Lord, whom they had infinitely wronged, by their wonton and wandring conceits of him, had not, to stop the course and streame of their wickednesse and follie, brought on them the *Sarracens* of *Arabia*. For euen while the Church, speciallie that of the Eastene parts, was in a great perplexitie and trauell with the heresie of the *Monethelites* (which I last mentioned) the *Mahumetans* of *Arabia*, like a mightie inundation brake forth, and ouerwhelmed all, and them first, that first and most had wronged the Sonne of God, by fostering the forenamed heresies, and the infinite brood that sprung of them, I meane *Egypt* and *Syria*, and to this day both they and the neighbouring Nations, that had beene infected by them, remaine in thraldome. But yet, as in the diseases and distemper of our bodies, contraries are vsually healed by contraries, so seemeth it to haue fallen out in the distempers of these mens religions: for as worldly prosperitie and wantonnesse of wit (ordinarie companions) wherewith these Nations in those times abounded, bred in them their ordinarie children, namely, prosperitie of the world, pride, wantonnesse of wit, error, which couple in matter of Faith and Religion, is wont to produce no better issue then heresie. So on the other side, hauing now at length their hearts humbled, and their wits tamed by that pouertie and affliction, wherein the tyrannie and oppression of the *Arabians* and *Turkes* hath long holden them, it seemeth the Lord hath taken pittie on them (as it is his propertie not to dispise humble and broken spirits, and to remember mercie in the midst of iudgement) and reduced them, or most of them, to the right acknowledgement of his Sonne againe. For certainly, that they and other Chrtistians of the East, haue (at least in these later times) disclaimed and abandoned, those hereticall fancies touching our Sauour, wherein by their misleaders they had beene anciently plunged (and which many Christians of these West parts still charge them withall) doth manifestly appeare: First, of the *Iacobites*, & secondly of *Nestorians*, by their seuerall confessions, translated out of the *Syriack* tongue by *Masius*, & extant in *Bibliotheca Veterum patrum*. Thirdly, of the *Armenians*, by their owne confession also, translated by *Tretorius*. Fourthly, of the *Cophiti*, by the profession of their faith extant in *Baronius*. Fifthly, of the *Habassines*, by the relation of *Zaga Zabo*, a Bishop of their own. Sixthly, of the *Indians*, by their reconcilment to the Church of *Rome*, mentioned by *Possennius*. And seventhly, of the *Maronites*, by their like reconcilment, recorded by him and by others.

\* \* Biblioth. Vet.  
Patr. Tom. 4. pa.  
1049. & 153.  
c Conf. ff. Arme.  
de Trinitat. Art.  
26. 27. 28. 29. 30.  
d Bar. n. Tom. 6.  
Annal. in fine.  
e De Relig. &  
Morib. Ethiop.  
ap. Domian a  
Goes.  
f Possenn. Appa.  
fac. in Nestorianis.  
g Possenn. lib.  
citat. in Maron.  
Boter. Rel. p. 3.  
l. 2 c. Maroniti.  
Michou. l. 2. de  
Sarmat. c. 1.  
Cru. Turcog. l. 7.  
p. 1. 4. 5. 7. & c.  
Of the seuerall  
languages  
wherein Li-  
turgies of Chri-  
stians in the se-  
uerall parts of  
the World are  
celebrated.  
Chap. 26.

And thus haue I related the seuerall sects of *Christians* that are abroad in the World, with the places of their habitations, & the special characters (that are recorded of their Religions. One point notwithstanding of their difference, haue I left purposely as yet vntouched, both for the ampleness of the matter, and because I conceiue you would haue it declared seuerally. Namely, touching the different languages, in which all these seuerall sorts of *Christians* celebrate their Liturgies or Diuine Seruice.

But



But first to speake a word or two, of the publique Service of the *Jewes*, and of the *Mahumetans*, in their *Synagogues*, and *Meskedes* (seeing I intreated before of those Religions.) The *Jewes* where they obtained libertie for their *Synagogues*, celebrate theirs in the ancient *Hebrew* tongue, as *Michonius*, with many others hath related, and as is manifest by their owne editions of their publique Praiers, printed both at *Venice* and in *Polonia*, in that language.

But the *Mahumetans* haue theirs in the *Arabique* tongue (the native language of their Prophet) as *Georgenitz*, *Richerius*, and sundry others haue recorded: So that not onely in *Arabia* and *Egypt*, and *Barbarie*, and *Palestine*, and *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia* (in which parts the *Arabique* tongue is become the vulgar language) the *Alcoran* is read, and their publique deuotions exercised, in *Arabique*: but also in *Greece*, and *Natolia*, and other parts of the *Turkish* Dominion, where the *Greeke*, and *Turkish*, and *Slauonique* tongues are vulgar, as also in *Persia*, in *Tartarie*, in *India*, where they haue other native, and peculiar languages, the *Mahumetans* reade the *Alchoron* (which they suppose were profaned if it were translated into vulgar tongues) and performe their publique deuotions in that language.

But Christians in celebrating of their diuine Liturgies, differ touching the language very much, Indeede I finde it recorded in *Durandus* (but vpon what warrant and authoritie I cannot finde) that till the time of *Hadrian* the Emperour (that is about an hundred and twentie yeeres after Christ) their Liturgies were all celebrated in the *Hebrew* tongue: And then, the Orientall Church began, first to celebrate them in *Greece*. Indeede mee thinkes it is possible, that the Christians of the Gentiles might in honour of the Apostles, retaine the Apostles Liturgies, in the verie tongue wherein by the Apostles themselves, they had beene first ordayned, for it is not to bee doubted, but \* many yeeres passing (about tenne) after our Sauours ascension, before the Apostles left *Syria*, and sundred themselves to preach the Gospell abroad in the world among the Gentile and forraine Nations. It is not to bee doubted I say, but the Apostles, while they remayned in *Iurie*, ordayned Liturgies in the *Jewish* tongue, for the vse of those *Jewes*, whom they had conuerted to Christianitie: which Liturgies by the Christian Disciples of the *Jewish* Nation, dispersed in many Prouinces of the Gentiles, might together with Christian Religion, bee carried abroad, and gladly entertayned among the Gentiles. This is possible I say, but if it bee also true (as I haue not obserued any thing in antiquities shat may certainly impeach the truth of it) yet that which is spoken by *Durandus* of those Liturgies in the *Hebrew* tongue, must bee vnderstood (I doubt not) of the *Hebrew*, then vulgar and vsuall, that is to say the *Syriacke* tongue: not onely, because in that language wee finde them in these times, celebrated by the Christians of the East: but also because I can conceiue no reason, either, why the Liturgies should bee ordayned by the Apostles in that language which the *Jewes* themselves (the learned excepted) vnderstood not, if it were done for the *Jewes*: or else why the Gentiles should translate them (or vse them so translated) out of the *Hebrew* into the *Syriacke*, seeing both were to them alike, vulgarly knowne, and not vnderstood. But howsoeuer it was in that most ancient and primitive state of the Church, in and immediatly following the Apostles times, the difference certainly among Christians in these present times, in that behalfe is very great, some of them celebrating their Liturgies in their owne native and vulgar, and some other in learned and forraine tongues.

The Christians then (to speake first of the first sort) that celebrate them in their owne vulgar languages, are the *Armenians*, *Habassines*, *Moscouites* with *Russians*, *Sclauonians*, and *Protestantes*.

For that the *Armenians* (how soeuer otherwise in their ceremonies belonging to Diuine seruice they approach neerer as \* *Belonius* and others report, to the Rites of the Latine Church, then any other sect of Christians) that they I say exercise their common diuine seruice in the *Armenian* tongue, *Iacobus a Vitriaco*, *Brocardus*, *Michonius*, *Breitenbachius*, and many others, some of their owne experience, and others of certaine Relation, haue left recorded. And namely, as touching the translation of the Holy Scripture, into the *Armenian* tongue, which at this present, is in solemne vse among them, the *Armenians* themselves as a *Sixtus Senensis* hath recorded, attribute it to no other Author then to *Chrysostome*: who also, out of the historie of *George* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, written of the life of *Chrysostome*, remembreth it specially to haue beene *Chrysostoms* worke after his banishment from *Constantinople*, while he liued in those parts of *Armenia*, to which as we reade in *b Sozomen*, he was by the Emperors decree confined, and there dyed. And certainly, that the holy Scriptures were translated into the *Armenian* tongue before *Theodorets* time, who liued soone after *Chrysostome*, for he flourished about the yeere 440. *Theodore* himselfe (although he name not the Author of the Translation) hath left recorded: as I finde also acknowledged by *Angelus Roccha*, in his discourse of the *Vatican* Librarie, not onely that *Chrysostome* is said to haue translated of the Scriptures into the *Armenian* tongue, but, that hee is also celebrated among the monuments of the same *Vatican*, as the *c* Inuentor of the *Armenian* Characters still in vse.

And touching the *Habassines*, *Aluarez* a *Portugall*, that liued many yeeres among them, hath not onely left recorded, that they reade Scriptures in the *Tigian* tongue, which is a dialect of the *Habassin*, (for *Tigia* hee noteth to bee that part of *Habassia*, which first receiued Christianitie) in-

*Michon. l. 2. de*  
*Sarmatia. c. 1.*  
*Crus. Turcor.*  
*l. 7. p. 487. &c.*  
*Georgiou. De*  
*Rit. Turcar.*  
*lib. 2. cap. 1.*  
*Richer. l. 2. de*  
*Morib. & Instit.*  
*Turcar. Crus.*  
*Turco. l. 7. p. 487*  
*\* Georgio. de*  
*Rit. Turcar.*  
*l. 2. c. de Sacerd.*  
*Durand. Ration.*  
*diu. nor. l. 4. c. 1.*

\* *Vide Baron.*  
*Tom. 1.*  
*Annal. ad An.*  
*Chr. 445. 14.*

\* *Bellon O. Ser.*  
*l. 3. c. 12. Viri.*  
*Hist. Gr. c. 79.*  
*Brocard. de descrip.*  
*terre sanct.*  
*Michon. de Sar.*  
*lib. 2. cap. 1.*  
*Breitenbach.*  
*Peregrin. c. de*  
*Armen.*  
*Pestel. de Lingua*  
*Armenica.*  
*Bellon. loco*  
*citato. Nichol.*  
*Peregrin. Orient.*  
*lib. 4. cap. 19.*  
*Villamont de*  
*Voyages. l. 2. c. 23.*  
*Boter. Relat. p. 3.*  
*l. 2. c. Alii*  
*plures.*  
*a Sixt Senens.*  
*l. 4. Biblioth.*  
*sancti in Ioannes*  
*Constantino-*  
*politani.*  
*b Sozomen.*  
*Hist. l. 8. c. 22.*  
*Theodore. l. 5.*  
*de Curand.*  
*Grecor. Aff. Et.*  
*post med Roccha*  
*in Bibliotheca*  
*Vaticana. p. 1. 7.*

c *Id pag. 155.*  
*& Mut. Pansa*  
*de Biblioth.*  
*Vaticana. p. 4.*  
*dis. cr. 21.*  
*Aluarez histor.*  
*Ethiop. cap. 15. 9*



to which language *Sabellicus Supplem. Histor. lib. 8.* recorderth both the Olde and New Testament to haue beene translated out of the *Chaldees*. But he, with many others, that they celebrate their Liturgie in their owne language, though the *Chaldees* bee esteemed amongst them, as their learned tongue, which also the Liturgie it selfe (you may finde it in the new Edition of *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*) if you marke the long answers of the People to the Priest, in their prayers doth euidently import.

And no lesse certaine is it also, of the *Musconites* and *Russians*, that their Liturgies are likewise ministred in their vulgar tongue (being a kind of *Slauonian*) though sometimes intermingling *Greeke* Hymnes, as *Guaguinus* hath obserued: *Descript. Moscom. ca. 2.* as is testified by *Mathias Michon*, by *Sigismund*, by *Possesine*, by *Thence*, and sundry others.

And as euident is it of the *Illyrians*, whom we commonly call *Slauonians* that they also exercise their publike Diuine Seruice in their owne language: which to haue beene allowed them by the Pope, at the suit of *Cyrrill* their Bishop, or as others say, of *Methodius* (but the difference is of no importance, for they both liued in the same time, and were companions in preaching the Gospel to barbarous Nations) *Aeneas Silvius* and others haue recorded. And in particular of the *Liburnians* (the more Westerly part of the *Slauonians*) it is affirmed by *Auentine*: and of the *Dalmatians* (the more Easterly part of them) by *Angelus Roccha*, that they celebrate their Liturgies in their owne language: Which *Roccha* saith the *Dalmatians* are most certainly perswaded to haue beene of *Hieromes* deuising. But yet in determining the Antiquitie of that Custome, *Roccha* that referreth it to Pope *Paul* the second is greatly mistaken: Because wee find it to haue beene much more anciently granted them by Pope *Iohn* the eighth, that they might both read the Scriptures, and celebrate Masse in their owne tongue, as appeareth by the same *q* Popes Epistle extant to *Sfentopulcher*. And euen *Roccha* himselfe (forgetting himselfe) confesseth it in another place, to haue beene obtrayned of the Pope by *Cyrrill*, who was about six hundred yeeres ancienter then *Paul* the second. And certainly (now I am speaking of Popes) of no other Iudgement touching Diuine Seruice in vulgar Tongues, seemeth Pope *Innocent* the third to haue beene (and perhaps it was also the Decree of the Councell of *Laseran*) charging that in Cities, where there was concourse of diuers Nations, that differed in Languages and Ceremonies, Diuine Seruice and the Sacraments should be celebrated according to that difference.

But to speake a little in particular of the vulgar translation of the holy Scriptures vsed among the *Dalmatians*: It is not onely affirmed by sundry Writers to be the worke of *Hierome*, but *Hierome* himselfe in his Epistle to *Sophronius*, seemeth to some learned men to intimate so much: But yet there is another translation also of the Scriptures into the *Slauonick* Tongue, later then that of *Hieromes*, as *Scaliger* hath obserued, being written in the *Seruian* Character (as the former is in the *Dalmatian*) vsed in *Rascia*, *Bosnia*, *Bulgaria*, *Moldania*, *Russia*, *Mosconia*, and other Nations of the *Slauonian* language in the Easterne parts, that celebrate their Liturgies after the Greeke Ceremonie, and professe obedience to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*: Of which latter translation *Methodius* the companion of *Cyrrill*, in preaching the Gospel to Gentile Nations, is certainly reported to haue beene the Author. Which *Cyrrill* (if you question what he was) was neither hee of *Alexandria*, nor hee of *Ierusalem*, as *Mutius Pansa* hath vainely imagined, but another farre later then either of them, whom in the *Slauonick* tongue they call *Chinrill*, one that liued about the yeere 860. namely, hee that in the time of the Emperour *Michael* the Third, and Pope *Nicholas* the First, together with *Methodius*, first brought the *Mengrelians*, *Circassians*, and *Gazarans*, and after that many of the *Slauonians* to the faith of Christ, as *Michonius* hath recorded. Neither need wee any other testimony to refell the fantasie of *Pansa*, touching *Cyrrill* of *Ierusalem*, then *Pansa* himselfe, as namely acknowledging that *Cyrrill* was the Inuenter of another sort of *Illyrian* Characters, then by *Hierome* had beene formerly deuised (for of the *Dalmatian* Characters, that are vsed in *Dalmatia*, *Liburnia*, *Istria*, *Moravia*, *Silesia*, *Bohemia*, *Polonia*, &c. *Hierome* is acknowledged to bee the Author.) It could nor bee therefore *Cyrrill* of *Ierusalem*, as being ancienter then *Hierome*, and by him registred in his Catalogue of Writers. And indeede (to make an end) what reason or occasion might the Bishop of *Ierusalem* haue to diuise Characters for the *Illyrians*?

But to intreat a little more (on this occasion) of translations of the holy Scripture, made by the ancient Fathers into vulgar languages: Besides those already mentioned, of *Hierome* and *Chrysostome*, by the one into the *Dalmatian*, and by the other into the *Armenian* tongue; It is also recorded by *Socrates* and *Nicephorus*, and sundry others of *Vulphilas*, Bishop of the *Goths* one more ancient then either of the former, for hee flourished in the time of *Constantius* the Emperour, and was successour to *Theophilus*, whose subscription wee find in the first *Nicene* Councell (being the same man, to whom the Inuention of the *Gothicke* Alphabet is likewise attributed by the same Authors) that hee translated the holy Scriptures into the *Gothicke* tongue. A Copie of which translation is remembered by *Bonauentura Vulcanius*, to be yet remaining in some Librarie of Germany: And it may bee that the *Gothicke* translation of the foure Euangelists, mentioned by

idem. c. 11.  
n Postell. de  
Ling. Indica.  
Theu. Cos. l. 2. c.  
24. Vilamont.  
l. 2. cap. 24.  
Bibli. Vet.  
P. it. tan. 6. p. 55.  
Michon. l. de  
Sarmat. 2. p. 1.  
Sigism. l. de Reb.  
Moscou. p. 46.  
Possesin. l. de  
Rebus Mosc.  
p. 4. Theu. Cos.  
l. 19. c. 12.  
p. Bapt. Palat.  
de Rat. scribéd.  
Roccha in Bib-  
lioth. Vatican.  
p. 162.  
q Auentin. l. 4.  
Anal.  
En. Silu. in  
Hist. Bohemica.  
c. 13. Auentin.  
loc. citat. Rocch.  
loc. citato.  
r Epist. 247.  
Iom. Papae. 8. in  
Tom. 3. Concil.  
par. 2. ap. Bin. p.  
990. Roccha. lib.  
citato p. 168.  
Concil. Lateran.  
c. 9. & decret. l. 1.  
Tit. 31. c. 14.  
f Iofas de Sacro  
Vernacul. legen-  
do. Postell. de lin-  
gua Illyrica. E-  
rasm. Declarat.  
37. ad censur.  
theolog. Paris.  
Sixt. Senens. l. 4.  
Biblioth. Sanct.  
in Hieronymus  
Stridonensis Scal-  
lig. Diatrib. de  
Linguis Europae.  
& alii plures.  
c. Sixt. Senens.  
loco citato. Hier-  
on. in Epist. ad  
Sophron. Tom. 3.  
Scalig. loc. iam  
citato. Auentin.  
l. 4. Anal. Pan-  
sa de Biblioth.  
Vatican. par. 4.  
Discor. 23.  
u Martyrolog.  
Rom. Mar-  
tii. 9. Mi-  
chon. de Sarmat-  
ia. l. 1. c. 7.  
Postell de Ling.  
Dalmatica.  
Roccha. Biblioth.  
Vatican. p. 161.  
& Alii plurimi.  
x Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 27. Niceph. Hist. Eccles. l. 11. c. 48. Tripart. hist. l. 8. c. 13. Paul. Diacon. Hist. Miscell. l. 12. Sozomen. l. 2. c. 37. Socrat. l. 2.  
c. 32. Vulcan. in pref. de Littur. & Lingua. Getarum. Inscript. Vet. p. 146.



*Gruter* in the Booke of ancient Inscriptions, to bee of a thousand yeeres antiquitie, and remaining in the Abbey of *Werden*, might bee part of that translation of *Vulphilas*: But yet, that besides these translations into vulgar Languages, hitherto mentioned of *Vulphilas*, *Chrysostome*, and *Hierome*, the holy Scriptures were likewise anciently translated into the languages of many Nations, is affirmed by *Hierome*: And in particular (although the translators names bee not recorded) into the *Egyptian*, *Persian*, *Indian*, *Scythian*, and *Sarmatian* Tongues, nay into all the Languages of other Nations, as *Theodoret*, that flourished in the time of the *Ephesine* and *Chalcedon* Councils (almost 1200. yeeres agoe) hath left testified: As also in the following times (yet ancient) wee read of the like translations of the Scriptures, to haue beene made by *b Iohn* Archbishop of *Smill* into the *Arabike*, about *An. 717*. which then was the vulgar speech of that part of *Spaine*, and some part of it into the *Saxon* or *Englisch* by *Beda* about the same time: Into the *Slauonike* by *c Methodius*, about *An. 860.* &c. Into the *Italian* by *d Iacobus de Voragine*, about *An. 1290.* &c.

And now, to intreate of those sects of Christians that celebrate their Liturgies in learned and forraigne tongues; which the vulgar people doe not vnderstand: I finde onely three languages wherein they are all performed. Namely, the *Greeke*, the *Latine*, and the *Chaldee*, or *Syriacke* Tongues.

And first, touching the *Chaldee* or *Syriacke*, in it are celebrated the Liturgies of the *Nestorians*, as *Vitriacus*, *Barbosa*, *Villamont*, *Botero*, and others haue recorded: for *Genebrard*, that pronounceth peremptorily the *Hebrew* tongue, and not the *Syriacke* to be the viual language, wherein all the Orientall Nations minister their Diuine Seruice, bewrayes but too much, both his boldnesse and his ignorance, as being not able, I am certainly perswaded, to produce any History or other lawfull testimony that recordeth the Liturgies of any Christians in all the East, to be performed in the *Hebrew* tongue. But yet it may be obserued, that where in sundry Writers we find it mentioned, that the *Nestorians* exercise their Diuine Offices in the *Chaldee*, we are not to vnderstand them of the pure and ancient, but of the degenerate or *Iewish Chaldee*, which beside the *Chaldee* and *Hebrew*, whereof it is principally tempered and compounded, hath much mixture also both of *Greeke* and *Arabike*, such as the *Iewes* language was, after our Sauour and his Apostles time, that is (in a word) the *Syriacke*, for the *Iewish Chaldee* (to declare this point a little better) is of two sorts: One of those that returned not againe after the captiuitie to *Ierusalem*, but settled themselves to inhabite about *Babylon*, whose language (although somewhat degenerating also from the right *Chaldee*) is termed the *Babylonian* tongue, of which sort the *Iewes* Dialect of *Neardea* in *Mesopotamia* (the compilers of the *Babylonian Talmud*) was: The other of those that returned from the captiuitie, whose language is properly termed the *Syrian* or *Ierusalem Chaldee*, varying somewhat farther from the native *Chaldee* then the former, by reason of the mixture of forraigne words *Arabike*, *Greeke*, *Roman*, and others, which in course of time it contracted: In which Dialect, the *Talmud* and *Targum*, both named of *Ierusalem*, and the bookes of their later *Rabbines* are written. And in the second sort of *Chaldee*, is the holy Scripture by the East Christians translated, and their Liturgies at this day celebrated.

Secondly of the *Indians*, that they in like sort performe their Liturgie (not in the *Hebrew*, as is confidently affirmed by *Genebrard*, but) in the *Chaldee* or *Syriacke*, is testified by *Oforius*, *Posseusne*, *Linschot*, &c. and confirmed by their Liturgie extant in *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, which is there remembred to be translated out of the *Syriacke*.

And so doe thirdly the *Iacobites*: Namely, they of *Mesopotamia*, of *Babylon*, of *Palestine*, of *Syria*, and of *Cyprus*, which are peculiarly knowne by that appellation. Or whom *Vitriacus* long since obserued, that they read the Diuine Scriptures in a language vnkowne to the *Lay* people: And that the language by the New Testament brought fro them by *Moses Mardenus* in *Europe* to be printed (for the more commodious dispersing of it abroad into their Churches) we now certainly know to bee the *Syriacke* tongue, euen as it is also knowne and recorded touching the rest of their Diuine Seruice, that it is performed in the same *Syriacke* language, which they terme the *Chaldee*. And it is thought, that the Liturgie commonly termed *Anaphora Basilij*, which we haue by *Masius* translated out of the *Syriacke* into *Latine* (and is found in *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*) is the *Iacobites* Liturgie: which language, although it be now vnkown among them (their Clerkes or learned men excepted) yet that it was vulgarly vnderstood, when that Liturgie was first ordained, the long answers of the people to the Priest in their prayers, which wee finde in it may bee demonstrations. But touching the Old Testament, which they haue also (as *Arrius* writes he hath heard from their owne Relations, and *Possell*, that he hath seene) vsuall in all those East parts in the *Syriacke* tongue, it is specially obserued by *Arias Montanus*, to be translated, not out of the *Hebrew*, but out of the *Greeke* of *Origens* Emendation.

And fourthly, of the *Coptis* or Christians of *Egypt*, it is likewise obserued, that they celebrate their Liturgies in the same language: (reading yet the Gospell after it is done in the *Chaldee*, in the *Arabike* tongue, which is now, and long hath beene the vulgar language of *Egypt*.) And it may further appeare, beside the testimony of Histories, by the Liturgie of *Seruerus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* in vie among them, translated out of *Syriacke* into *Latine*, by *Guido Fabritius*.

Hieron. in praefat. in 4. Euang. Theodoret. l. 3. de Carand. Græcor. Affectibus post med. b Vasco. in Chro. Hisp. ad An. 717 c Ioan. Trevis. l. 5. c. 24. d Augustin. l. 4. Annal. e Sixt. Senens. Bibl. Sanct. l. 4. in Iacobus Archiepiscopus Genens. Vitriac. Hist. Orient. c. 77. Barbosa. in Vol. 1. de Viaggi. apud Ramus. p. 313. Villamont. l. 2. c. 22. Botero. Rel. par. 3. l. 2. c. de Nestoriani. Genebrard. Chronog. l. 3. ad An. Chr. 31.

Ofor. de Reb. Emmanuel. l. 3. Posseus in Ap. par. fac. in Di. amperien. Concilium Lincol. l. 1. c. 15. Bibl. Vet. Patr. in Aust. ria. Tom. 2. in fine. Vitriac. Hist. Orient. c. 76. f Vide Wid. manslad. in p. e. f. Test. menti. Syriac. g Post. de lingua Chaldee. Botero. Rel. p. 3. l. 2. c. de Giacobiti. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. To 6. p. 27. Arias. Montanus. in Admonit. re. fix. Bibl. Reg. de Version. Syriaca. Possell. in Lingua Chaldaica. h Ioter Rel. p. 3. l. 3. c. de Ch. i. fiani. de Eg. sto.

And



And fifthly, the *Maronites* in their Liturgies (which *Possennine* obserueth to be the Liturgies of *Peter*, of *Iames*, and of *Sixtus*) vse the same *Syriacke* language (the *Arabicke* being also their vulgar) as beside *Possennine*, *Postell* also, and *Villamont*, and others haue recorded.

And so doe sixthly and lastly (to make an end of this reckoning) the poore Christians of the Isle of *Zocotora* (and Iland after *Barros* his dimension of sixtie miles in length, and twenty seuen in breadth) without the Bay of *Arabia*, for although I find it questioned touching the Religion, whether they be *Iacobites* or *Nestorians*; *Iuan Barros* affirming the first (and it may seeme so for their neerenesse to the Dominions of *Habassia*) and *Ananias*, prouing the latter because they are vncircumcised, which *Iacobites* are not, & professe obedience to the Patriarch of *Mozal*, who is known to be Patriarch of the *Nestorians*: yet in this they both agree, that their Diuine Seruice (such as it is) is performed in the *Chaldee* tongue. And although *Botero* relate it to be done in the *Hebrew*, yet he meaneth (out of doubt) not the ancient and pure *Hebrew*, but the latter or degenerate language of the *Hebrew*, that is to say the *Syriacke*. As the other also that affirme the publike and solemne deuotions, either of these *Zocotorini*, or any other Christians in all the East, or South parts of the world, to be read in the *Chaldee*, require also the like interpretation: Namely to bee vnderstood, not of the right, and *Babylonian*, but of the *Iewish* and corrupted *Chaldee*.

But now to speake of those Christians, that celebrate their Liturgies in the *Greeke* tongue: I obserue them to be these.

1. The *Grecians* themselves: Namely, all they whose vulgar speech the *Greeke* tongue is, inhabiting in *Greece*, and a great part of *Natolia*, of *Macedon*, and of *Thrace*, together with all the Ilands of the *Aegean* Sea, and the other many scattered Ilands, about the Coast of *Greece*. But yet they doe it, not in the present vulgar, but in the pure and ancient *Greeke* tongue, whereof as I before obserued, the common people vnderstand but little: vsing namely, on festiuall daies the ancient Liturgie of *Basil*, and on common dayes that of *Chrysostome*, as *Jeremy* a late Patriarch of *Constantinople* hath recorded. And namely, as touching the holy Scriptures, vsing the *Septuagints* *Greeke* translation, and specially that of *Lucians* Emendation. At least it was so with them in *Hieroms* time (and I find no mention at all recorded of any alteration) who obserueth the Edition of the seuentie Interpreters by *Lucianus*, to haue bene receiued in vse from *Constantinople*, as farre as *Antiochia*: As also that of *Origens* Emendation, from *Antiochia* to *Egypt*, and in *Egypt* that of *Hesychius*. But (howsoeuer it may bee touching the Edition viually among them) yet certainly, that the *Grecians* haue not the Scriptures translated into the vulgar *Greeke*, the *Grecians* themselves haue directly recorded.

2. The *Syrians*, namely those, that for distinction of Religion from the *Iacobites* (who likewise inhabite *Syria*) are termed so, that is to say the *Melchites*, for they hauing the *Arabicke* for their vulgar language) as they agree in other points of their Religion and Ceremony, and order of Diuine Seruice with the *Grecians*, so doe they as touching their Liturgie in language also, as is obserued by *Vitriacius*, *Haitho*, *Breitenbachius*, and many others.

3. The *Georgians*, who hauing for their vulgar speech, a peculiar language of a middle temper (which well agreeth with the position of their Countrey) betwixt *Tartarian* and *Armenian*, as *Gesner*, and *Postell*, and *Roccha*, in their bookes of languages haue obserued, exercise notwithstanding their Liturgies in the *Greeke* tongue, as *Iacobus a Vuriaco*, *Gesner*, *Postell*, *Roccha*, and diuers others haue certainly recorded.

4. The *Circassians*: who yet in such sort celebrate their Diuine Seruice in the *Greeke*, that their Priests themselves, by reason of their grosse ignorance, vnderstand not what they read as *Intireano* (chat liued among them) hath remembred.

5. And lastly, in the *Greeke* tongue are celebrated the Liturgies of all the Monasteries, that are of the *Greeke* Religion, wherefoeuer disperfed within the *Turkish* Dominions, in *Africke* or *Asia*: As in Mount *Sinai*, the Cities of *Petra* and *Eltor* in *Arabia*: In *Iernsalem*, *Alexandria*, *Damascus*, and in sundry other places, as *Bellonius* with others hath left recorded.

And to come at last to the Nations that celebrate their Liturgies in the *Latine* tongue: To speake of them, euen this little will bee enough: Namely, that all the Christians, that are found of the *Roman* Communion in *America* and in *Africa*, celebrate their Liturgies in the *Roman* tongue. As all likewise in *Europe* (except the *Slauonians* aboue mentioned.) And in *Asia*, except the two new *Roman* purchases of the *Maronites* in *Syria*, and of the Christians of *Saint Thomas* in *India*, who retaine still the old accustomed language, which as I obserued before, is in the Liturgies of both those Nations, the *Syriacke* tongue.

I haue thought good to adde this note in the conclusion, that Christian Religion may seeme instly to be diuided into foure parts, in regard of her professors thorow the World: of which the *Grecian* Faith possesseth one, reckoning to them the *Russian*; the *Romanists* or *Papists* another; the *Protestants* (by their aduersaries, and by the intemperate zeale of some *Lutherans*, and other factious persons, made more to disagree then indeed they doe, as by the *Harmonie* of Confessions appeareth, and by their uniforme acknowledgement of all the maine points of Religion; their differences being about circumstances, rites, manner of presence, and some more abstruse points then whereof the vulgar is capable) these by a generall name called *Protestants*, may bee reckoned for a third part, perhaps not all so great in multitudes as either of the

Possenn. in Ap-  
par. sacro. in  
Maronite. Po-  
stel. de l'uz. Chal-  
daica. Villam. l.  
2. c. 24.

Barros. de Asia.  
Decad. 2. l. 1. c. 3.

Anan. Fabric.  
del. Mondo.  
Trat. 3. p. 292.

Boter. Relat. par.  
3. l. 3. de Christi-  
ani di Socotena.

Ierem. Resp. 1. ad  
Germanos c. 13.

Hieron. in pref.  
ad Lib. Paralip.

i Theodof. Zymo-  
mal. in epi. ad  
Crus. l. Turco-  
gr. c. 431.

k Vitriac. Hist.  
Orient. c. 75.

Haitho. l. de  
Tartaria. c. 14.

Breitenbach Pe-  
regrin. c. de Su-  
rianis. Baum-  
gart. Peregr. l. 2.

c. 9. Villamont.  
l. 2. c. 22. Boter.

Rel. p. 3. l. 1. c. de  
Melchius.

l Vitriac. lib.  
citat c. 80.

Ge. ner. Mitbrid  
in Lingua Geor-  
gia. Postell. de l. 2.

Ling. Tit. de ling.  
Geo. g. Roccha de  
Dialect. in Geor-  
giana. c. in gre-  
ca. Vet. Baum-  
gart. loc. citat  
Villamont. l. 2.

c. 23.

m Interian. del-  
la vita de. 1.

Zychi. c. 1. Bello.  
Obser. l. 1. c. 35.



the former, but more flourishing then the first in splendor of power and learning, onely by an Inquisiti-  
on inferior to the second; and in numbers as many as all other professions of Christianitie, here reko-  
ued a fourth part.

CHAP. XIII.

Relations of diuers Travellers, touching the diuersities of Christian  
Rites and Tenents in diuers parts of the World.

§. I.

TECLA MARIA an Abassine, his answeres to questions touching the  
Religion of the Abassines and Cophti.



20 You haue read in *Aluarez*, *Bermudez*, and the *Iesuites Relations*, large Relations of the *Abassine* Faith, and of the *Portugalls* remaining in *Habassia*, as also of 8.  
three Patriarchs sent thither from the Pope, but refused by the *Abassine*.  
These *Portugalls* dwelling there sent one *Tecla Maria*, an *Abassine* Priest  
in their behalfe to *Rome*, who before the Cardinalls made answeres as follow-  
eth July 1. 1594.

Taken out of  
Thomas à Iesu  
de Conuers. om.  
Cent. 1. 7. c. 13.  
Xenia or Sna.

The Reuerend Brother *Tecla Maria*, sonne of *Tecla Nebiat*, of the Citie *Henza Mariam*, of  
the Prouince of *Xena*, of the Kingdome of *Ethiopia* Priest and Monke, of the Order of Saint *An-*  
*tonie*, and of the Monastery *Libanus* of the same Prouince, aged fortie five yeeres, at the command  
of the most Illustrious, and most Reuerend Lord Cardinall of Saint *Seuerine* Protector of the *E-*  
*thiopian* Nation, to certaine interrogatories made in the *Arabike* to him, thus answered.

Of God & the  
Holy Trinity.

30 Being asked what the *Ethiopiens* beleue of God and the holy Trinitie, he answered; Wee be-  
leeue in one God and three persons, the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost. The Father is vnbe-  
gotten, the Sonne begotten onely of the Father, the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and  
the Sonne. Being asked, whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Sonne, as  
from two beginnings, and two spirations, or as from one beginning and one spiration, he answered,  
As from one beginning, and one onely spiration. Being asked of the Incarnation, hee answered,  
That the Person of the Sonne, the Word of God the Father was incarnate by the Holy Ghost  
of the Virgin *Mary*.

40 Being asked how many Natures, Wills, and Operations the *Ethiopiens* professe to be in Christ  
our Lord, he answered, That the *Ethiopiens* beleue after the vnion one Nature, one Wil, & one O-  
peration, yet without mixtion and without confusion: in which opinion he confesseth, that the  
*Ethiopiens* and *Cophti*, and other Easterne Nations erre from the truth. Being asked whether they  
hold one Nature in Christ resulting from two, hee answered, The *Ethiopiens* say not so, but  
simply professe one Nature without mixtion and without confusion, and affirme that to bee  
Diuine.

Abassines are  
Monothelites.

Being questioned of Images, he answered, That amongst the *Ethiopiens* they are onely pain-  
ted and not carued or grauen, which the *Ethiopiens* haue in great veneration, in respect of repre-  
sentation and relation, and incense them. Being asked of the Canonickall Bookes of both Testa-  
ments, hee answered, That both the Testaments are diuided amongst them into eightie one  
Bookes, all which are had in *Egypt*, but without booke he could not remember their names.

Pictures incen-  
sed.

Canonickall  
bookes 81.

50 Being asked how many Generall Councells they hold, he said; That they hold onely three, the  
*Nicene*, *Constantinopolitan*, and *Ephesine*, which he had read, but could not now recite. Touching  
the *Chalcedon* Councel, he said, They condemned it, because it determined two Natures in Christ,  
and condemned *Dioscorus* the Patriarke of *Alexandria*. How many vniuersall Councells were  
held after, he answered, He knew not.

Gen. Councels

60 He acknowledged seven Sacraments \* instituted by Christ, Baptisme, Confirmation, the Eucha-  
rist, Penance, Vnction, Order, and Matrimony. Being asked in what formall words the *Ethiopiens*  
baptized, he answered, That after many prayers they say, *I baptise thee in the name of the Father,*  
*and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost*: The matter, hee said, was naturall water; the Minister, a  
Priest, or in his absence a Deacon, besides whom hee neuer saw any to baptise: their Males after  
fortie dayes, and Females after eightie dayes, except in danger of death, and then they baptise  
presently. Being asked, whether the *Ethiopiens* circumcise their children: hee answered, That  
from ancientest time to this day in all *Ethiopia*, they circumcise their children in their owne hou-  
ses without any Ceremony, but for a certaine ancient Custome, cutting away the Prepuce from  
the Males, the Nympha from the Females: being asked, whether they beleue Circumcision ne-  
cessary to saluation, he answered, They know that it is now ceased, and that it is no longer neces-  
sary.

Sacraments.  
\* This *Tecla*  
cometh neerer  
the *Romish*  
Faith in diuers  
things then  
the *Ethiopiens*,  
as sup. 1. 7. c. 8.  
perhaps for  
fear, perhaps  
of flattery.  
Baptisme.  
Circumcision  
sary.



No baptisme  
with fire.

See sup. Alua-  
res l. 7. c. 5. §. 14.  
whom i rather  
beleue; but  
this man and  
Zaga Zabo  
whom Dam.  
a Goes publi-  
shed, and L.  
Vrreta, daub  
ouer as well as  
they can, di-  
uers of the E-  
thiopian Super-  
stitions, & yet  
this is more  
credible then  
Vrreta (a very  
dunghill of  
lies) and then  
Zaga Zabo (too  
thicke strewed  
therewith) for  
which cause I  
haue omitted  
them: whereas  
this in most  
things of mo-  
ment saith the  
truth, but ex-  
cuseth as farre  
as hee may  
some of their  
Rites in Bap-  
tisme, Circum-  
cision, &c.  
Consecration.  
Communion  
in both kinds.  
Children com-  
municated.  
Purgatory.  
*Locus alleuiatio-  
nis.*  
Soule-sleepe.

Mortall sinne.

Vniuersall  
grace.

Indulgences.

Inuocation of  
Saints.

Simony.  
Difference  
twixt *Abassines*  
and *Cophti*.

sary. Being asked, why the *Ethiopi*ans are said to be baptised with fire, and to signe in the forehead: hee answered, That there is none in *Ethiopia* which is baptised with fire, but in some Prouinces onely they marke themselues with a razor in the forehead, either for the health of their eyes and sight; or, as some say, by the command of a certaine King of *Ethiopia*, to differ from the *Mahumetans*. Being asked why they baptise themselues euery yeere, he answered, That the *Ethiopi*ans euery yeere for the solemnitie of the Epiphanie goe forth to a Riuer, and there many prayers are said by the Priests, and all are washed in the Riuer; and many stay there all night with great festiuitie for deuotion of the Baptisme of our Lord Iesus Christ; but no man baptiseth himselfe as they say.

Being demanded of Confirmation, the Matter, the Forme, the Minister, he answered, Confirmation with vs is conferred by a Priest, together with Baptisme, and the Infant is anointed with Chrisme in the forehead, in the name of the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost: asked of the effect thereof, he said he knew not, but hee beleueth that it is giuen, that a Christian may be confirmed in the faith. Being asked, whether Chrisme bee made amongst them euery yeere, hee answered; Chrisme is sent them from the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, by whom alone it is made and not by the Bishop, and is sent euery seuenth yeere and seldomer, with the Pilgrimes which returne from the pilgrimage of the Holy Land, and the old Chrisme is preserued in all Churches. Being asked whereof it was made, hee said, Of Balsam and Oyle, and of many Flowers and odoriferous things.

Being interrogated of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and the matter thereof, hee answered, That the Matter is Bread of Bread-corne, and Wine of the Grape; but in many Prouinces of *Ethiopia*, in Wine pressed out of Raisins washed with water, and steeped in the same water the space of certaine houres. Being asked what are the words, whereby the Bread is transubstantiated into the Body, and the Wine into the Blood, he answered, They are those words when the Priest saith, *And he tooke Bread in his hands, and lifting up his eyes to Heauen unto God his Father, he blessed, saying, Take yee and eate yee, this is my Body. And likewise taking the Chalice, he blessed and sanctified saying, Take yee and drinke yee. This is the Chalice of my Blood, which shall be shed for you for the remission of sinnes.* The Minister, he said, is the Priest onely, and the effect remission of sinnes. Being asked whether all the *Ethiopi*ans are communicated in both kinds: he answered, That all the *Ethiopi*ans, both Clerkes and Laymen are communicated vnder both kinds: the Priest ministers the body, and the Deacon the blood in a spoone. Being asked whether Infants are communicated, hee answered, That Infants on the day of their baptisme are communicated in this manner: The Priest puts his fore-finger in the Chalice, and being dipped in the blood, he puts it in the Infants mouth. And after baptisme, till they be ten yeeres old, the Priests little finger is put in the childs mouth without the blood, for deuotio<sup>n</sup>s sake. Being asked, whether they celebrate in bread leauened or vnleauened, and what they thinke of him, which celebrates in vnleauened, he answered, The *Ethiopi*ans celebrate in leauened bread, & they which celebrate in vnleauened make the Sacrament also. And we throw all *Ethiopia*, on Mandie Thursday euerie yeere, in the Supper of the Lord, in memoriall hereof celebrate in vnleauened.

Being asked what the *Ethiopi*ans thinke of Purgatory, hee answered, The *Ethiopi*ans beleue that the soules after death are detained in a certaine place, called in the *Ethiopian* tongue *Mecan aarast*, that is, the Place of lightning, in which the soules of the penitent are kept, which haue departed out of the world, not hauing finished the satisfaction of their sinnes. Being asked whether the soules of the good presently after death enioy happinesse, and those of euill men bee punished in Hell, Hee answered, There are some in *Ethiopia*, which thinke that the soules of the good rest in Paradise terrestriall in which *Adam* was created, vntill the Day of Iudgement. There are others which beleue that the soules of the iust, presently after death enioy their Creator in Paradise.

Also being asked what sinnes, and how many are mortall, he answered, Those are mortall sinnes which are done against the Lords commandements, which are so many that I cannot number. Being asked whether the sinnes of the Will, which passe not into outward act, bee mortall, Hee answered, they are mortall, when a man hath giuen consent to the desire and concupiscence.

Being asked whether any man can be saued without the faith of Iesus Christ, the Mediator of God and men; he answered, None can be saued. Being asked of them which are now in the law of nature, to whom no knowledge of the Gospell hath comne; he answered, I beleue that God also hath provided for them, that by some meanes they may be saued, when they shall haue kept the precepts of Nature. Being asked what the *Ethiopi*ans thinke of Indulgences, hee answered, I beleue they are acceptable amongst all, and they call them Benedictions, but I desire to vnderstand the vse of them. Being asked of Inuocation of Saints, hee answered, that the Inuocation of Saints is very well approued amongst the *Ethiopi*ans, and all doe professe their intercession with God.

Being asked of Simony, and of those which by fauour or compact are ordained Priests, Bishops, or Patriarch; he answered, that it is forbidden by the holy Canons.

Being asked what difference there is betwixt the *Ethiopi*ans and the *Cophti*, in matters of faith; he



he answered, that there is no difference betwixt them, and they agree in all things; for they are vnder the obedience of the same Patriarch. But in some things I haue seene them to differ; namely, the *Ethiopians* contract not in degrees prohibited; But the *Cophiti* contract in the second, and the degrees after it euery where with license, and without the license of their Bishop and Patriarch. Also the *Cophiti* in the Country and Villages keepe no Lords daies, nor holy daies, but onely in Cities, which the *Ethiopians* doe euery where. Also the *Ethiopians* keepe the Sabbath (or Saturday holy) which the *Cophiti* doe not. Also the *Ethiopians* euery where thorow all *Ethiopia* circumsise their Sonnes and Daughters; but some *Cophiti*, onely at *Cairo* within these few yeeres circumsise not. Also in the ceremonies of the Masse the *Cophiti* differ much from the *Ethiopians*; For the Priests of the *Cophiti* celebrate without the Vestments called *Planeta*, and the Deacons without the *Dalmatic* Vestments, & with their head couered with a wollen *Tobalea*, and neuer eleuate the Lords body and the Chalice in their Masses; which ceremonies are not amongst the *Ethiopians*. Being demanded if he knew in what things the *Ethiopians* and *Cophiti* differ from the faith of the holy Catholike *Roman* Church; hee answered, they differ principally in these things. They inuocate *Dioscorus* of *Alexandria*, and *Iames* the first his Disciple; and *Senerus Antiochenus* in the Churches with the holy Fathers. They receiue not the *Chalcedon* Councell, and Saint *Leo* Pope. They professe in Christ our Lord one onely Nature, will, and operation. They recite the thrice holy Hymne with addition of those words, *which was crucified for vs*; yet with this exposition that the three sanctifications be applied to the most holy Trinitie, & those words, *which was crucified for vs*, onely to our Lord Christ. The *Cophiti* and *Ethiopians* vse circumcision, and these also obserue the Sabbath.

Note.

Holy, holy, holy.

Holy Orders.

Iosephus Cophiti

Popish rites of giuing Orders.

Being asked when, where, of whom and what orders he had taken: hee answered, when I was fifteene yeeres old, in the Church of Saint *Mary* in the Monasterie of *Denob* of the Prouince *Xena* in *Ethiopia*, I was entered in orders by *Ioseph* a *Cophite*, Archbishop of *Ethiopia*, in this manner: The Archbishop before the celebration of Masse shaued my head in five places, in forme of a crosse, and annointed me with Chrisme in the forehead, reciting praiers in the *Egyptian* tongue, and breathed in my face; and the same houre, in time of the celebration, made me an Oltiary, and Lector or Psalmist, and Acolyte, and Nefcadeacon or Subdeacon, and Deacon of the Gospell, and gaue me the holy Communion: and a long time after, when I was thirty yeeres old, in the Citie *Bed* in *Dembia* of *Ethiopia*, in the Church of Saint *George*, I was ordered Priest by Archbishop *Marke*, the successeur of the said *Ioseph*. Being asked whether hee heard the Archbishop vtter in collating orders, the formall words of each order; he answered, The Archbishop vttered them, but I heard not, nor vnderstood, becaute he celebrated in the *Egyptian* tongue, whereof I was vtterly ignorant. Being asked whether any materiall was deliuered by the Archbishop in collation of each order, and whether he touched the same with his hands; namely, whether in making him Oltiary the Keyes of the Church, and opened the doore, and sounded the Bell; in the Lectorship, the Booke of Lessons, or touched the Psalmist, in exorcistship the booke of exorcisme or Missall; in Acolythship the Candlesticke, with the candle put out and an emptie pot; in Subdeaconship, the empty Chalice with an empty patene ouer it, and pots with wine and water, and the basen with a towell, and the Booke of the Epistles, and whether the Amice was by the Archbishop put on his head, and the maniple on his left arme, and whether hee was vested with the Tunicle: and in his Deaconship, whether he touched the Booke of the Gospels, and the stole was put on his shoulder, and he vested with the *Dalmatike*: and in being orderd Priest whether he touched the Chalice with wine and water, and the patene with the hoste, and whether the Archbishop and Priests imposed hands on his head, and whether the stole was applied to his breast in manner of a crosse, and whether he put on the casule without the planet, and had his hands touched with the Oyle of the Catechumeni: He answered, I certainly know, that I in all the said orders had no materiall or instrument deliuered me by the Archbishop in collation of the Orders, nor did I touch any such, nor was I vested with any vestiment peculiar to any order, nor did the Archbishop impose hands on me, nor were my hands annointed with holy Oyle. He said also, our Archbishop in *Ethiopia* giueth orders to 2000. and more at one time, and to each giues fixe orders together, without examination before, and without enquire, examination, choise, approbation, writing, or register, and in regard of the multitude, cannot giue to each and euery of them any materiall to be touched: and in the same manner it is obserued in all ordinations by our Archbishops successiuelly; although it be otherwise obserued in *Egypt*, where so great a multitude is not ordered at once together, and some competent matter is deliuered to be touched of the ordained. Being asked whether he knew the said *Ioseph* and *Marke*, Bishops aforesaid, to haue beene Schismatickes, and without the communion of the holy *Roman* Church: he answered, that hee knew not so much. Yea, he rather certainly beleued at that time, that they were Catholikes, as also all the *Ethiopians* and *Cophiti*, and that they obeyed the Apostolike See in all things, and held communion with the holy *Roman* Church; and beleued that all *Christians* did agree in matters of Faith; but he learned the things before said, when afterwards hee was at *Ierusalem* and in *Egypt*.



*Relations of the Iacobites and Armenians, written by LEONARD Bishop of Sidon, Pope GREGORIE the 13. his Nuncio to the Easterne parts.*

*Iacobites numbers.*

*Their Bishops.*

*Monasteries and Churches.*

*Rites.*

*Armenians. Their Patriarks.*

*Their numbers*

*Preachers or Masters.*

*Romish Armenians.*

*Second Patriarch.*

The *Iacobite* Nation is dispersed thorow the Cities, Lands, and Townes of *Syria*, *Mesopotamia* and *Babylonia*, obtaining the number of 50000. houses, most of them poore, and living on daily labour. In *Aleppo* and *Caramit* are many rich families which live on Merchandise. Their Patriarchall Church is in *Mesopotamia* without the Citie of *Moradim*, in the Monastery *Zafra*; but the Patriarch resideth for his greater commoditie and quiet in the Citie *Caramit*. This Nation is subiect to the Patriarch *David*, but is governed of the Bishop *Thomas*, Vicar Generall and brother to the said Patriarch. Under whose obedience live at this time *John* the Metropolitan of *Ierusalem*, by the *Iacobites* stiled the fifth Patriarch: *Michael* Archbishop of *Damasco*, *James* Archbishop of *Edessa* called *Orfa*, or *Raha*. *Mimas* Archbishop of *Saur*, *Effrem* Archbishop in the same Prouince, *James* Archbishop of *Bisuaris*, *Abraham* Bishop of *Asafra*, *Melchez* Bishop of Saint *Melchi* in *Tur*, *Iesu* Bishop of the Monasterie *Deiriloemor*, *Abelmedich* in the Prouince of *Tur*, *Elias* Bishop in *Salach*, *Elias* Bishop of the Monasterie Saint *Crosse* in *Zaz*, *Gazel* Bishop in *Tarach*, *David* Bishop in *Maaden*, *Pilas* Metropolitan in *Musal* and the East *Gazel* Archbishop of *Miaferichin*, the Archbishop of the Monasterie of *Mar Abibai*, *Ananias* Bishop of Saint *Bertonias*, *John* Bishop of *Hartbert*, *Isaac* Archbishop of *Cyprus*, *Simeon* Archbishop of *Caramit*, *Habib*. There are many Monasteries of the same Nation, Churches, Religions, and Deacons, and Clergie men innumerable, which I could not visit, being reiected by the said Vicar Generall *Thomas*: Yet I visited the Temple of the *Iacobites* in *Tripoli*, *Ammasir*, *Damasco*, *Neph*, *Ierusalem*, *Aleppo*, *Orfa*, *Orbis*, *Mar Abibai*, *Gargar*, amongst the Churches of which parts I found those of *Ierusalem* and *Aleppo* well furnished, but the rest without Images and ill governed. For the Sacrament was kept in wodden pyxes without light or lampe; and the baptisfmal Funt wanted water, for at euery baptisme they blesse the Funt anew: the ornaments of the Altars also were most vile, and the office of the Masse was performed verie basely and carelesly. Of the holy Oyles, onely Chrisme was kept in Churches: this is called *Miron* and is blessed of the Patriarch euery seventh yeere with many flowers and odoriferous things. They haue not the Oile of the Catichumeni, and for the Oile of extreame vnction, the Priest blesseth it in lights set on foure parts in manner of a crosse, and therewith anoints the sicke, after many Gospels and Praiers recited. The Sacrament of Confession is rarely frequented, and many communicate without auricular confession. The Patriarch professed that they held the same in substance with the *Roman* Church, but the Greekes and Latines could not attemper such words and tearmes as the *Iacobites* in those things had done.

Of the *Armenians* the said Bishop of *Sidon* testifieth, that they are subiect to two principall Patriarkes, one of *Armenia* the Greater, the other of *Armenia* the lesse. The former resideth in the Monastery and Church of *Ecmeazin*, neere the Citie *Ernan* in *Persia*: the other in the Citie *Cis* of *Cilicia*, now called *Caramania*. Other Patriarkes are sometimes by the fauour of the *Turks* created amongst them, and are exacters of Tributes which the *Armenian* Families are bound to pay the *Turkes*. Others also are elected Coadiutors of the same Patriarkes with consent of the Bishops and people. Further there are others, Primates or rather Patriarkes of the same Nation in the remotest parts of *Persia* & in *Constantinople*, which although legally they are subiect to the Patriarke of *Armenia maior*, yet sometimes doe not acknowledge him. The Families subiect to the Patriarke of the Greater *Armenia* exceed the number of 150000. besides very many Monasteries, Bishops, Religious persons and Deacons. Their Preachers are called *Mortabiti*, and are obeyed by the people, as the Patriarke himselfe. In the Prouince *Nenuam*, in *Persia* also, in two Cities there live Catholike *Armenians* subiect to an Archbishop of the *Dominican* Order, and other Friars of that profession, which obserue the *Latine* Rites, and live vnder the obedience of the *Roman* See.

The Patriarke of *Armenia Minor* hath vnder his Iurisdiction foure and twentie Prelates, Archbishops and Bishops, and the Election of the Patriarke belongs to 12. Bishops neerer the Patriarchall Church. Yet sometimes the *Armenian* people by fauour and command of the *Turkish* Officers create their Patriarks, and after obtaine the consent of the Bishops and Archbishops, and by the fauour of the principall people, a Coadiutor with future succession is deputed to him, who of a Master and Preacher, after the death of the said predecessor, is receiued and confirmed by the people for Patriarke. To this Patriarke are subiect about 20000. Families; and they live in the Villages, Castles and Cities of *Cilicia* and *Syria*: there are twentie Monasteries each containing 100. Religious, 300. Priests, Deacons and Clokes many, which live of Almes, and of their owne industry.



## §. III.

Of SIMON SULAKA a Papall Easterne Patriarke amongst the Chaldeans: and of diuers others thither sent. Of ABDESU, AATALLA, DONHA his Successours.

10 **A**mongst the *Asian Nestorians*, there haue beene some *Roman Catholikes* which haue exhibited obedience to the Pope. Some of those which professed *Simon Sulaka*, a Monke of Saint *Basil's* Order to be their Superiour, calling themselves *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians*, acknowledged Pope *Iulius* the Third, and reiected the name of *Nestorians*. *Sulaka* was by the Pope confirmed Patriarke of that Nation with the Title of *Mozal*, which Church his aduersary possessed. He returned to *Caramit*, and there ordained certaine Archbishops and Bishops, and reiected the *Nestorian* Inuocation, which at that time was vsually made by the Deacon in the Church. He sought to spread the *Roman* faith, but by the policy of the *Antipatriarke Dry* he was taken and slaine by the *Turkes*. The confession of faith by the same *Sulaka* made at *Rome* is extant in *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

20 The Bishop *Arienfis* a *Dominican* was sent by the Pope to visit and confirme this Church, who hauing reformed some things, was driuen with some *Assyrians* to flee to *Ormus* and *Goa*, where hee dyed.

30 His companion Frier *Anthony*, with the Archbishop *Ermetes Elias* Disciple of *Sulaka*, visited many Christians in *Cochin* and *India* of Saint *Thomas*, and after his returne was made a Bishop by the Pope. To *Sulaka* succeeded *Abdesu* of the same order of Saint *Basil*, which was at the Council of *Trent* vnder Pope *Pius* the Fourth, & from him carried with him the Title of *Mozal*, and returning to *Caramit* and *Seert*, ordained many Priests, Bishops and Archbishops, and many Cities of the *Chaldees* yeelded him obedience, but soone after hee died in the Monastery of the City *Seert*: and *Aatalla* a brother of the same Order succeeded, and after him *Donha Simon* the Archbishop of *Gelu* and *Salamas* renounced the *Antipatriarke*, and was elected Patriarke by the Prelates of that Nation, and confirmed by *Gregorie* the Thirteenth, to whom he sent Archbishop *Ermes Elias* in his name to exhibit obedience. Who returned with his Patriarchall Pall from *Rome* 1582. But hitherto they haue nothing of *Mozal* but the Title, the other Patriarke possessing the See, and they are glad to seeke a place of residence where they can, as at *Caramit*, and this last at *Zeinalbach*. The richest and mightiest of that Nation are at *Mozal* and *Gesire*, and acknowledge the other Patriarke, lately called *Elias*, resident in the Patriarchall Monastery of Saint *Ermes* neere *Mozal*. He hath vnder him two and twentie Bishops. about sixe hundred Territories, of which two and twentie are flourishing Cities, each contayning five hundred *Nestorian* Families, and in *Masul* 1000. each hauing about fortie persons: the other Territories haue two or three hundred *Nestorian* Families. They haue thirtie Monasteries of Saint *Anthony's* Order in which fiftene or twentie Monkes liue: and in that of the Patriarke seuentie. 40 The Patriarke and Bishops must bee Monkes They extend to *Baldach* and the East Indies.

I feare the Popish multiplication making great harvests of little corne: yet I here recite what I finde, and wish that all Nestorians would abandon those heresies, and in that point be *Roman* and *Catholike*. Dryne Patriarch.

I thinke hee meaneth Saint *Thomas* Christians in *India*. *Abdesu* or *Abilisu*.

Of these *Nestorians*, see *Rubriques*, *Polo*, &c. in *To 2. l. 1. & Breuements Enquiries* following.

## §. IIII.

Of the Cophti, their Synod at Cairo, the Iesuites being the Popes Agents, and of STEPHEN COLINZAS message to the Georgians, and two Iesuites sent to the Maronites.

50 **P**ope *Gregorie* the Thirteenth sent diuers messages to the *Cophti*, whereby a Synod was procured at *Cairo*, in December 1582. which had three Sessions to reconcile them to the *Roman* Church. At the first were present Bishops and principall men. At the third, the same men, with the Iesuites, especially *Iohn Baptista Romanus*. In the first were opened the causes of their defection in the Conuenticule of *Ephesus* assembled by *Dioscorus*, whereby *Eutyches* his Heresie which denied two natures in Christ was begun, condemned after in the *Chalcedon* Council. They desired to search their Writings which were few and eaten with Age. And in the second Session was much alteration, and the matter put off to the third. In that third the Law of Circumcision was abrogated first; and after that *Anathema* was denounced against such as should spoile Christ of either. Yet for all this the Vicar of the Patriarke then being, 60 resisted the subscribing, and a quarrell was picked by the *Turkes* against the Popes Agents, as if they sought to subiect the East, to the Pope, or the King of *Spaine*. They were therefore cast into Prison, and their redemption cost 5000. Crownes.

At *Cairo* is a Librarie in which are kept many Bookes of the ancient Doctors in *Arabike*, as of Saint *Ierome*, *Gregorie Nazianzene*, Saint *Basil*, &c. and the men haue good wits, and some there- by

Synod. at Cairo.

I. B. R. Romanus a Iesuite.



by proove learned. In the time of Pope Clement the Eighth, Marke the Patriarke sent a Submission to the Pope, as was pretended; but it prooved to be the Imposture of one Barton.

King of Georgia  
his letter to the  
Pope.  
Paul the Third also sent to the Georgians, Anno 1545. Stephen Colynza elect of Nequian in Armeni, his Nuncio to the Kings of Georgia and Armenia. The Georgian King writ backe to the Pope, his Letter beginning. *Miseratione Dei Symeon Rex Cardely totius Iberia & Orientis. Excelsa & splendissime, & sanctissime, & beatissime Domine noster, Pater noster & Papa, Pastor Pastorum, Princeps Principum, & decime tertie Apostolorum, Pater noster & Papa Magna Roma, aurea tuba, organum Dei inflatum, Petro index & clauicularie Regni caelestis, Paule Doctor gentium, qui ascendit usq; ad tertium caelum, &c.* Hee proceedeth in twelling Titles of vanitie ascribed to the Pope, and saith so much that all his zeale and profession was spent, as it seemeth, in that Epistle; for little effect hath since appeared.

Seminarie of  
Maronites.  
Poore Priests.  
Their old rites.  
L. 86. 6. 1. 9. 6. 9.  
Pope Clement the Eighth sent two Iesuites with a Bishop to the Maronites in Mount Libanus, Hierom Dandin a Diuine being principall. The cause of sending was, that it might by the eyes be discerned, whether the costs bestowed at Rome on the Seminary of Maronites were well bestowed. The Pope sent the Patriarch a whole Vestiment of Silke wrought with Gold for a Patriarchall Masse, and many Chifts of Bookes in the Chaldean Tongue printed in the Citie, containing the Lyturgies of Saint James, Saint Peter, and Saint Sixtus, they hauing no Bookes but written, and thole torne or erroneous: with Seruice-bookes to God and the Blessed Virgin. For they vie the Chaldee Tongue as wee doe the Latine. Out of the Seminary was sent one to bee a Coadiutor to the Patriarch and made Bishop, and another Coadiutor to him in his Bishopricke. Their common Language is Arabike. The Pope sent also siluer Chalice, and Iron Instruments to make the Hosts and sacred Vests for other Priests by the said Dandin. He staid two monethes with his companion a Priest, in the Monasterie of the Patriarke, in which time the old Patriarke died, and the other was substituted by a Synod according to the custome. The Patriarkes performed all kind Offices to the Iesuites, as did also the Monkes which lye sparingly, eating little but Rice, Herbs and Broth. The Priests lue single, but are addicted to no Studies of Learning, and spend the rest of their time in tilling the ground, or stirring vp others thereto, that they may haue to lue on, and to pay their Tributes. Their women are very modest and chaste, neither haue they any mercenary Harlots. They haue a place at the entrance of the Church by themselves and when Seruice is done they depart first, no man stirring till they be all gone. Dandin altered, diuers things amongst them, as to reserve some cales to the Bishop or Patriarch, not to constrain Priests to marrie before they tooke Orders, that some of the Seruiarians should be appointed on some Holy dayes to preach, and write cases for others to learne, where as before they had no Sermons, but sometimes a Homily; to vse no other Missals then such as had beene sent from Rome; that other Bookes should bee examined; not (as before) to admit Children to the Eucharist, &c.

He which will read more of these Maronites, may read out of themselves and others in this Worke, as also touching them and all other Christians in the East in Master Brerewoods Enquirie hereto annexed: also Thomas a Iesu our Author is farre more ample in these things, then agreeeth with our scope. I thought good yet to addc out of a Manuscript aboue a doozen yeeres since communicated to me by the Right Reuerend Father in God Doctor Vsher, Lord Bishop of Meath, copied out of a Iesuites written Catalogue of Heresies, these Errours as they are there recited by the Iesuite, and gathered out of the Maronites Bookes

Errores ex libris Maronitarum excerpti 1580. sunt  
autem huiusmodi.

- |    |  |    |  |    |
|----|--|----|--|----|
| 1  | Christus caput est diuinitatis.  |    | sunt, aut in proprijs corporibus detinentur, vel | 50 |
| 2  | In Christo una tantum est natura.  |    | circa sepulchrum, vel descendunt ad locum te-    |    |
| 3  | In Christo una tantum est operatio, una voluntas.  |    | nebrosum, pro meritorum vel demeritorum di-      |    |
| 4  | Natura inuisibilis in Christo est passa.   |    | uersitate.                                       |    |
| 5  | Trinitas est passa.  | 11 | In die iudicii noua corpora animabus crea-       |    |
| 6  | Trisagium recitandum est cum illa additione,<br>Qui crucifixus est pro nobis.  |    | buntur.  |    |
| 7  | Christus non est mortuus ut alij homines.  | 12 | Spiritus sanctus a patre procedit.               |    |
| 8  | Christus descendens ad inferos omnes filios Ada<br>liberauit.  | 13 | Baptismus non debet ministrari nisi a Sacer-     |    |
| 9  | Christus post resurrectionem unam habet na-<br>turam.  |    | doto.  |    |
| 10 | Anima sanctorum patrum deducta sunt a<br>Christo ad Paradisum terrestrem: anima<br>vero eorum qui nunc moriuntur, aut illuc tra- | 14 | Apostata, ut heretici, sunt rebaptizandi.        |    |
|    |  | 15 | Emergentes non sunt baptisandi, nisi mortui      | 60 |
|    |  |    | articulo.  |    |
|    |  | 16 | Masculus in baptismo non debet suscipere fo-     |    |
|    |  |    | minam, nec e contra.                             |    |
|    |  | 17 | Baptismus non debet dari in quadragesima.        |    |



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>18 Parvulus baptizatus non debet tangi à matre que patitur fluxum sanguinis ne eum polluat.</p> <p>19 Mater non potest lactare suum infantem ratione chrysmatis cum est baptizatus.</p> <p>20 Angelus custos tribuitur in baptismo homini.</p> <p>21 Chryσμα debet confici ex varijs rebus, &amp; coqui igne ex q<sup>uo</sup> libis facto.</p> <p>22 Forma confirmationis hac est. Vngo te hoc chrysmate in vitam eternam, ut sis heres regni celestis in nomine P. F. &amp; S. S.</p> <p>10 23 Sanguis Christi potest consecrari ex aqua, ex vniis siccis expressa.</p> <p>24 Summus Episcopus potest consecrare sanguinem sine corpore.</p> <p>25 Forma consecrationis hac est. Benedixit &amp; divisit unicuique discipulorum partem, &amp; fecit ut essent, corpus Dominicum, quod datur in vitam mundi in remissionem peccatorum. Item benedixit &amp; sanctificavit, &amp; divisit aequaliter ad bibendum illum Apostolis suis electis, &amp; fecit possidere illum sanguinem viz. novum Testamentum Discipulos suos.</p> <p>20 26 Sub speciebus panis &amp; vini est corpus &amp; sanguis sed non anima Christi.</p> <p>27 Eucharistia consecranda feria quinta in Cena Domini, debet consecrari per totum annum.</p> <p>28 Sacerdos qui nunquam celebrat, non peccat.</p> <p>29 Licet sacrum facere super librum Evangelij.</p> <p>30 Qui non est dispositus ad communicandum, non debet sacro interesse.</p> <p>30 31 Dignius sumit Eucharistiam infans quam adultus.</p> <p>32 Infantes Christi sanguinem sumere debent.</p> <p>33 Impedit communionem digitum ori insuisse, aut os abluisse.</p> <p>34 Absolvere penitentes est super eius caput recitare orationem Dominicam.</p> <p>35 Impositio manuum Apostolorum super baptizatos erat absolutio à peccatis.</p> <p>36 Peccata minima sunt aperienda in confessione.</p> <p>40 37 Peccata spiritualia ne in mortis articulo dimitti possunt.</p> <p>38 Mali Sacerdotes non habent usum clavium.</p> <p>39 Post mortem redditur ratio commissorum peccatorum ab anno 12.</p> <p>40 Olenm extrema unctionis debet benedici à 7. Sacerdotibus.</p> <p>41 Matrimonium in lege veteri erat institutum tantum ob prolem.</p> <p>50 42 Matrimonium non est validum sine Sacerdotis benedictione.</p> | <p>43 44 Non potest pater &amp; filius contrahere cum matre &amp; filia, vel duo fratres cum duabus sororibus.</p> <p>45 Quarta nuptia &amp; deinceps sunt illicitæ.</p> <p>46 Ob multas causas licet uxorem dimittere, &amp; aliam ducere.</p> <p>47 Vsum Matrimonij in Quadragesima est peccatum irremissibile.</p> <p>48 Paradisus terrestris fuit creatus ante omnia.</p> <p>49 Adam fuit formatus ex terra Paradisi.</p> <p>50 Adam &amp; Eva ante peccatum erant circumdasi pelle, ut non posset cognosci virum mas vel femina esset.</p> <p>51 Sacerdos erat Abel &amp; non Cain, &amp; ideo Deus placuit illi Sacrificium, non huius.</p> <p>52 Nos tempore diluvij in Arca sacrificavit.</p> <p>53 Filij Israel qui adorabant vitulum, &amp; biberunt eius pulverem, mugebant ut boves.</p> <p>54 Iudæi in deserto ferebant lapidem secum in quo 12. fontes manabant.</p> <p>55 Christus factus est Sacerdos à Iohanne Baptista.</p> <p>56 Maria apparuit Christus in forma hortulani.</p> <p>57 Apostoli usq; ad Pentecostem fuerunt in statu peccati.</p> <p>58 Christus fecit Apostolos Diaconos cum insufflavit eis Job. 20. Sacerdotes vero cum ascendit in Cælum.</p> <p>59 Anima Beata Virginis fuit primum omnium creata.</p> <p>60 Omnes credentes, etiam heretici sunt in statu salutis.</p> <p>61 Non licet occidere hominem etiam publica auctoritate.</p> <p>62 Deus promisit Moysi visionem divinitatis coniunctam cum anima Christi, quo modo solus est visibilis divinitas.</p> <p>63 Sancti patres in limbo carebant spe exeuendi.</p> <p>64 Dammati non torquentur die Dominica.</p> <p>65 Damnatorum poena mitigatur per sacrificia.</p> <p>66 Ioseph sponsus Beate Virginis habuit quatuor filios.</p> <p>67 Virginitas non est preponenda matrimonio.</p> <p>68 Mendacium officiosum licitum est.</p> <p>69 Iudæi coegerunt Beatam Virginem potare aquam amaram propter suspicionem adulterij.</p> <p>70 Dies Veneris est celebrandus ut Dominicus.</p> <p>71 Pharaon non meretur penam, quod Deus cor eius induraverit.</p> <p>72 Vestes Sacerdotales si lacerentur &amp; id genus alia, amittunt consecrationem.</p> |
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I have hither also translated some observations of *Christopher Angelos* a Greeke Monke and Priest, which hath lived many yeeres in England, and some five yeeres since gave mee a Greeke Booke printed by him in London, touching their present Rites, both in their Churches and Monasteries. Many things I could have added touching the *Greekes*, and their moderne Language, State and Religion, out of *Crusius*, *Ieremias* the Patriarke and others. But this man being a Traveller, I chose rather to let you heare him in that wherein he hath bene bred. As for dogmaticall differences you have had them before, and the present *Greekes* are not ordinarily so learned as to give you a perfect account thereof.

It was printed also in Latine at Cambridge.



V.

Of the condition of life in which the Greekes now liue, and of their rites of Feasts, Feasts, and other obseruations, gathered out of the Booke of

CHRISTOPHEROS ANGELOS, a  
Greekish Monke and Priest.

Simple filli-  
nesse: either of  
this Monke or  
of this Nation!  
Or rather base  
courage palli-  
ated with  
Scripture mis-  
applied. The  
true cause is,  
that they, wea-  
kened by diui-  
sions amongst  
themselves &  
from the La-  
tines; and not  
assisted from  
Princes abroad  
were not able  
to hold out. An  
obscure Pro-  
phetic ought  
not to hold  
mens hands,,  
except they  
will be trea-  
cherous to  
their state; for  
Gods will re-  
uealed is the  
rule of our a-  
ctions; vailed  
prophecies can  
but foretelli-  
the euents, be-  
ing not terrible  
till then, and  
therefore not  
eligible, as  
Gods rule, not  
ours, intima-  
ting what hee  
wills, and not  
what we ought  
Deut. 29.  
Diuers tri-  
butes to the  
Turke.  
Tithing of  
their children.  
Another fa-  
shion.

**H**e ancient *Gracian* heard *Iohn* the Euangelist speaking in the thirteenth of the *Apoc.* and first verie. *And I saw a beast rise out of the Sea, and power was granted him to make warre with the Saints, and to overcome them, and power was ginen him ouer euery Kindred and Tongue, and Nation; and all that dwelt upon the Earth worshipped him, whose names are not written in the Booke of Life of the Lambe, who was slaine from the beginning of the World: if any man haue an eare let him heare. If any leade into captivity, he shall goe into captiuitie: if any kill with a sword hee must be killed with the sword, and that which followeth.* The *Greekes* hauing this prophesie and many others of this kind of holy men, when they saw the *Turkes* come, said, *This is the Beast*, that *Saint Iohn* speaketh of, and would not fight with the *Turke*. They fought a little in the beginning, but afterward yeelded; and for this were not carried away captiues. In like manner they carried all their goods with them, and bought all of the King of the *Turkes*. This thing also did the *Monkes*, and redeemed their Monasteries, and fields, and houses, and whatso-  
euer they possessed before. Therefore to this day, they retaine all their old Bookes, and obteine their Countrey Lawes, and liue as the Christians and *Monkes* in former ages, if the Christians shall at any time get the superioritie. But let vs returne to our purpose.

Each of the *Males* pay Tribute to the *Turkish* King, as likewise the women: that is to say, that the men dwelling in one house from twentie yeeres, and vpwards pay yeerely six shillings. But if they be striplings, that is to say, fiftene yeeres old they pay three only, if they are passed fiftene, pay foure or fise, till they come to the age of twentie yeeres. They will giue this tax, because the Lord saith, *be wise as Serpents*. They are mindfull also that *Iohn* saith, *Apoc. 7. 14. Those are those which came out of great tribulation, and washed their garments, and made them white in the blood of the Lambe*. Moreover, they pay another custome. That is to say, when the Army goeth to warre; they are wont to contribute certaine pieces of monie, to buy bread and flesh, to sustaine the Armie, they doe not yet all equally pay this: but sometimes twentie, sometimes ten shillings in euery house, sometimes more hauing respect to the Armie. But all the houses doe not contribute alike in this as in the former. In that the rich and poore pay the same summe, in this no man giues beyond his abilitie. There is also another dutie: to wit, when the Kings spies are sent to exact Tribute of the Christians, in the iourney the Christians which dwel there, allow them victuals. And thus much concerning their Tributes.

The tithing of their children is in this manner. When at first the *Turke* exercised authoritie ouer the *Greekes*, in euery Citie & Prouince he took an account of the houses, and euery fourth yeere, of ten houses took one of their children. There was at that time in one Citie a hundred households of ten times ten household he chuseth one. Afterwards after that foure yeeres were expired, he took ten other children of the second, that is to say, of the next house, not of that former whereof he tooke before. And so they doe euery foure yeeres vntill all the houses bee finished. And then againe they beginne to take children at the first house, vntill they returne againe to the first. After forty yeeres are past they returne againe to the first house, and after this manner they doe with the other Houses, Cities and Prouinces. They haue another vniust custome of gathering children, that is to say, when the *Ianizaries* goe from the King to gather Boyes through the Prouince, that is subiect to them, where they ought to gather them: Passing through the Prouince as many Boyes as they find in the way, they take without tithing, saying, those Boyes are our prey. But if it happen, that any children among them that are vniustly taken, bee of those houses, which are to giue a Boy, then they will take no other Boy of those houses, whereof that Boy was, because they may not take two Boyes out of one house in the same yeere; therefore when the Boyes fathers heare that the *Ianizaries* come to gather Boyes, they hide their Boyes before they come, some in Mountaines, some in the houses of the great men that are *Turkes*, because those Rulers are Citizens, and the *Greekes* friends, and therefore desire to keepe the *Greekes* sonnes safe, and after they restore againe their sonnes, sometimes the Boyes flie into the Mountaines, and the *Ianizaries* take the Boyes Father or Mother, and punish them with death. And when the children heare that their parents are punished, they come of their owne accord, and are deliuered: sometimes the childrens parents die of the punishment for their sonnes, and thus much concerning their children.

Greek Lent  
four in euery  
yeere.  
First Lent.

The *Greekes* obserue foure Lents euery yeere. The first is called the *great and holy Lent*: this continues eight and forty dayes together before Easter. They fast in that holy Lent eating dry things for the tithing of their soule. On Annuntiation day they eate fish, and feast for ioy of the Annuntiation, therefore there remaine only fise and thirtie daies for the tithing of the yeere, which



which are five times seven, which make five and thirtie daies. Because that for seven weekes together they fast before Easter, five daies in euery weeke, that is to say, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday: they fast not on Saturday and Sunday, because they eate Oile and drinke Wine twice in a day, therefore they are not called fasting daies, but only after a sort. Some of the Laicks in those five daies of the weeke eate Oile, and drinke Wine, because they respect not the tithing of soules

Saturday and Sunday not fasting.

The Fasts of the Monkes differ from the Laicks fasts; for the Laicks may sometimes eate Oile, and drinke Wine in those five daies, and haue absolution of the spirituall (Priest) when they confesse to him their particular sinnes. But the Monkes may not eate Oile, nor drinke Wine those five daies: for when they confesse, they are punished according to the Canons, vnlesse they haue some diseale, or some other necessitie.

Their second Lent, is called the *Lent of dayes*, because they fast fortie daies together before Christmasse. They fast in those daies, first, in the honour of Christ: Secondly, because *Moses* fasted forty dayes, and then merited (or obtained) to conuerse with God: and receiue the stonie Tables of the Decalogue. To our example. *Moses* fasted there forty daies, that he might speake with God and receiue the Tables. But we fast so many daies, that wee may meete Christ borne for our sinnes, as the *Wise men* did with gifts, and as the shepherds spake with the Angels, and were thought worthy to see an Armie of Angels, and to worship Christ. Wee also confessing our sinnes, and fasting and keeping vnder our bodie, worship Christ.

Second or Advent Lent.

20 The third Lent is called the *Lent of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul*. It beginnes one weeke after Whitsontide; and continues to the nine and twentieth day of the month of Iune, that is to say, to the Feast of *Peter and Paul*.

Third Lent.

Their fourth Lent beginnes from the first day of August, and continues to the fourteenth day of the same month, because on the 15. day they celebrate a great Feast to the Virgin *Mary*, who on that day ascended from Earth to Heauen, from corruptible things to incorruptible, and went to her Sonne, and to her God and our Lord Iesus Christ and our God, *Amen*: in her honour they fast fourteene daies.

Fourth Lent. Assumption.

30 But these fasts differ from the great Lent, for in the Lent of Christmasse, and of *Peter and Paul*, they eate fish twice in a day: but in our Ladies Lent they eate no fish, yet they eate twice a day.

Difference of fasts in Lent.

They beginne to fast after this manner: the tenth Sunday before Easter Sunday, to wit, the ninth weeke before Easter; that Weeke is called, the *calling weeke*, and the *Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee*, for on the tenth Sunday they reade the Gospel of the *Publican* and the *Pharisee*, that they may learne humilitie, and abase themselves, and not iudge and condemne others; as the *Pharisee* iudged the *Publican* and was punished; and they sing at *Ennsong*, and the day following before day (that is, the tenth Sunday before Easter) these Songs, with a great and drie voice, and very often melodiously, so that all may heare: *Let vs auoid the Pharisees boasting, let vs learne the Publicans lowlinesse*, and others of this kind: and they confesse their sinnes, and pardon the wrongs of their Enemies, that they may be pure in heart when they begin to fast. The following Sunday (which is the ninth Sunday before Easter, and the eighth weeke, that Sunday is called the *Sunday of the second comming*, and the *iudgement of our Lord Iesus Christ*) wherefore on this day they read the Gospell, *then they shall see the Sonne of man comming in the clouds*; and the rest that followes. And the Prophecie of *Daniel* the Prophet, *viz. Behold the thrones were set, and the ancient of daies sat downe, and the Bookes were opened to iudgement*. And they read in the Church these words of Christ, and of the Prophecie of *Daniel* singing with a drie and great voice, so that all may heare and many tremble, for all heare, that iudgement and vengeance is at hand. They feast verie much this Sunday, and giue manie almes, and procure friendship with their enemies, and will neuer iudge nor backbite them after they are made friends, nor remember the iniurie so long as they liue, because *Paul* saith, *neither thiefe, nor euill speaker, &c. shall inherit the*

Manner of fasting.

40 *Kingdome of God*. This is called *Shrouesunday*, because on this day is an inhibition from flesh; for in the day following (that is) Monday, they begin to fast onely from flesh, and eate Egges, Milke, Cheese, Butter, and such kinde of meates; that come from flesh all the weeke, but on Saturday and Sunday, which is called the eighth Sunday before Easter, and the seventh weeke before Easter.

O Vtinam.

60 The eighth Sunday before Easter is called *Cheese saturday*, because they eate Cheese and Egges, and all kindes of white meates: and the *Greekes* doe greatly reiect this day, because the day following (that is to say) Monday, they begin to fast. The day is called the *fall of Adam*, because on that day is read the fall of *Adam*; that is, how *Adam* and *Eue* ate of the Tree of knowledge, and for that vnbridled lust of eating, were cast out of Paradise; because they neglected the ordinance of God, therefore they were banished, and because after the fall of *Adam* then went out of Paradise, and mourned because hee was deceiued, by his curled desire to eate, and was so made the seruant of the Diuell, therefore they giue large almes, and commiserate their enemies (as we said before) and now they doe these things that they may be pure in heart, when they begin to fast: But they begin to fast on Munday, to wit, the



the first day of the seventh weeke before Easter, and they fast five daies, viz. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, but they fast eating dry things, that is to say, they eat Beanes, Pease, with Vinegar they boile Herbes in water, and eat them with Vinegar, Raisons, Figges, dried Apples, dried Peares, dried Cherries, and Honie. These they boile altogether in water: they eat the Fruit, but drinke the broth as wine, &c. On Saturday and Sunday (which is called the Lords day, they eat Oile, and drinke Wine: and after this manner they liue euerie weeke yntill Easter.

Two weekly.  
fast: Wednes-  
day & Friday.

They fast also two daies euerie weeke throughout the whole yeere, viz. Wednesday and Friday. They fast on Wednesday, because on that day *Iudas* tooke monie to betray Christ, and they are afflicted with Christ by fasting. But on Friday they fast because Christ was crucified, and they are in heaviness with Christ, because he saith, *when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, then shall my Disciples fast.*

Saturdaies,  
Sundies, and  
other holy  
daies.

On every Saturday, and other feasts throughout the yeere, the *Greekes* are wont at evening to goe to the Temple. All the *Grecian* women and children rise very timely, that is to say, the second houre after midnight on every Sunday, and Feast day, to goe to the Temple; and leaue at home one boy or one girle, to keepe the house, and they continue there singing all the night till morning; when the Sunne riseth, they goe out, and returne home: they sit idly, and eat nor drinke, till the ninth houre after midnight. But at the ninth houre the Priest runnes to the Temple, and prepares those things that belong to the liturgie, and takes one loafe which a woman or pure man made the day before (that is, some man which knew not his wife the day before, or a woman which knew not her husband, that is, on Saturday night, or otherwise from the evening of Friday till the morning light of Saturday, lay not together.) That man or that woman, baketh and kneadeth meale, and makes that loafe on Saturday, or another day. Hee must needes be pure which shall make this bread: before they put this Bread into the Ouen, they signe it with a certaine peece of wood engrauen with letters, viz. *Iesus Christ ouercomes*: and then they put it into the Ouen marked with these letters, viz. *Iesus Christ ouercomes*. This Bread signifies the Virgin: as the Virgin was pure, so a pure man must bake that bread: this Bread the Priest takes in his hands, and blesseth, saying, *In the memory of our holy unspotted Lady Mother of God, &c.* and other prayers, and consecrates that Bread to the Virgin, and after this the Priest hath a little speare, in forme of the speare wherewith the Souldiers pierced Christ, and the Priest taketh the little speare, and cuts off some fouresquare peece of the outside of the loafe, which containeth those letters, *Iesus Christ ouercomes*, typifying Christ, who was borne of the Virgin *Mary*; and of this Bread they make their Eucharist: the Eucharist being administred, the Priest or Deacon deuides that greater part of bread which was left into verie small peeces, of which bread wee say, that it is the body of the Virgin: and of this bread hee distributes to them which tooke Christs bodie, and to as manie as fasted all that day, who neither ate nor dranke anything. They call this kinde of bread *the reward*, because they giue it to all those which are, and which are not partakers of the Lords supper as a certaine diuine gift. Those things being finished they goe out of the Temple, and again gather themselves to evening Praiers, which custome is obserued throughout the whole world.

Crosse Fast.

Twelfth day  
holy water. See  
the *Russe* and  
*Abassine* cere-  
monies on that  
day in their  
places.

Moreouer, they fast the foureteenth day of September, in honour of the crosse, which was found on that day, and they celebrate the feast of the crosse, abstaining from white meates, because on that day they kisse the crosse of Christ, and they desire to kisse it fasting. They fast also the fift of Ianuarie from all white meates, because the sixt day of that moneth Christ was baptised, according to the *Greekish* custome. Moreouer the Priests that day hallow water, whereof the Laikes drinke, and that they may be pure drinking of that holy water, they fast the day before, that is to say, the fift of Ianuarie.

They obserue no fasting the fourth and sixth day of the weeke: for they eat flesh on Wednesdayes and Fridaies, and all white meates which come from flesh, as Egges, Butter, Milke, Cheese, &c. from the day of Christs natiuitie to the foureteenth day of Ianuarie, that is, from the 25. of December to the foureteenth of Ianuarie, they fast not; yet they fast the fift of Ianuarie that they may drinke holy water the sixt day, whereof we spake before. If the natiuitie of Christ happen on a Wednesday, or a Friday, the common people eat flesh, and all white meate: but the Monkes onely whitemeates without flesh, in honour of Christs Natiuitie. Also on the sixt day of Ianuarie, whereon Christ was baptised, the Laikes eat flesh and all kinde of white meates, as we said before: but the Monkes eat onely white meates.

Dog-tale.

Notwithstanding in the eleuenth weeke before Easter, they eat flesh on Wednesday and Friday: the reason whereof is this. In times past there were certaine Heretickes, which had an excellent good Dogge, who were accustomed to tie Letters about his necke, and send him to their friends two or three daies iournie from them, who when they had read the Letters, sent backe others to them by the same Dogge, and this they did diuers times; At the length the Dog died and returned not, then those Heretickes for griefe fasted Wednesday and Friday, that they might deride the Orthodox *Christians*, who fasted those daies in honour of Christ: but when the *Christians* vnderstood this, they decreed in the eleuenth weeke not at all to fast with them, but to eat flesh on Wednesday and Friday. They call this weeke *Archburch*.

More.



Moreover, throughout Easter weeke, that is, from the resurrection of Christ vntill the Sunday following they eate flesh and white meates. The Fathers call it the *weeke of renouation*. After the same manner, on the day of Pentecost they eate flesh, and make merrie, but on the Monday next following that feast, they abstaine from flesh and all white meates, because the Priests on that day after Noone gather the people into the Temple, and all the people kneele in the same place, and the Priests pray, that the holy Ghost would descend vpon them, as it did formerly on the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. And therefore they fast on that Monday, that is the day following, but on Wednesday and Friday of that weeke, they eate flesh for ioy of the holy Ghost: but the Monkes eate onely white meates.

- 10 The *Greekish* Bishops haue a custome, that at three set times they giue the Priests spirituall gifts, as Christ at three times especially gaue to his Apostles spirituall gifts, and when they had receiued this fauour thrice, then they were perfect; that is to say, the Apostles receiued the first gift when he gaue them authoritie and power ouer all diuels, and to heale diseases, *Luke 9.1.* hee gaue them the second on the day of his resurrection, when he said to them, *John 20. 22. Receiue the holy Ghost: whose sinnes you remitt, they are remitted to them, &c.* The third gift he gaue them in the feast of Pentecost, when he sent his holy spirit vpon them: which being finished, the Apostles were perfect. After the same manner the *Græcian* Bishops make other Bishops; first the Bishop makes this or that man a Priest, but no confession, onely to sacrifice and sanctifie. But after that the Bishop vnderstands that that Priest is a Scholler and learned, then on the day following hee giues him power to be a *Confessor*, and if hee bee vnlearned hee onely Sacrificeth. And if hee deserue to bee a Bishop, on the third day two or three Bishops make him a compleate Bishop, and by reason hereof euery Priest hath not power to heare Confessions, but hee onely who hath authoritie from the Bishop: the Priests desire for the most part that the people confesse their sinnes to them in the Temple, sometimes also in other places, either in a priuate house, or in the fields, but no man is present besides themselves, whether it be in the Church or out of the Church.

Times for Orders.

Confession.

- The *Greekes* pray in the Temple standing vpright. But they haue some high seates in the Temple, such as are in many Colledges, and they may sometimes sit in them, and sometimes stand. When the Priests Preach, then the lay people sit in those seates, yet they stand when they sing. But when they come into the Temple, euery one takes his proper place, and then standing with his Hat off, bendeth downe the three former fingers of his right hand; which being done, he intimates that there are three persons in one deitie. And these fingers thus bended downe, he first laies on the forepart of his head; signifying thereby that the holy trinitie is in heauen. Then he remoues them to his belly, signifying, that the Sonne and the Word of God descended to the earth, and tooke flesh, and was crucified, and buried for our sinnes. Then hee placeth them on his right shoulder, signifying that Christ is risen from the dead, and sits at the right hand of the Father, as *Dauid* said, *Sit at my right hand, till I put thine enemies vnder thy feet.* Then hee laies them on his left shoulder, intimating that Christ should not set vs at his left hand at the last day, but deliuer vs from that, as he hath taught vs, *deliuer vs from euil*: and againe when he saith, *Then will hee place the Sheepe at his right hand, and the Goates at his left*: and euery one in these seuerall spaces of time, that is from the first period of time, wherein hee puts those three fingers on his head, vntill the laying them on his left shoulder, saith these words; *Lord Iesus Christ, Sonne, and Word of God, be mercifull to me a sinner*; and he bends his body, and so this figure signifies the signe of the Crosse, that is, putting his fingers first on his head, after on his belly, then on his right shoulder, and lastly on his left: these actions make a Crosse, and signifie the Crosse whereon Christ was crucified for our sinnes. And thus euery one makes this figure three or foure times, and then sits downe on his seate.

Rites of praier &c. in their Churches.

- The *Greekes* haue a custome that the better sort of them receiue the Sacrament of the precious body and blood of Christ, once, twice, thrice, or foure times in the yeere, yet confession of their sinnes must goe before to some spirituall Priest (they call those *spirituall Priests*, who haue authoritie from the Bishop) And whosoever hee bee which will confesse himselfe to such a kinde of Priest, ought to come to him. And the Priest asketh him, what he desires? hee answereth, saying, *I desire to confesse my sinnes*. Then the Priest goeth with him to the Temple, and there in some priuate place he begins to teach him, saying: See, the Angell of God stands before thee to receiue thy confession. Take heede therefore, that thou concealest no sinne, neither for shame, nor for any other cause, for I am a sinner like thy selfe. Then the *Greeke* begins to confesse his sinnes particularly: which being done, the Priest saith againe, take heede that you ouerslip no sinne through forgetfulness. Then more seriously then before hee lookes into himselfe, and whatsoeuer sinnes he can remember hee ingeniously confesseth to the Priest. But if hee can remember no more, he tels him, he hath confest all that hee remembers. Then the Priest imposeth him penance, that he fast so many daies, and giue so many almes: which being finished, hee blesteth him in these words; *According to the power which Christ gaue his Apostles*, laying, *whatsoeuer you shall binde on earth, shall be bound in heauen; and whatsoeuer ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heauen*: Againe, according to the power which the Apostles gaue the Bishoppes, and the Bishoppes

Rites of Confession.



gave mee, be blessed of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, and let thy portion be with the just. Which short benediction being ended, he makes a longer prayer over his head: who ariseth and leaveth some money in the place for the Priest to pray for him afterward. And so hee goes forth and performes whatsoever the Priest enioynes him. And when the time comes that he must receive the Lords Supper, he must goe to that Priest or some other, who must pray over his head, he in the meane time kneeling.

Their Temples  
The Quire.

Communion,

Holy bread.

Fonts and  
Baptisme.

Excommu-  
nication.

All the *Greekish* Temples have a certaine place, distinct from the rest of the Temple, wherein Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons onely enter, and wherein they performe their holies, and when the Priest will give the holy Sacrament to them that will receive it, hee stands at the doore of that place, and they that desire to receive it come neere the doore, and stand right before it. They come after this manner: when the time drawes neere to receive it, they come before the doore where the Priest celebrates his holies, and bend their knees to the East, and worship God. Then they turne to the West, and kneeling, say to the people, *Blesse vs brethren, wee have sinned in word and deede.* And the people answer, saying, *God pardon you brethren:* then they turne to the South side of the Church, and say the same words to them as before, and they answer in the same manner. In like fashion they turne themselves and kneele to the North side of the Church, saying as before, and receiving the same answer. After this they all come neere to doore of the place where the Priest performes his holies, and the Priest comes forth holding the Sacrament in his hands, and stands in the middle of the doore, and gives to every one the body and bloud of our Lord, the Bread and Wine mingled together, saying, *N. N. servant of God, receiveth in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost.* And in the very particle of time, wherein they receive the Sacrament every one with a lowe voyce saith to himselfe, *Lord I will not kisse thee as Iudas, but as the Theefe I confesse thee, remember mee O Lord when thou comest in thy Kingdome:* And after these words hee takes the Sacrament. And after that holy receiving, presently hee receives of the same Priest, a small portion of the Bread, called the *divine guist*, whereof we spake before, when we mentioned the *Greekish* praiers of the whole yeere.

The Greekes have certaine small Vessells in the Church called Fonts, wherein they baptise Infants in this manner; when the time comes to baptise an Infant, the kindred of the childe heat water with sweet smelling hearbs, and put the water into the foresaid vessell, but whiles the water warmes, the Priest prayes and puts Oyle into the water. After the prayers, the Priest taketh the childe in his armes, and puts the whole Infant thrice quite vnder the water, saying *N. N. the servant of God is baptised in the name of the Father,* then hee ducks the Infant, and drawes him out and then addes, *and of the Sonne,* and then againe ducks him, and drawes him out, and lastly addes *in the name of the holy Ghost,* and then againe ducks the Infant and pluckes him out, that is three times diving him the water, and pulling him out of the water, as Christ said to his Disciples, *goe forth baptising in the name of the Father and of the Sonne and of the holy Ghost.* All which being finished, hee reades certaine prayers, as heere in Great Brittain, and restores the childe to his Kinsfolke.

It is a custome amongst the Greekes to excommunicate those that are grievous offenders (because Saint Paul saith, *when you are assembled together, and my spirit also deliver that man over to Satan; and againe reprove him severely*) for example sake. A certaine wicked man hath borne false witness, or dealt iniuriously with some man, the man wronged, cites this false witness before some Priest, or Bishop, and the Bishop asketh the false witness whether his testimonie bee true or not: the witness affirms his testimonie to be true; then the Bishop or Priest puts on his Pontificall attire (whether hee be in the Church, or elsewhere) which garments signifie the seamlesse and purple coat of Christ and other things. And at that time the Bishop or Priest is a tipe of Christ, because of those holy Garments, and the grace which he received of the Bishops. Then he commands the false witness to stand before him, and begins that Psalm, wherein it is said, *O God be not silent of my praise, because the mouth of the sinner and deceitfull was opened against mee,* and the rest which followes in that Psalm; then hee addes certaine prayers; and after saith, *by the authoritie which Christ gave his Apostles, viz. Whatsoever you shall loose in earth shall bee loosed in heaven, and whatsoever you shall binde in earth, shall bee bound also in heaven: And by the authoritie which the Apostles gave to the Bishops, and the Bishops gave mee, by this authoritie I excommunicate thee; thou shalt not converse with Christians, and shalt be separated from the Father and the Sonne, and the holy Ghost; and from the three hundred and eightene Fathers, Divines of the Nicene Councell, and from all Saints: and thy portion shall bee with the Devil, and Iudas and thou shalt bee indissoluble for ever as stones and Iron for a testimonie, vlesse thou repentest.* These things being done, hee dismisseth him. And if the false witness doe not afterward repent, but die in his opinion; after a yeere (for the Greekes are wont to digge vp the Sepulchres of those, which died in the former yeere, and also the Sepulchre of that false witness) and they finde him entire, his bodie blacke, his hayre yet remayning and his nayles white, and they cast him out of the Sepulchre, and set him bolt vpight against a wall and hee stands firmly of himselfe, as a solid piece of timber: and if you strike his belly it will sound like a drumme, and therefore he is called *Timpanians*. See also *Cassianus* in his



rian in his histories calls an excommunicate person *Timpanium*. If you doubt, you may speake to your Merchants to enquire in *Palae-patia*, *Theffalonica*, *Alexandria*, *Constantinople* or any where else, you may also enquire of the Greeks that are in *England*, who will certifie you of the truth.

About threescore yeeres since or somewhat more, the *Iewes* which inhabited about *Cairo*, bitterly enuied the *Christians*; for they saw that the *Gouernour* was very courteous, and therefore they consulted together to giue him a double tribute for the *Christians*, so that he would destroy them because *Christ* spake falsely, saying, *Whosoever hath Faith as a graine of Mustard seede, shall say to this Mountaine, passe hither or thither, and it shall goe. Math. 17. 20. and if they drinke any deadly thing it shall not hurt them, Mar. 16. 19.* Then the furious *Gouernour* called the Patriarch, and laid, your Religion is false, because *Christ* said whosoever belieueth in mee although he drinke any deadly thing, it shall not hurt him: And presently commanded the Patriarch, that he should drinke poison before him, without making the signe of the crosse, because the *Iewes* had enforced him, that the *Christians* wrought magically by it, for when they make the signe of the crosse, then the poison looseth his efficacie, and therefore the *Gouernour* commanded the Patriarch, that he should not make the signe of the crosse, when he drunke the poison. Then the Patriarch calling the people, praied and fasted with them three daies, and the third day tooke the Communion with them, and they went all to the *Gouernour*. Then the *Gouernour* being present and all the *Iewes*, one of the *Iewes* brought a cup full of strong poison, and gaue it the Patriarch to drinke: Then the *Gouernour* said to the Patriarch, holding the cup in his hand, take heede you make not the signe of the crosse on the cup; then the Patriarch blessing the cup mystically, asked the *Gouernour*, saying, where will you that I drinke, on this side, or on this, or on this, or on this? and by this meanes he laid his fingers on the foure sides of the superficies of the cup, sanctifying the cup mystically. Then the *Gouernour* said to the Patriarch, drinke where you will, not knowing that the Patriarch had blessed the cup with the signe of the crosse: after this the Patriarch dranke off the whole cup. And after hee had drunke, he bad them bring him some water, and they brought some: then he put a little water into the cup, and washed it. Then he said to the *Gouernour*, I haue drunke all the poison, let a *Iew* drinke onely this water that is in the cup, that we may see his faith; then the Patriarch offered the cup to the *Iew* that first brought it him, that he might drinke it: but the *Iew* would not. Then the *Gouernour* threatned him, saying, drinke, that we may see also thy Religion. And so the *Iew* dranke the water in the cup, and presently burst in sunder. Then the *Iewes* gaue great quantitie of monie to the *Gouernour*, saying that the Patriarch had wrought witchcraft: but *Christ* saith whosoever hath faith as a graine of mustard seede, shall say to this Mountaine, remoue thither, and it shall remoue. Now let the Patriarch call that Mountaine which is ouer against vs, and if it come to vs, then let the *Christians* slay vs. Then againe the Prince said to the Patriarch, that hee should call the Mountaine, or otherwise the *Christians* must die. Then the Patriarch besought the *Gouernour* to grant him three daies, that the *Greekes* might take counsell together: but the Patriarch and people praied with teares daie and night, and on the third day, according to their custome they receiued the Lords Supper; and after they had done, they all assembled together both *Greekes*, *Turkes*, and *Iewes*, and came to the appointed place, and then the Patriarch stretching out his hand towards the Mountaine, said, *In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, Mountaine, come hither*; and sodainely it cloue in peeces, and came to them. But all feared least it should couer them. Then the *Gouernour* said to the Patriarch, command that the Mountaine stand still, then againe stretching out his hands, the Patriarch blessed the Mountaine, saying, *Stand Mountaine*, and the Mountaine stood there: and from that time the Mountaine was called *Stand-Mountaine* vnto this day: but in *Turkish* it is called *Dourdag*, that is, *Stand-Mountaine*. Then the *Gouernour* said to the Patriarch, that the *Gracians* should kill the *Iewes*: but the Patriarch answered the *Gouernour*, wee *Christians* are not accustomed to kill men; but for their punishment let them cause that the water which runs beneath *Cairo*, may come into *Cairo*, that all men in the Citie may drinke of it at the *Iewes* cost, which to this day is done.

The *Greekes* also haue Monkes, but onely of the order of *Basil the great*. But this order is diuided into three orders, the first is called *Monasticall*, the second is *Anacoreticall* (which liue apart) the third *Asceticall*, or if you will *Exerciticall*.

The first Order which is called *Monasticall* is in this manner: there are Monasteries amongst the *Greekes*, both great and little; some of them haue fiftie Monkes, others a hundred, some one hundred and fiftie, some two hundred, others three hundred, others foure hundred, and others more. But the Monkes of this first Order liue a common life; for they all dine and sup together with their *Gouernour* at the same table: And neither the *Gouernours* meate nor drinke differs from the rest of the Monkes, whether they be illiterate or wise. And whensoeuer the *Gouernour* eates or drinks, they all eate the same bread and the same meate, and drinke the same drinke. But for decencie, the *Gouernour*, Seniors, and Priest, differ in their garments. Most of the Monkes of this first Order labour with their hands: but the Priests and Deacons labour not, but attend to reading and ecclesiasticall functions: but the rest liue by the labour of their hands, some make the

*Christopher Furner* mentioneth this Patriarch and his poisoned Cup, pag. 1376. He was aliue 35. yeeres after *An. 1565.* being then 103 yeeres old. That of remouing the Mountaine I doubt *Greca* fide to haue benee hither added from that which *M. Polo* relateth, *To. 2. pa. 70.* For *Furer* should as wel haue heard this as that, hauing letters of commendation from him: but he mentions it not. Addition & multiplication is no new thing with *Miraclemongers*.

*Greekish Monks*

Order Monasticall.

Their life in common.



Hand-labours.

Monkes shooes, some spin Sheepes wooll, and Goates haire, some are Brasiers, and make Hatchets, of Brasse, others betake themselues to keepe flockes of Sheepe, and hire mercenarie Shepheards to serue them: and are conuersant with them a yeere, and when a yeere is past, they goe to the Monasterie and tarrie there, others goe to keepe Horses, and remaine out a yeere, and then others are sent out by the Ancients of the Monasteries, and according to this manner the ancients send out Monkes yeerely to keepe Horses, Oxen, Bees, Sheepe, and other busineses, and after a yeere they returne to the Monasterie, and in this manner liue the Monkes in the Monasteries: many Priests also are sent by the ancients into *Walachia*, *Mosconia*, and *Iberia*, that whatsoeuer the Kings giue them, they may carrie to the Monasterie, and they abide in the Monasterie, and others are sent forth, and thus liue the Monkes of the first Order in their Monasteries,

Their habit.

They weare a hat on their head, which hides their eares, signifying that they heare nothing, neither learne mens vices, but are accounted as deafe men: as *Paul* saith, *bee children in malitiousnesse*. They weare also another Hat vpon that which represents the figure of a Sepulcher, and hides the head, and hangs downe almost to the girdle, intimating that hee which weares this figure is dead from worldly things, neither ought hee which is cloathed in this habit to be carefull about worldly affaires, that is, about honours, riches, kindred, friends, fauour with men, nor cherishing the body, but account himselfe to be dead, not as if hee were really dead, but with a kinde of preoccupied opinion of death, as the Lord saith; *Whosoener will come after mee, let him deny himselfe, and take up his crosse and follow mee*: And *David*, *Wee are killed all the day long for thy sake*.

Monkes Eremiticall.

The second Order of Monkes is called *Anachoreticall*, or *Heremiticall*, that is, when there is any rich man, that cannot liue in the Monasterie, then hee giues as much monie to the Monasterie as will buy a house, and the Monks liuing in the Monasterie giue him some great house, which is distant two or three miles from the Monasterie, wherein hee liues with two or three poore Monks, as the Monasticall do in Monasteries: but that house hath a Church, Vine-yard, Oliue-yard, Nuts, Cherries, Almonds, and other things necessarie to liue on abundantly. And this is the second Order of Monkes of *Basil* the great.

Monkes Asceticall, or vacant to stricter exercises.

The third Order of Monkes is called *Asceticall*, or *Exerciticall*, that is, the Order giuen to exercise, for these are exceedingly exercised in vertue: these liue a strict and rigid life, they are content onely with little houses, or Caues, and haue neither Vineyards nor Fields; yet some of them haue great Vines, but make no Wine of them, but nourish them to eat the Grapes: they haue also Figge trees, and such like things, wherewith they liue, namely Beanes, Cherries, Apples, Chestnuts boild on the fire with water. They gather also in the Spring time Apples, Parseley, Figges, Cherries, and cut them in peeces, and dry them in the Sunne: and these thus prepared they eat with bread the rest of the yeere, once in a day, and twice on Feast daies: some eat once onely on Feast daies: these get their liuing by their sweate and labour: For the *Greekish* Church doth not suffer Monkes or Hermites to begge; because they remember that *Paul* saith, *Hee which will not worke, let him not eat*. But sometimes some rich *Grecians* send almes to the Monasteries, and to the Hermites, and these exercised men receiue them: but the course of their life is such; some make vpper Garments of Goates and Sheepes wooll, which the Monks weare vpon their Garments: some make Hats of straw, some make wodden Spooones, and some of them write Bookes; and all these hand-wrought things they giue to the Monkes dwelling in Monasteries, and they supply the Hermits with all necessities: and this is the third Order of Hermit Monkes. I write these things, because I am an eye-witnesse, and speake certainly, truely, and boldly. This is the third Order of the Monkes of *Basil* the great.

No Abby-labbers nor begging Friers.

Monkes fasts.

The fasting of the first and second Order, that is of the Monasticall, and of those who are Governours of two or three Monkes is on this manner: They fast through the whole yeere, euerie weeke thrice, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday: they fast on Monday, because on Saturday and Sunday they eat twice in a day, and they eat Fish, and Butter, and Egges, and Milke, and Cheefe, and Oyle, and Wine: but that their concupiscence may not be encreased, they fast on Monday: on Tuesday and Thursday, Saturday and Sunday, they eat twice those things which I mentioned before. The fast of the three daies is in this manner: the second houre after noone they pray in the Temple, and going out they goe to the Table, and eat Beanes with broth, without Oyle and Butter, and some Hearbes with Vinegar, or Pease, or other pulse boild without Oyle or Butter, &c. at euening they goe to the Temple, and after praiers going out, they sit neere the Temple, and the Butler is wont to goe round about carrying a Cup full of fragments of Bread, and giues to euery one of the Monkes a peece of Bread, and a cup of water: the yonger sort take them, but the elders receiue nothing; but after they haue sit a while, they goe againe into the Temple, and pray, and sometimes the space of an houre, sometimes halfe an houre; and when they goe forth, the Governour stands in the Church Porch, euerie Monke when hee goeth out at the doore prostrates himselfe before him, saying, *blesse Lord*; but the Governour answers, saying, *God grant thee this my Sonne*, and so againe they returne to their houses, and it is not lawfull for any, any longer to speake together, and so they begin to pray in their



their houses, and performe their priuate deuotions, and kneeling before God, euery one to aske pardon for himselfe, and for others a whole houre, and then they goe to sleepe till the clocke sounds midnight, and then they all rise, and goe all to praier, vntill morning, and then going out of the Temple, they goe about their priuate arts, and worke almost till dinner; and then they goe to the Temple before dinner, and when they are come from thence, they goe to dinner as the day before, and when they rise from dinner the Gouvernour stands in the doore of the dining roome, and euery Monke going forth prostrates himselfe before the Gouvernour, saying, *blesse Lord*, and the Gouvernour answereth, saying, *God pardon thee my sonne*. But in the time of their great Lent, they bow themselves before the Gouvernour, both in dinner time, and after supper in the Temple answering in the same manner: and thus doe they throughout the whole yeere. Moreover, if any of the Monkes chance to sleepe, and not rising at the beginning when they beginne to pray but the first houre of praier, which is called midnight, is past, and hee riseth after midnight; hee on that day dineth not with the other Monkes, but whiles the rest are eating, hee stands at the entrance to the Table before them all, and bowes himselfe before all that are eating, saying, *Haue mercy on mee O God, according to thy great mercie, &c.* vntill all of them rise from dinner; and when they rise, all would goe forth together; but hee falls on the ground and saith, *O holy Fathers, blesse mee an idle person, because I haue sinned*; and euery one of his brethren saith, *God pardon thee brother*: and when all are gone out, then hee eates: and they doe after this manner both the elder and yonger Monkes: they doe this willingly, that all may haue a good example to rise alwayes at the time of the first Prayer.

The third order of Monkes is called the *exercised Order*, these exercised eate all the yeere once in a day, except on solemne daies, and feast daies, and often then also they eate but once; if they dine they sup not; as we declared before of the fasting of the first and second order of Monkes.

Their Lent  
fasts.

The Monkes also haue foure Lents in the yeere as the Laickes. The first Lent is called the great and holy Lent, as is said before, because it is the tithing of their soules for the yeere, because in the eighth weeke the Laickes pardon their enemies, and confesse and prepare themselves, that when the holy Lent comes they may be pure in heart, and supplicate God for their sinnes. After the same manner also the Monkes vntill the seuenth weeke before Easter, forgiue one another their trespasses, and prepare themselves that they also may be pure in heart: they beginne to fast from Munday, that is the seuenth weeke before Easter: they fast Munday and Tuesday: but one Wednesday they eate: but on the two former daies they eate nothing. But some on Tuesday about the Euen eate a morsell of bread with water; and after Wednesday they begin daily to eate once vntill Saturday. On Saturday and Sunday, on these two daies vntill Easter they eate Oile, and drinke Wine; but on the five other daies of the weeke they eate once, and eat dried Apples, and such like things (whereof we said the exercised eate) they eate, and the Monkes in the great Lent. But some of the Monkes of the two Orders, and of the Exercisers and Heremits, in the great Lent often in three daies eate once. But in the great Euen wherein Christ was crucified, all the Monkes fast all the daies, and neither dine nor sup, but only eate a little bread on Saturday, and drinke Wine moderately, that they may abide in the Church, for they watch all night singing for ioy of the Resurrection of Christ.

Good Friday,

The *Greekish* Monkes haue an order to rise to pray euery night an houre and an halfe after midnight: but on Sundaies one houre after throughout the whole yeere. They watch from the Euening till Morning on Dominiacall Feasts, and on the Feasts of great Saints, that is; in the night of the Resurrection of Christ, and of the Ascension: Pentecost and John the Baptist, and the foure and twentieth of the month of June, on the Feast of Peter and Paul; on the sixt day of August: because on that day they celebrate a great Feast for the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Thabor: And it is called to this day, the day of the transfiguration of Christ. Moreover, rich and poore celebrate a great Feast, and watch all the night the fifteenth day of August; because on that day Mary a Mother and a Virgin was translated from Earth to Heauen: and so on other Feast daies as on Christs Natiuitie.

The *Grecian* Monkes haue a custome, that when a Laicke will be made a Monke, he first goeth to the Monasterie; and there the Gouvernour asketh him what he would haue; to whom hee answers that he would be made a Monke. The Gouvernour replies: it is necessary that you remaine three yeeres in the Monasterie, in which time you may proue and examine your selfe. After the three yeeres finished, if he like not to be a Monke, he may goe away and marrie a wife; but if hee like, then the Gouvernour taketh him, and leading him to the Temple thus speaketh to him: Behold, the Angell of the Lord expecteth that he may receiue the confession: take heed therefore that thou desirest not to be a Monke because of any affliction (that is lest thou shouldst haue killed any, and therefore for feare of death comest hither; or hast grieved thy parents, or hast desired to haue carnall pleasures with some and couldst not, and for easing thy griefe comes to be made a Monke, and not for loue to God &c.) Then he which is to be a Monke answereth, not so honorable father, but I desire to liue a quiet and peaceable life, and to abstaine from worldly troubles and tumults, to fast, watch, and in peace to pray vnto God. Then the Gouvernour replies againe: therefore dost thou desire to renounce the world, and

Monkes how  
made.

Three yeeres  
probation.



worldly pleasures for the love of God? hee that is to be a Monke answereth, *yea truly honourable Father, God willing: Will you forsake Father and Mother, Brethren, Marriage, the ioyes and delights of this world? (as Christ saith, Whosoever leaueth Father and Mother, &c. for the love of Christ) he answeres, yea truly, honourable Father, God willing,* and after this manner answeres to euery Interrogatorie. Then the Gouvernour after Praiers attires him in a Monkish Habit; and with a palse of Cissers cuts from his head a few haire, and fastens them mingled with Bees Waxe in some corner neere the Sacring place, signifying that hee is consecrated to God, nor henceforth hath power ouer his owne bodie, to marrie a wife: because Christ saith, *No man putting his hand to the plough, and looking back is fit for the Kingdome of God.*

Forgiuing one  
another.  
Obedience.

The *Greekes* obey the diuine Law verie strictly: when as the Lord saith *Forgiue and it shall bee forgiven you*, they forgiue their enemies their offences: euery one saith particularly these words, *I heartily forgiue mine enemies that God may forgiue me.* Also they obey the lawes of the holy Apostles for example, where *Paul* saith, *Let every soule bee subiect to the higher powers; for there no power but of God.* They obey diligently also the precepts of the Fathers which are according to the Lawes of God.

Easter why dif-  
ferent from  
the Latines.

See of this  
Sandys sup. l. 6. p.  
907.

Moreouer, the *Greekes* celebrate the Feast of Easter according to the ancient custome for these reasons: first, that they may neither keepe it before the *Jewes*, nor with the *Jewes*, as it sometimes happens that this new Passouer is obserued by the *Latines*, before the *Jewes*, and sometimes with the *Jewes*. Secondly, because the holy *Nicene* Councell that first and vniuersall one saith, if any celebrate Easter before the *Jewes*, or with the *Jewes* let him bee accursed. Thirdly, because neere the Riuer *Nile*, and the Citie *Cairo*, is a great wonder the earth casting forth dead carkasses (that Countrie begins to cast them forth on the great day of Thursday before the Feast in which day Christ made his mysticall Supper) but it casts forth dead bodies daily till the day of Ascension, that is, the day on which Christ ascended into Heauen, viz. till the fortieth day after Easter, and after that day it ceaseth to cast forth any. This wonder both *Gracian* and *Turkish* Merchants mention, as many as come from those places into *Greece*: as also others testifie, who goe to *Ierusalem* to worship Christs Sepulchre, and after they goe to that place, where the bodies are cast out of the Earth, to see the Miracle: but his Miracle is according to the number of the old Feast. The *Greekes* did decree twentie yeers since to celebrate the feast according to the new number, but the bodies were neither cast forth according to that time; neither did the holy light shine, as it was wont yeerely to shine in the holy Sepulchre of Christ about the ancient time of Easter: then the *Greekes* staied til the ancient time of Easter, about which time the holy light shined in Christs Sepulchre, as it was wont yeerely, and the earth neere *Nile* cast forth dead bodies: and then the *Greekes* kept the Feast, saying: behold, God sheweth vs the true time of Easter, and wee care not for humane wisdom.

See Fulcherius  
sup. l. 8. c. 2. p.  
126.

The weapons  
of our warfare  
are not carnall  
but spirituall.  
2. Cor. 10. 4.  
Christ cruci-  
fied apprehen-  
ded by faith,  
crucifying our  
old man, and  
mortifying our  
lusts.  
All the spiri-  
tuall worship  
of God would  
be turned to  
such carnall &  
bodily rites, as  
you see in this  
and almost all  
the differing  
Christian sects  
Patriarke of  
*Constantinople*.  
His Giergie.  
His mainte-  
nance.

The *Greekes* say, that the Crosse is Christs Scepter, and his two edged Sword; and as a Souldier fights with his Sword, and ouercomes his enemies, so Christ also because hee was crucified, ouercame the Deuill, he could without the Crosse haue saued man, and vanquished the Deuill; but he would not, because it seemed good to him to doe so: but as when a great King goeth to warre, he sends his Scepter before him, and armeth his Souldiers with strong weapons, that they may fight with their enemies, and that the people may know the King comes: whence it comes to passe, that the glorie of the King is spread all abroad, before he comes to that place, whither he sent his Scepter before him; after the same manner also our Lord Iesus Christ doth, he defends vs Christians, armed with his Crosse, which Crosse signifies the Passion of Christ, and wheresoeuer the Crosse appeares, hauing this Title written on it, *Iesus Christ ouercomes*, Christ is preached and prayes: but not euery Crosse, or thing like a Crosse is called the Crosse of Christ, but that which is inscribed with this Title, *Iesus Christ ouercomes*; that is called the Crosse of Christ, whether it be of siluer or of metall, or of wood, these Letters consecrate that Crosse to Christ: for that Crosse signifies that Christ was crucified for our sinnes, and ouercame our enemies: therefore *Dauid* saith, *Lord, in thy light we shall see light*: the light of the Father is the Sonne, the light of the Sonne is the Crosse, &c.

The Patriarke of *Constantinople* hath now vnder him seuentie and foure Metropolitans; but there are more then thirtie of these, that haue not Bishops vnder them, of those which haue, this hath one, this two, this three, &c. all the Bishops are seuentie two or seuentie and three. But all the Bishops and Metropolitans are almost a hundred and fiftie. The Patriarke of *Constantinople* hath his proper Seate only at *Constantinople*. Hee hath for his maintenance from that Citie a piece of Gold at euery Marriage. And he hath twelue pence of euery house once in three yeeres throughout his whole Prouince; viz. of euery Prouince of the Metropolitans that haue their Seates subiect to him: he hath also a certaine small gift of the Deacons and Priest when he giues them their Orders. Also euery Priest in that Citie yeerely giues him a piece of Gold. When rich Christians die, they leaue to the Patriarke of that Church; houses, fields, sheepe, wealth, &c. And euery Metropolitane and Archbishop when they are consecrated by the Patriarke giue him some small gratuitie. And euery Metropolitane yeerely giues the Patriarke, this man twentie pound, that thirtie, another five and twentie pounds for the Kings Tribute. Of which wealth the



the Patriarke giues annually 6080. pieces of Gold in name of all the chiefe Priests: that the *Tur- Tribute.*  
*kish* King may let the Patriarke remaine in *Constantinople*, and the *Greekish* Metropolitans,  
 Archbishops and Bishops in his whole Kingdome; and obserue the Christian Religion. The Pa-  
 triarkes seruants, and of all the chiefe Priests are Monkes. Seuentene or more Priests and His Family:  
 Ministers eate of the Patriarkes bread. Hee hath two Chaplaines, two Deacons, a Steward,  
 Chappell Clarke, two Singers, a Porter, a Horse-keeper, and a Keeper of his great Seale, and  
 and another of his Priue Seale.

In like manner euery Metropolitane and Archbishop hath a proper Citie: these also receiue a Other Bishops:  
 small reward for the election of Bishops. Also they receiue yeerely of euery Bishop, twentie,  
 10 fiftene, or ten pounds. Moreouer, of the Deacons and Priests a small gratuitie for their imposi-  
 tion of hands. Moreouer, euery Priest yeerely giues to the Metropolitane or Archbishop a piece  
 of Gold: they take also at euery Wedding a piece of Gold; and Almes for burying the dead, as  
 is said of the Patriarke. Moreouer, yeerely of euery Family in the Citie a bushell of Corne, and  
 Wine, and Oile, and Silke, and of these things the Metropolitans liue.

After the same manner the Bishops take a small reward of the Deacons and Priests for Imposi-  
 tion of hands: they also receiue yeerely of euery Priest a piece of Gold, and as much for  
 euery Marriage, also as much of euery Family yeerly in his Prouince, besides a bushell of Corne,  
 Wine, Oile, and Silke.

The Priests liue of the superfluitie of the Church, that is to say, some Churches haue fields, Priests, liuinge  
 20 vineyards, houses and such like: but if the Church hath not plentie of those, euery house-  
 holder giues the Priest yeerely a bushell of Corne (a *Bushell* signifies here the third part of a horse  
 load.) Moreouer the *Greekes* haue yeerely fixe and thirtie feast daies, twelue of them are called  
 Dominicall, that is, pertaining to Christ and the blessed Virgin, the other foure and twentie are  
 of Saint *Iohn* the Baptist, of the holy Apostles and famous Martyrs: on all these Feast daies the  
 Priest must administer the Communion: and euery Family giues to the Priest two pence, hee  
 prayes particularly for euery donor, before he begins to sacre. Moreouer, on these Feast daies, the  
*Greekes* entertaine many strangers: and sometimes make fixe or fixe Feasts in a Village, and the  
 Priest must be present at euery Feast, and blesse the viands, and they giue the Priest bread, flesh,  
 30 wine, monie and other things which will be sufficient for his Family the whole weeke, and thus  
 doe the Priests liue.

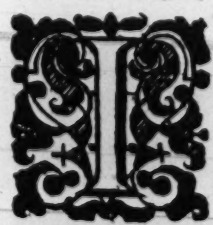
Moreouer, if any liuing in the Cities or Prouinces of the *Greekes* will be made Deacons, they Deacons:  
 must first marrie: and then the Bishops make them Deacons. But if they will not marrie, they  
 must first be made Monkes, and then the Bishops with their Suffrages make them Monkish  
 Deacons, and they may not after marrie, because the Bishops haue separated them.

Also, the Monkes sleepe alwaies with their Coats girt about them: so also the Laicks sleepe  
 with their wiues with their clothes on: because *Paul* saith; I would haue those that haue wiues  
 to be as if they had none, and those that haue none, as if they had.

Scripture  
 abused.

CHAP. XV.

Collections out of PETER STROZA, Secretary to Pope PAUL the  
 Fifth, his Treatise of the Opinions of the Chaldeans, touching  
 the Patriarke of Babylon, and the Nestor-  
 rians in Asia.



It happened that amongst those poore men, whose feet were on Maundie Thurs-  
 day, according to the wonted Solemnitie, washed by Pope *Paul* the Fifth, in the  
 first yeere of his Papacie, there were two *Chaldeans*, one a Monke, the other a  
 Lay-man, which a little before had made their Pilgrimage to *Rome*; which car-  
 ried some presents to *Elias* the Patriarke of *Babylon* from the Pope, and gaue him  
 a Booke of the profession of faith, propounded to the men of the East which  
 came to *Rome*; whereby, and by their extolling the Popes gentle vsage, the said Patriarke *Elias*  
 sent Legates to the Pope to giue him thanks and to acknowledge him for their common Father  
 and Lord, with acknowledgement of his subiection & profession of the same faith, indeuouring to  
 make it appear that the difference betwixt *Rome* & them was only in words & not in sense. These  
 Legates fell amongst Theeues; and others were sent, which with much difficultie came to *Rome*,  
 60 where hearing how odious the name of *Nestorius* was, to decline the suspicion of *Nestorian* He-  
 resie, they tooke some pages out of the Bookes of their profession and rites, being perswaded there-  
 to by a *Iew* lately conuerted. They returning in this manner, and little being done, *Elias* consul-  
 teth with his Bishops, and sends *Adam* the Archdeacon of the Patriarchall Chamber, Abbot  
 of the *Chaldeen* Monkes, to render account of their faith, and humbly to desire correction, if  
 ought



ought therein were erroneous. Hee brought a Letter and profession the third yeere after the departure of the former. The Letter is this.

From the Patriarchall Chamber, Prayers and Blessings be giuen to you.

The Letter of  
Elias Patriarch  
of Babylon to  
the Pope,  
A. 1610.

See what the  
Popes pre-  
sence can doe  
with a poore  
Patriarch.  
Remoue from  
me vanity and  
lies—least I be  
poore and steale,  
and take the  
name of my God  
in vain, Pro. 30.

\* Yea what  
need, and very  
needy ones are  
they, and this  
too, which  
makes him tell  
more then  
Rome it selfe  
euer dreamed,  
of Romes great-  
nes in the East,  
as others haue  
also done of  
the South.

\* This is the  
Easterne fashi-  
on to receiue  
the Letters &  
Mandates of  
their Princes  
on their heads

From humble Elias of the East, who by the grace of God serueth the holy See of Babylon, continuall adorations, and perpetuall inclinations & everlasting kneeling before your holy feet: O blessed Father, and head of Fathers, Sunne of Christianitie, and Name on which is situated the adifice of the Church of Churches; my Lord, and my Father the Pope, Lord (and) Father of all the Patriarches which are in the Vniuerse. Your Charitie towards vs may be pleased to take notice, that your Letters haue come to vs, and your firme Faith, and the blessing which you sent my lowliness; and I receiued a blessing together with my people, and haue giuen thanks to Christ, for that I am made worthy of the blessings of your Holinesse, and of your illustrious memorie, and you haue numbred me among the sonnes of your Father-hood besides my merits. I presently sent a thanksgiving and letters, and my Faith. But wicked men met my Legates, and tooke all things from them, and they returned to me empty: againe I sent others, which came not to your Holinesse, which grieved mee with my Bishops and Archbishops, and I said, What shall I doe? I cannot goe, because the Princes our Oppressors permit mee not; neither can I goe to Ierusalem: they hold vs as Slaues, and permit vs not to doe our will. At last I sent thy Faith and letters of thy puritie, with my faithful Sonne and Counsellour Father Adam, to shew them in all our Regions, that we might see what was fitting to be done of vs Orientalls, and he remained in these Regions a whole yeere: and wee all consulted together, and haue sent to your Holinesse the same Father Adam; and I haue sent with him my Faith and letters, and said that he should treat with your Holinesse of these things further then is written, because hee is the Head of Fathers and Abbat of the Orientall Monkes, and wee haue none of more note, as all the East confesseth. And now, O Father, with bowed head wee adore before thy Seat without fraud and guile, & thy Precept is receiued of me according to his Precept, which deliuered thee the Keyes. Nor will I deny that voyce spoken to Peter, I haue giuen thee the keyes, and what thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heauen, and what thou shalt lose on Earth shall be lost in Heauen. And I will not resist as doe others, Heretikes against the precept of the holy Apostles, and orthodoxe Fathers, which affirmed that the See of Great Rome should hold the principalltie, and she is the Head of all Sees: farre be it from me, but I confesse that the Roman Church is the Mother of Churches, and he which doth not confesse it, let him be Anathema. And our Babylonian See is not elected of it selfe, as of other Heretikes, which haue multiplied Patriarches in the world without Law, but by the Precept of the Pope, and counsell of the Roman Church, was the See of Babylon chosen, and so it is found written amongst vs in the Chronicles, namely, that the Orientall Fathers were ordained at Rome. But afterwards it came to passe, that when they sent men for Confirmation they were slaine in their iourney, and when they did so a long time, all perished. This being told to the Church and Pope, the Pope decreed in a Conncell and said, Let vs ordaine them a Patriarch, and let vs permit them to chuse their Patriarches, that they die not in the way for Confirmation, nor any evils happen to them, and so we should sinne, and they remaine without the Roman fold. And thus wee haue receiued power till this time, and we haue done nothing of our selues, as the rest, which haue troden under foot the Canons of the Apostles, and Lawes of the Fathers, and haue filled the Earth with Patriarches without need. For this cause the See of Babylon was called the Fifth, for the foure Sees of the foure Euangelists; and because the Patriarch was elected with the Roman Confirmation, and he hath giuen vs power to make Pastors, then was the See of Babylon called, which doth accompany the foure Sees, and is numbred the fifth, as one of them. For, O Father, behold my Faith hath come to your Holinesse with letters, and you may see if there be fraud in our profession, or error, or recoiling from our Mother the Roman Church. Admonish, and we will doe, teach, and we will obey. And if in all things we be true before your See, and there be no fraud in our faith, we desire of your benignitie, that you forget not the pouerty of your seruants, because many of our profession haue undergone dangers when they haue come to you. For some haue dyed, others were slaine by enemies, and few haue returned. And let this suffice your Holinesse from our lowliness, that from the furthest parts of the East, we beare your Precepts on our heads and eyes, and we come against all Nations with our blood, and sustaine calamities that we may adore before your Excellency, and we lowly and subiect may receiue blessing from the Great Mother Church of Paul & Peter. Who vrgeth vs to do this, but the Christian faith, and your loue to our lowliness? And let this suffice that we haue shewed to your Wisdom. But this whole labour we sustaine for the Roman Church; and your Ministers at Ierusalem hold all that are of my profession, as forraiuers and rebels from the Church of Rome, and doe not gratifie vs as before, because their Interpreters are of professions which hate vs, and those your Ministers enquire not the truth. Wee desire your Holinesse to admonish them, and to hold those of our profession, as of yours, and to be gentle to them. I haue sent Letters to your Teachers, to command those of our profession in Ierusalem, because it was written in our Annalls that our Archbishop, which was in Cyprus, and those of our profession which inhabit Ierusalem, and the Clergie in the Monastery of Saint Iames in Nisibis, are numbred amongst the sonnes of the Church of Rome for your Fatherhoods loue to our lowliness. And now who am I, and all mine, and all the Easterne part? Wee are liuing before your Holinesse, but as obedient seruants, are subiect to your Lordship, and with a mind farre from schisme kisse your holy feet, and earnestly desire health to your Holinesse, and flee to your prayers, and the prayers of your fellow seruants Peter and



and Paul, that wee may bee made worthy of the remission of sinnes in the terrible Iudgement Day of God the Word, to whom, and his Father and the Holy Ghost, bee honour and glorie for ever Amen.

His profession of the Faith followeth, part whereof wee haue translated: Wee beleene in God the Father, who is the Maker of Heauen and Earth, and all things therein visible and invisible. And in the Sonne which is of him, and which is equall with him in Essence, and is not lesse then his Father and Maker of all things. And the Spirit of Sanctitie, which proceedeth from the Father, and is not begotten nor begotten, and hee is a glorious substance, and equall in substance with the Father and the Sonne. The Father is Begetter, and not begotten; and the Sonne is begotten, not begetter, and the Spirit of Sanctitie proceeding, not begetter nor begotten, &c. God the Word descended into the Virgin and was ioined with Man, which was compact in her in the power of the Spirit of Sanctitie, and was made one with man, as the coniunction of fire with Iron. And wee beleene that hee receined a body and soule, and understanding, &c. And though they say against vs, that wee confesse not that the Virgin is the Mother of God \* but the Mother of Christ, that is, the Mother of Christ God over all: yet this is nothing, for this is set for the confusion on and reprobation of the false opinion of Apollinaris, which said that the Deitie was without Humanity, and to the confusion of the wickednesse of Semystius, which said; That Christ is a mere Man, to wit, Humanity without Diuinitie, &c. Wee in the denomination of Christ comprehend the two Natures, of the Deitie of the Humanity, and confesse not a simplicitie in Christ as they tra-

\* Nestorius himselfe in an Epistle to Pope Celestine, hath these words of the blessed Virgin: *Christos con autem cum modo quodam theoticon dicitur* &c.

The differences between the Orientals, called Nestorians, &c. vs.

\* See Fulbertus, lib. 7. c. 2.

duce vs, &c. In another Epistle written by the said Elias to the Pope, hee confesseth that the differences acknowledged are brought to these heads. First, The Lord Pope, with all the Fathers of the Great Church of Rome, call the Virgin Saint Mary the Mother of God: but wee of the East call her the Mother of Christ. Secondly, They confesse two Natures of Christ, two Powers, and two Wills: but wee confesse one Power and one Will. Thirdly, They confesse one Person in Christ, and wee confesse two Persons. Fourthly, And they say that the Spirit proceedeth of the Father and the Sonne, and wee confesse that the Spirit proceedeth of the Father. Fifthly, Also the Fathers of Rome say, that that which comes out of our Lords Sepulcher \* is not true light, and wee with all ours receiue it as true light. Hee saith, hee consulted with Adam aforesaid, and with Gabriel the ancientest Archbishop and chiefe Grammarian in his Iurisdiction: which Gabriel answered, That they had receiued of their Ancestors, that there is no diuision twixt vs and the Church of Rome, but in Ceremonies, and they in all their Regions obserue their owne Ceremonies: and as farre, saith hee, as I can understand, there is none other diuision but that one understandeth not the other. But touching thy request, behold Father Adam is before thee, which hath bene proued in the desert from his youth. And I said to our Father Adam, What sayest thou of these things? Hee answered, giue me three dayes space, and the third day, I will answer as much as my infirmities is able, and as much as may suffice, and the third day hee brought his writing; and it pleased mee and all mine. And I gaue him Letters with my Faith and Thy Epistles and Faith, and sent him to the Countries and our Flocke, writing that if they had any thing to answer, hee should bring it. A yeere after hee returned with Letters, that all of our profession submitted themselves. And now I haue sent him, &c.

The Treatise of the said Adam in seuen Chapters, is published by the said Stroza the Popes Secretary, in which hee laboureth to reconcile the Roman and Orientall Churches in the differences aforesaid; which by the said Stroza is learnedly discussed, and the truth enucleated and cleared from Nestorian shuffling, which the learned Reader may peruse in Stroza himselfe; the vnlearned could hardly doe it, though wee had troubled our selues to trouble him with the Translation. The effect was, Adam was reclaimed in those points aforesaid to the Orthodoxe Faith, and sent with the Popes Breue (published also in the Booke aforesaid) dated on the five and twentieth of March, 1614. And Adam wrote another Treatise in maintenance of his corrected faith learned at Rome, by him dated, Ann. 1974. Regis Gracorum, Rome. Diebus beatissimi Patris & Petri nostri temporis, Domini Papa Pauli Quinti, cuius oratio nobiscum sit; all published together by the said Stroza.

Godignius and Myraus say, that Iohn Antonie Maariertus, and Peter Metoscita two Iesuites, were sent backe with this Adam by the Pope, to make a more full reducing of the Nestorians.



## CHAP. XVI.

A briefe survey of the Ecclesiasticall Politie Ancient and Moderne, or of the severall Patriarchs, Archbishops and Bishops Sees thorow the Christian World: also of the Iesuites Colledges and numbers, and of other Monasticall Orders.



*Vbertus Myraus* hath written a Treatise, called *Notitia Episcopatum Orbis Christiani*; and another of *Ecclesiasticall Politie*, or the State of Christian Religion in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the New World diuided into foure Bookes; and as many more of *Monasticall originalls*; out of whom principally, and out of some others I thought fit to collect such things as might serue for our present Historiall purpose; for the Readers knowledge as well of the extension of Christian Religion in these times, as the opinions and differing rites before deliuered.

Our Author begins with *Italy*, as being himself more then enough Italianated. The Princes now potent in *Italy*, are the Pope, the *Spaniard* (which is King of *Naples*, *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, and Duke of *Millaine*) the Prince of *Piemont* (which now is the Duke of *Sauoy*) the Great Duke of *Tuscaine*, the Dukes of *Mantua*, *Mutina* & *Parma*; the Republikes or free States of *Venice*, *Genna*, and *Luca*. *Rome* is the Seat of our Authors Religion, and by him honoured with that blasphemous title of *Vrbs Aeterna* (as for *Terrarum domina*, *urbium Regina*, *Orbis compendium*, they are given too, but too compendious) and was indeed of principall respect in the Church of Christ, euer since the Apostolicall preaching of the Gospell, and the Apostle of the Gentiles testified that their faith was then renowned thorow the whole world; which was so fattened with the blood of their Primitive Bishops and Martyrs, that no where was a more fertill haruest then there, during the Raigne of the Ethnike Emperours. *Constantine* subiecting his Imperiall Scepter to the Crosse, her Bishops also receiued greater splendor of power and pompe, and being the Imperiall Citie, was therefore reputed the first See or Seat of the Patriarches, which then were three, the *Roman*, *Alexandrian*, and *Antiochian*: which diuided the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction of the *Roman World* (so they called their Empire) betwixt the: the *Constantinopolitan* being after both added to the number, & preferred aboue the *Alexandrian* and *Antiochian*; and equalled also with the *Roman*, sauing his meere primacie of Order (for the same cause that now it was also become New *Rome*, and the Imperiall Citie) by decree of the Councell of *Constantinople*, A. 381. and more plainly expressed by the *Chalcedon* Councell, A. 451.

Rome.

Rom. 1. 8.

Three Patri-  
arches in the  
Roman Empire.  
Luc. 2.  
Constantinople.

See Plat. Onup.  
Baron. and all  
the Writers of  
the Popes liues  
in Bonifac. 3.

Onupb. ad Plat.  
in Bonif. 3.

Fiue Patri-  
arches.

Bellar. & alij.

Patriarkship  
of the West, or  
Rome.

As for reasons drawne from Scripture, *I haue prayed for thee, I will giue thee the Keyes, feed my Sheepe*, &c. now adayes alledged as proper causes of Papall preeminence, the ancient Councells knew them not, but alledged meere ciuill respects of the Imperiall residence and power: which yet so puffed vp the Imperious spirits of their successors, that in *Gregories* dayes the *Constantinopolitan* would needs be stiled Vniuersall Bishop, which *Gregory* then withstood as Antichristian; and yet in few dayes after his death, his successor *Boniface* obtained of *Phocas* the murtherer, that swelling and exorbitant Primacie and Papacie, in Ecclesiasticalls, to the *Roman* See, by *Phocas* (to make sure of the *Romans*, in that slippery state of his new gotten Empire by blond and treason) made the *Head of al Churches*. Which power could yet, neither by *Phocas* bee graunted any further then the *Roman* Empire extended, nor was euer acknowledged in the remoter parts of the world, till in these last times pouertie hath made some of the poore Patriarchs (I had almost said Parrats, whom their belly and externall respects haue taught their *chups* which was neuer with reall subiection acknowledged) yea the others Patriarches of the Empire to this day gainsay it, and by long vse, the *Constantinopolitan* is stiled Oecumenicall or Vniuersall Patriarch, the *Roman* vniuersall Pope (which title of Pope, was in ancient times commonly giuen to other Bishops, as in Saint *Augustines* and others Epistles is seene, and the name of Archbishop and Patriarch giuen as preminent Titles to the *Roman* Bishop, yet extant in the *Roman* Councells) who now hauing gotten a Spirituall Papacie, *Gregory* the seuenth aboue 1070. yeeres after Christ, began to turne the same into a Papall Monarchie, which his successors haue more fully effected, not onely in the absolute Principalitie of the Churches Patrimonie, but in a wide-mouthed challenge of Supremacie to depose Kings, and dispose Kingdomes in that hypocritical pretended *ordine ad Deum*. But this you shall finde in other Authors, and I but touch it and now returne to our *Myraus*. The *Ierosolimitan* Bishop, in honour of that holy Citie was dignified with that Patriarchall honor, but later: for the Councell of *Nice* left to the Bishop of *Casaria* his Metropolitan right entire: the Councell of *Chalcedon* gaue him the Title, which some say *Leo* the Bishop opposed so much in pretence of the *Nicene* authoritie, that it was not fully ratified till *Iustinians* time, in the fifth Councell, A. 553. Now for a fifth See at *Babylon* you haue heard *Elias* (a lye as I conceiue) not to be found I thinke ratified by any good History: nor were the most parts of his Iurisdiction euer subiect to the *Roman* Empire.

The *Roman* or Westerne Patriarch had sixe Diocesses, *Italy*, *Illyricum*, *Africa*, *The Gallie*, *Spaines*, and



and Britaine, which were subdivided into severall Prouinces, of which Italy is said to haue seuen-  
teene, *Illyricum* seuen, *Africa* fixe, *Gallia* seuentene, *Hispania* fixe, and *Britaine* fixe, *Britannia* Pri-  
ma, Br. Secunda, *Maxima Caesariensis*, *Flavia Caesariensis* and *Valentia*: by Gregory the Great re-  
duced to the two Archbishopricks of *Canterbury* and *Torke*, and long after Saint *Andrewes* and  
*Glascow*, two other in *Scotland*, and foure in *Ireland*, by authoritie of Pope *Engenius*, An. 1151. *Ar-*  
*mach*, *Dublin*, *Cassiliensis* and *Tnamensis*. Thus much generally and briefly for the West. Now for  
the Easterne World, it was diuided into seuen Diocesses or Regions, *Oriens*, *Egyptus*, *Asiana*, *Pon-*  
*tica*, *Thracia*, *Macedonia* and *Dacia*. Of the Orientall part (more properly called) *Antioch* was  
chiefe Citie, of *Egypt Alexandria*, of the *Asian Ephesus*, of the *Pontike Casarea*, of *Thracia Constantinople*,  
of *Macedonia* and *Dacia Thessalonica*, till *Iustinian* made *Iustiniana Prima* the Metropolitan  
of *Dacia*. The *Constantinopolitan* had three Diocesses acknowledged by the *Chalcedon* Councell,  
*Asiana*, *Pontica*, *Thracia*. *Asiana* had eleuen Prouinces, *Pontica* as many, *Thracia* fixe. *Macedonia*  
had anciently fixe Prouinces, *Dacia* fixe. In the time of *Leo* Emperour, which began to reigne  
An. 1386. the *Constantinopolitan* had eightie one Metropolitans subiect to him (and before the  
*Norman* Conquest many more, when *Sicilia*, *Calabria*, and many Cities of the Kingdome of  
*Naples* were subiect to the *Greeke* Empire) and eightie three Archbishopricks in the same  
*Leos* time.

Easterne divi-  
sion.

Pat. of Const.  
tinople.

Pat. of Alexan-  
dria.

Pat. of Antio-  
chia.

W. Tyr. b. 12. S.

Pat. of Ierusalem.

Meaner Patri-  
archates.

Catholici.

Aquileia.

\* See Myr.  
Notit. Ep. l. 1 c.  
14. Glo. d. 21 c. 1  
verb. Archie-  
piscopus.  
Azarias Frid-  
nius a trauceller

Cardinals.  
Marc. Cor. Sac.  
Cer. R. E.  
Of these read  
Onuphr. us lib.  
de Epist. tit. &  
D. C. & Sac.  
Cer. m. R. E.

To the Patriarch of *Alexandria* the Councell of *Nice* ascribeth *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*:  
After that there were numbred fixe Prouinces, *Egypt*, *Thebais*, *Lybia* Superior, *Lybia* Inferior, or  
*Pentapolis*, *Arcadia* and *Augustamnica*, and after ten. The Patriarch of *Antioch* had the East Dio-  
cesse, in which were fifteene Prouinces, *Syria prima* and *secunda*; *Palestina prima*, *secunda*, *Saluta-*  
*ris*; *Phoenicia prima* and *secunda*, *Cilicia prima* and *secunda*, *Cyprus*, *Euphratensis*, *Mesopotamia*,  
*Osrhana*, *Arabia*, *Isauria*. When the *Frankes* had conquered the Holy Land, the *Antiochian* had  
fixe Archbishopricks onely subiect to him, *Tarsus*, *Edeffa*, *Apamia*, *Heliopolis*, *Conzensum* and *Mann-*  
*strensem*: *Tyrius* reckons thirteene Metropolitans in the first times, besides nine Cities Metro-  
politans not Suffragans, and twelue Archbishopricks, which it seemeth were also autocephali, as  
the former. But afterwards *Ierusalem* was decked with *Antiochian* spoiles, the three *Palestinas*  
being added to the *Ierolimitan* Patriarch. *Tyrius* addes two other taken from the *Alexandrian*  
Patriarch, *Rubensis* and *Berytensis*, in later times stiled *Petracensis* and *Bostrensis*; and vnder the  
*Frankes*, *Tyre*, *Casarea*, *Nazareth* and *Petracensis*.

Other Patriarchs there are of lesse note, as of *Seleucia*, whom *Filefacus* suspected to haue remo-  
ued his See to *Armenia*; of *Ethiopia* (who is neuertheless subiect to the Patriarch of *Alexan-*  
*dria*) of these the *Seleucian* was to haue the sixt place; the *Ethiopian* the seuenth in Councells, and  
they both with the *Armenian* were stiled *Catholici*. The Patriarch of *Aquileia* is mentioned by  
*Paulus Diaconus*, and it is propable that when *Aquileia* was taken by the *Lumbards*, the Patri-  
arch remoued to *Gradus*, and was called the Patriarch of New *Aquileia* or *Gradenfis*. *Friuli* also  
hath had that title; and *Venice* hath succeeded in that *Aquileian* and *Gradenfis* Patriarchate, A.  
1450. by grant of Pope *Eugenius*. The *Pisan* Prelate hath beene also stiled Patriarch, and the *To-*  
*letane* in *Spaine*, as also the *Valentian*, and the Archbishop of *Goa*, and the Archbishop of *Can-*  
*turbury*, *Ments*, *Lions*, and *Bituricensis*, but not so commonly and constantly. The *Iacobites*, *Ne-*  
*storians*, *Maronites*, *Cophiti*, and other Easterne Sects with their Patriarchs wee haue already con-  
sidered. There are also *Franc-Armenians* vnder the Archbishop of *Nexianum*, in whose Iuris-  
diction are the Townes *Abbaran*, *Abbragon*, *Carna*, *Saltach*, *Hascassen*, *Meascen*, *Carfan*, *Xhabun*,  
*Giuhug*, *Caragus*, *Chensug*, and *Artach*; in which are Monasteries of *Dominicans*. *Azarias Fri-*  
*donius* an *Armenian*, A. 1604. was made Archbishop of *Mexian*, in *Armenia* Maior, fixe daies  
journey from *Tauris*. Hee was a *Dominican*, and came from *Armenia* in *Rome*, and out of his  
writing this is related. The *Georgians* were wont to bee subiect to the Patriarch of *Constanti-*  
*nople*, but now are diuided. (The *Russians* also haue procured their Metropolitan the title of  
Patriarch, as wee shall see in D. *Fletchers* Relations. They tell also of a Patriarch at *Damascus*, at  
*Mosul*, *Cairo*, and other places which proteste the former titles.) But let vs looke backe to *Rome*,  
where *Myraus* next to the Pope the Prince, as he calls him, of all Patriarchs and Bishops placeth  
the Cardinals.

The Priests and Deacons of *Rome* haue growne with the Papacie to a strange Prelacie vn-  
knowne in the first thousand yeeres after Christ, to be not only aboue Bishops and Archbishopps,  
and other names of Ecclesiasticall greatnesse, but to be Peeres to Kings and Emperours and Con-  
iudices terrarum orbis, (as Pope *Pius* the Second calls them.) Of these fixe are Cardinall Bishops,  
*Ostia*, *Porto*, *Sauina*, *Palestina*, *Frascati*, *Alba*: the Cardinall Priests and Deacons haue their  
names of the Parish Churches in *Rome*, (all which Cardinals were wont to bee but twelue, and,  
when a Prelate from any place was chosen, as appeareth in our *English Ecclesiasticall Storie*, by  
*Wendouer*, *Paris* and others, he left his former Prelacie and Residence, and attended the Pope, as  
one of his Priuie Countell, and another succeeded to his former place: since which time, within  
these three hundred yeeres, they haue not only increased the numbers at pleasure, and chosen the  
principall Prelates of other Nations; to make themselves strong in each Nation, permitting  
them there still to reside; but haue procured the noblest persons for bloud, and most eminent for  
power



power in each Kingdome to admit of that dignitie, and haue heaped greatest preferments in eue-  
ry Countrey on their Cardinals, which only theare the fleecce; and neuer see the face of their in-  
numerable flockes.)

Five Patri-  
archal Churches  
in Rome.

Besides, this preferring of Priests and Deacons to Patriarkes, in Rome it selfe (as representing  
the whole Church) they haue instituted five Patriarchall Churches, viz. *S. Iohn Lateranes*, *S. Pe-  
ters*, *S. Pauls*, *S. Maries* the greater, *S. Lawrences*. The Church of *Laterane* hath an Arch-pres-  
byter who is a Cardinall. *S. Peters* beareth the Title of the Church of *Constantinople*, and hath  
an Arch-priest Cardinall. *S. Pauls* represents the Church of *Alexandria*, hath an Abbot and  
Monkes. *S. Maries* designes the Church of *Antioch*, hath an Arch-priest, Cardinall and Canons  
as *Lateran* and *S. Peters*. *S. Lawrence* represents the Church of *Ierusalem*; it once had an Abbot  
and Monkes, now is in *Commenda*, and hath Canons Regulars.

Where two are  
ioyned with  
this - stroke, it  
beokeneth an  
vnion of two  
Bishopricks.  
*Rauenna*, some-  
times compe-  
titor with *Rome*  
*Fermo*.

The Bishopricks of the *Romane* Prouince are *Sutri-Nepi*, *Cinita-Castellana-Horti*, *Viterbo-  
Tuscanella*, *Bagnarea*, *Orueto*, *Perugia* (an Vniuersitie) *Citta di Castello*, *Cinita de Plebe*, *Castro*,  
*Arezzo*, *Spoleto*, *Terni*, *Narny*, *Amelia*, *Todi*, *Rieti*, *Foligno*, *Affisi* (the Countrey of *S. Francis*)  
*Tinoli*, *Aragna*, *Verulo*, *Terracina*, *Sezza*, *Segni*, *Alatro*, *Fiorentino*, *Ancona-Humana*, *Loreto*,  
*Ricanati*, *Ascoli*, *Iesi*, *Osimo*, *Fano*, *Camerino*. *Luca* hath the Pall.

The Archbishop of *Rauenna* hath these Suffraganes, *Adri*, *Comachio*, *Faenza*, *Brentinore*, *Forli*,  
*Cesena*, *Sarsina*, (Countrey of *Plantus*) *Rimini*, *Imola*, *Cervia*, *Fanestria*, *Ferrara* (an Vniuersitie)  
The Archbishop of *Bologna* instituted 1583. hath *Bologna* (an Vniuersitie) *Parma* (an Vni-  
uersitie) *Placenza*, *Reggio*, *Modema*, *Crema*, *Borgo di S. Domino*. The Archbishop of *Fermo* created  
by *Sixtus* the Fifth, hath Suffraganes, *Macerata* (an Vniuersitie) *Tolentino*, *San Senerino*, *Montalto*,  
*Ripa*, *Beneuent* and *Aninon* follow in their places.

*Naples*.  
*Capua*.

*Salerno*.

*Amalfi*.

In the Kingdome of *Naples*, the Archbishop of *Napoli* (an Vniuersitie) *Pozzuolo*, *Nola*, *Cerra*,  
*Ischia*, *Aversa* (an exempt) to which are vnited *Cuma* and *Atella*. The Archbishop of *Capua* hath  
Suffraganes, *Teano*, *Calvi*, *Caserta*, *Gaiata*, *Carinola*, *Sergna*, *Sessa*, *Venafro*, *Monte Cassino* and  
Saint *Germano*, *Aquino*, *Pondi*, *Gaieta*, *Sora*. The Archbishop of *Salerno* hath *Salerno* (an Vni-  
uersitie) *Capaccio*, *Pulcastro*, *Sarno*, *Acerno*, *Marsico*, *Campagna*, *Nocera delli Pagani*, *Nusco*,  
*Cana*. Vnder the Archbishop of *Amalfi* are the Bishops of *Capri*, *Scala-Rauello*, *Minori*, *Lettre*.  
Vnder the Archbishop of *Sorrento* are *Uico*, *Massa*, *Stabia*. The Archbishop of *Conza* hath *Mu-  
ro*, *Satriano Cagiano*, *Lacedogna*, *S. Angelo di Lombardi-Bisaccia*, *Monte Verde*. The Archbishop  
of *Cirezza* and *Matera* hath the Bishop of *Venosa*, *Tricarico*, *Potenza*, *Granina-Anglona*, *Monte  
Peloso*. The Archbishop of *Taranto* his Suffraganes are *Motula*, *Castellaneta*, *Oria*. Vnder the  
Archbishop of *Brindisi* are *Hostuni*, *Nardo*, *Monopoli*. Vnder *Otranto*, *Lecce*, *Capo di Leuco*, *Ca-  
stro*, *Gallipoli*, *Vigento*. Vnder the Archbishop of *Bari* and *Canosa*, *Bitonto*, *Gionenazzo*, *Ruvo*,  
*Conuersano*, *Monermino*, *Pulignano*, *Lauicello*, *Bisetto*, *Catzeri*, *Molfetta* an exempt. The Archbi-  
shop of *Tranni* and *Salpe* hath *Bisignia*, *Andri*. To the Archbishop of *Manfredonia* and *Citta di S.  
Angelo* are subiect, *Vesiti*, *Melpo-Rappollo*. The *Theatine* Archbishop erected in *Cinita di Chieti*,  
Anno 1526. hath Suffraganes, *Ortona*, *Citta di Penna-Atri*, *Valva-Sulmona*, *Aquila*, *Marsi*, *Te-  
ramo*, *Cinita di Calvi*. The Archbishop *Lancianensis* hath no Suffragane Bishop. *Pius* the Fourth ad-  
uanced it. The Bishop of *Trineto* is an exempt. The Archbishop of *Reggio* is ouer the Bishops  
of *Catanzaro*, *Crotone*, *Tropea*, *Oppedo*, *Bone*, *Nicastro*, *Nicotera*, *Gieraci*, *Squillaci*, *Mileto*. The  
Archbishop of *Cosenza* and *Monte alto* hath *Marterano*, *S. Marco*, *Bisignano*, *Cassano*. The Arch-  
bishop of *Rossano* hath no Suffragane. The Archbishop of *San Senerina* hath *Vmbriato*, *Belcastro*,  
*Isola*, *Cariati*, *Strongoli*. The Archbishop of *Beneuento* in the Popes Iurisdiction, hath *Ascoli*, *Te-  
lese*, *S. Agatha delli Goti*, *Alife*, *Monte Marano*, *Anellino-Fergiente*, *Vico della Baronia*, *Ariano*,  
*Bonino Bonino*, *Vulturara* and *Monte Coruino*, *Lavino*, *Termoli*, *San Senero*, *Troia*, *Guardia Alfa-  
na*. So that in the Kingdome of *Naples*, besides the Popes *Beneuento*, there are nineteene Arch-  
bishopricks.

Number of Ie-  
suits & their  
Colledges in  
Italie.

The Iesuites haue in the Continent of *Italy* (besides the Prouinces of *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*) foure  
Prouinces, the *Roman*, *Neapolitan*, of *Millaine*, and of *Venice*. The *Romane* Prouince hath at  
*Rome*, *Domus professa*, *Collegium Romanum*, *Domus probationis*, the Colledge of the *Penitentie*,  
the *German* Colledge, the *English* Colledge, the *Roman* Seminarie, the Colledge of *Maronites*,  
the *Scots* Colledge. The Residence at *Frascati*, the Colledges of *Tinoli*, *Loreto*, *Perugia*, *Fiorenza*,  
*Siena*, *Macerata*, *Ricanati*, *Sezza*, *Ancona*, *Monte Santo*, *Monte Pulciano*, *Fermo*, *Citta di Castello*,  
*Ascoli*, *Sora*. In this Prouince are seuen hundred fortie seuen of the societie. The Prouince of *Na-  
ples* hath in *Naples* *Domus professa*, the Colledge, the House of Probation, the New House profes-  
sed. The Colledges of *Catanzaro*, *Nola*, *Lecce*, *Bari*, *Salerno*, *Consenza*, *Barletta*, *Chieti*, *Aquila*, *Be-  
neuento*, House of Probation at *Atri*, Colledges of *Bonino*, *Trepia*, *Massa*, *Castell à Mare*, *Capua*, *Mol-  
fetta*, the Residences of *Monopoli*, *Taranto*, *Paula*. In this Prouince are five hundred ninety foure of  
the societie. In the Prouince of *Millaine*, are at *Millaine* the House professed, and the Colledge  
*Breiden*; at *Genua* the House professed, the Colledge, and the House of probation; the Colledges of  
*Turino*, *Como*, *Vercelli*, *Mondeni*, *Cremona*, *Bastia*, *Nizza*, *Alexandria*, the House of probation at  
*Arona*, and the Residence of *Pavia*. In this Prouince are foure hundred and eleuen of the Compa-  
ny. The *Venetian* Prouince hath the professed House at *Venice*, the Colledges of *Padoua*, *Ferrara*,  
*Bo-*



*Bologna, Brescia, Forli, Parma*, with another there for the Nobilitie *Piacenza, Verona, Mantona, Mirandola, Reggio, Faenza, Castiglione*, the houses of probation at *Nonellara, Imola, Busseto*, the Residences of *Candia and Vicenza*. In this Prouince are three hundred seventy three of the Societie.

*Sicilia* hath three Archbishopricks, first the *Panormitan*, to whom are subiect the Bishops of *Mazara, Gergenti*. *Malta* is gouerned by their great Master and Knights Hospitulars. The Archbishop of *Messana* hath vnder him the Bishops of *Lipari, Patti, Cefalu*. The Archbishop of *Mons Regalis* hath *Catania* and *Siracusa*. In it also are Iesuites Colledges, Houses and Residences one and twentie. Fellowes sixe hundred thirtie eight.

10 The Ile and Kingdome of *Sardinia* hath had fourteene Episcopall Cities, and now hath according to *Ferrarius*, three Archbishopricks, *Calaris, Sassari, Arborea*, and Bishops, *Villa Ecclesia, Bosa, Alghero, Castrum Aragonense, and Lusa*.

The Archbishop of *Calaris* or *Cagliari* is Primate of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*. His Suffraganes are *Doli, Iglesias, Solus*. *Suelis* vnit to the Archbishop. The Archbishop of *Sassari* or *Torre Sassari* hath *Algar, Bosa, Empurias, Terra Noua*. The Archbishop of *Arborea* hath *Ussella, Terra Alba, S. Iusta*. In *Sardinia* are Houses, Colledges and Seminaries of Iesuites eight, and in them one hundred and ninetie of that Societie and Prouince.

20 *Millaine* is the Seat of the Spanish Viceroy and Counsell, and also of an Archbishop, to whom are subiect the Bishops of *Cremona, Lodi, Nouarra*, (Birth-place of *Peter Lombard*) *Alessandria della Paglia, Tortona, Viglenano, Bergamo, Brescia, Vercelli, Aste, Casale di Monferrato, Alba, Acqui, Saoua, Vintimiglia, Pavia* hath the Pall and is an Vniuersitie.

*Etruria* is for the most part subiect to the Great Duke of the Family of *Medices*, in which *Florentia, Pisa* and *Siena* haue beene Free States. *Charles* the fifth, Anno 1530. created *Alexander de Medices* his Sonne in Law Duke of *Florence*, whose Sonne *Cosmus* by Pope *Pius* the fifth was created Great Duke of *Toscaine*, Anno 1569. This *Cosmus* intituted the Knight Order of *Saint Stephen* against the *Turkes*. The Archbishop of *Florence* or *Fiorenza* hath Suffragans, *Fiesola, Pistoia, Volterra, Colle, Burgo S. Sepulchro, Serzana, Monte Pulciano*, where Cardinall *Belarmino* was borne, and *Cortona* are Exempts. The Archbishop of *Siena* (which is also an Academie) hath *Soana, Chiusi, Grosseto, Massa-Populonia, Pientia, Monte Alcinio*. The Archbishop of *Pisa* (an Vniuersitie also) hath suffragans *Ciuitella, Aiazzo, Sagona, Aleria*.

*Mantua* famous for *Virgils* birth hath a Duke of the Family *Gonzaga*; Duke *Vincent*, A. 1608. instituted the Military Order of *The Redeemer Iesus Christ*, in honour of his blood supposed there kept. *Musina* and *Rhegium* haue a Duke of the *Este* Family, reuolued to the Papacie, Anno 1598. *Vrbino* of the Family *Roborea* and *Parma*, and *Placentia* of the *Farnesian*. *Vrbino* hath an Archbishop and sixe Bishopricks subiect, the *Leopoltan, Pisaurian, Calliensis, Eugubinus, Forosempronienfis, and Senogallienfis*. *Parma* and *Placentia* with *Burgo* in that Principallitie are Suffragans to the Archbishop of *Bologna*.

40 *Venice, Genua, Luca, and Ragusi* are Italian Free States; the chiefe is *Venice*, and said to incline to the French, as *Genua* the next, to the Spaniard: *Ragusi* supports it selte by fauour of the *Turke*, paying a yeerely pension to him. *Luca* hath a Bishop subiect to the Pope only, and vsing a Pall. *Ragusi* (in times past *Epidaurus*) is in *Dalmatia*, Italianated in language and conditions: it hath an Archbishop, to whom are subiect the Bishops *Stagnensis, Tribunnensis, Marcatensis, Rodonensis, Garzalenfis, Stephanensis* and *Curzolenfis*.

In the State of *Venice* are two Patriarkes, one of *Venice*, which succeeded to *Gradus*, the other of *Aquileia*: and foure Archbishops, *Spalatenfis, Iaderensis, Corcyrenfis, and Candienfis*. The Patriarke of *Venice* hath Suffragan Bishops, *Chioza, Torzello*, both Ilands. The Patriarke of *Aquileia* resideth in *Vdene*, and to him are subiect the Bishops of *Como* (Countrey of both *Plinies*) *Verona, Padoua, Vicenza, Treoizi, Concordia, Zeneda, Felire, Ciuida di Bellun, Pola, Parenzo, Trieste, Petin, Capo d' Istria, Citta Noua, Trento* and *Mantona* are Exempts. The Archbishop of *Spalatro* and *Salona*, Primate of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*, hath Suffragans, *Segna, Nona, Faro-Lesina, Tran, Sanadria, Scardona* (subiect to the *Turke*) *Tina, Almiza*. The Archbishop *Iaderensis*, or of *Zara* a Venetian Iland, hath Suffraganes, *Arbe, Viglia, Ossaro*. The Archbishop of *Corcyra*, or *Corfu*, hath the Bishops of the Ilands *Cefalonia* and *Zante*. The Archbishop of *Crete* or *Candie* hath vnder him the Bishops of *Canea, Rettimo, Sittia-Hierapetra, Cheroneffo, Melliptamo, Archadia, Sicchimo, Budoa* sometimes subiect to the *Seruan* Archbishop. Some adde *Catharensis* and *Curzulensem*.

*Genua* hath in times past extended their Empire to *Caffa* in *Taurica*, *Cyprus, Chio* and *Lesbos*, and to *Pera*. It now commandeth almost all *Liguria* and *Corfica*. To the Archbishop of *Genua* are Suffragans, *Albenga, Bobi, Brignale, Noli, Mariana-Accia, Nebio*. To the *Gennois* are thirteene Diocesess subiect, but some of the Bishops acknowledge the Archbishops of *Millaine* and *Florence*. Sixe Bishopricks are in the Iland and Kingdome of *Corfica*, subiect to that State, *Mariana, Aleria, Nebium, Sagona, Aciensum* and *Adiacium*. *Malta* hath a Colledge of Iesuits.

*Sicilia* the Bishops.

Iesuites.

*Sardinia*.

Iesuites.

*Millaine*.

*Toscaine*.

Great Duke.

*Mantua*.

Foure Italian Free States.

*Ragusi*.

*Venice*.

Two Patriarkes &c.

*Genua*.

*Spain*.



Spaine.

\* The Manuscript was sometimes presented to Q. Elizabeth: and came to my hand from M. Burrough Controller of the Navy, not so perfect as I could have wished: yet as it is, not warranting the authoritie; I haue transcribed somthings thence, and inserted with Myraus. By fault of the transcriber, many names are so fallly written, that I was loth to giue the aduenture to preuent the Readers correction. Bertius ascribeth but 200000. Duckets to the Church of Toledo, and 80000. to the Archbishop. Dam. à Goes & Mar. Siculus haue their valuations also but more ancient, & much since improved. This Manuscript reciteth the Dukes, Marquesses & Earles of Spaine with their seuerall Reuenues, which are farre lesse then these of the Bishops, the Dukes from 10000. to 70000. which only Braganza exceedeth, and likewise the Marquesses, The Earles from 8000. to 20000. Bertius saith, the Duke of Infantalgi hath 120000. Duckets, and Medina Sidonia 130000. Duc.

Spaine first attempted, and one of the last of the Roman Prouinces pacified in the declining of the Empire, was possessed by the *Wandals*, *Suenes*, and *Alans*, whom the *Gothes* had expelled *Gaul*. The *Gothes* expelled thence by the *Frankes*, chased the *Wandals* and *Alans* out of *Spaine*, and destroyed the *Suenes*. The *Saracens* Anno 720. expelled the *Gothes*, and could not by the Gothicke remnants be quite exterminated till Anno 1492. at which time the New World also was added to the Spanish Fortunes by *Colons* Discouerie, and by the Match of the Heire of the Houses of *Burgundie* and *Austria*, with the Heire of *Aragon* and *Castile*, and since by Conquests &c. The *Castilian* hath in few yeeres from an estate in comparison of some other Kingdomes, poore and almost contemptible growne to the present puissance and almost terrible greatnesse. In *Spaine* and *Portugall* are these Archbishopricks, whose names and reuenues out of a Manuscript are thus deliuered.

*Toledo*, his Reuenues are said to bee 320000. Duckets, more then of diuers Kingdomes. *Simill*, 113000. Duckets. *Granado*, 80000. Duckets. *Lisbone*, 130000. Duckets. *Saragosa*, 70000. Duckets. *Valentia*, 90000. Duckets. *Tarragona*, 80000. Duckets. *Burgos*, 90000. Duckets. *Santiago*, 100000. Duckets. *Brage*, 90000. Duckets. He omits *Euora*, which he reckons among the Bishops, being latelier exalted to the Pall. *Myraus* reckons them thus, *Toledo*, *Burgis*, *Compostella*, *Simill*, *Granado*, *Casarrangusta*, *Tarragona*, *Valentia*, *Brararenfis*, *Lisbone* and *Ebora*. To the Archbishop of *Toledo*, Primate of *Spaine* are Suffragans, the Bishops of *Cordona*, *Segonia Cuenca*, *Sequenza* (an Vniuersitie) *Iaca*, *Cartagena* or *Murcia*, *Osma*, *Valladolid* instituted by *Clement* the Eighth, Anno 1595. made an Vniuersitie also. To the Archbishop of *Brugis* in olde *Castile* are subiect *Pamplona* chiefe Citie of *Nanarre*, *Calagorra*, *Palencia*. To the Archbishop of *Compostella* or *Santiago* in *Galacia*, the Bishops of *Salamanca* an Vniuersitie erected, Anno 1240. *Anila*, *Placenzia*, *Lugo*, *Astorga*, *Zamora*, *Orense*, *Tuy*, *Badaios*, *Mondonedo*, *Coria*, *Cinista Rodrigo*, *Leon* exempt, and *Oniedo* exempt. To the Archbishop of *Simill* in *Betica* are subiect *Guadix*, *Cadiz*, and the Bishop of the *Canaries*. To the Archbishop of *Granada*, erected by *Alexander* the sixth, *Malaga* and *America*. To the Archbishop of *Casarrangusta*, or *Caragosa* in *Aragon*, *Huesca* an old Vniuersitie, *Iaca*, *Barbastro*, *Tarazona*, *Teroel*, *Albarazin*. To the Arch. of *Tarragona* in *Catalonia*, *Tortosa*, *Lerida* an Vniuersitie, *Barcelona* an Vniuersitie, *Vicz*, *Girona*, *Vrgel*, *Elna*, *Solsona*, *Perpimian*, by *Paulus quintus*. To the Arch. of *Valencia*, *Segorue*, *Orihuela*, *Mallorca*. To the Arch. of *Braga* in *Portugall*, *Porto*, *Viseo*, *Guardia*, *Lamego*, *Miranda*, *Leyra*. To the Arch. of *Lisbone*, *Coymbra*, an Vniuersitie; *Portalegre*, *Centa* in *Africa*, *Funchal* in *Madera*, *Angra* in *Tercera*, *Congo* in *Africa*, *Cabo Verde*, or *San Tago*, *San Thome*, both in the Ilands so called, (the Bishop of *Brasil*) at *San Saluador*, or the Bay of all Saints (lately taken by the Dutch.) To the Archbishop of *Euora*, erected 1540. The Bishops of *Silues* in *Faro*, *Elnas*, *Tanger* in *Africa* vnited with *Centa*. Pope *Adrian* the sixth, Anno 1523. gaue the Kings of *Spaine* power to elect and present their Bishops, as *Mariana* reporteth.

My Manuscript reckoneth not so many, nor goeth to *Africa* and the Ilands, and perhaps some of the Bishops in that time might be vacant or holden by Commenda, and so the Title drowned. The names differ somewhat, perhaps by false writing, which may be helped by the former Catalogue. For the valuations I thought them not vnworthy recitall together as they are in the said Booke expressed, although I must intreate the Readers patience for misse-writing the names by some vnlearned transcriber, which yet I present as I found.

	Duckets.		Duckets.		Duckets.		Duckets.
<i>Sobrack</i>	50000.	<i>Camaria</i>	50000.	<i>Corona</i>	50000.	<i>Osma</i>	46000.
<i>Torrossa</i>	50000.	<i>Cordona</i>	56000.	<i>Rodrigo</i>	65000.	<i>Ayda</i>	48000.
<i>Tuy</i>	45000.	<i>Cartagena</i>	50000.	<i>Quadrapp</i>	64000.	<i>Placentia</i>	53000.
<i>Vigne</i>	58000.	<i>Cadona</i>	56000.	<i>Quembra</i>	75000.	<i>Valentia</i>	54000.
<i>Alueria</i>	55000.	<i>Pamplona</i>	83000.	<i>Quardio</i>	47000.	<i>Solomonea</i>	65000.
<i>Viso</i>	50000.	<i>Corria</i>	58000.	<i>Questarie</i>	47000.	<i>Segeusia</i>	69000.
<i>Astorga</i>	65000.	<i>Dadies</i>	50000.	<i>Ayne</i>	480000.	<i>Segonia</i>	65000.
<i>Anela</i>	60000.	<i>Sequenza</i>	60000.	<i>Lomego</i>	53000.	<i>Selua</i>	53000.
<i>Badaies</i>	5600.	<i>Quembra</i>	57000.	<i>Leon</i>	57000.	<i>Malorca</i>	57000.
<i>Barcelona</i>	75000.	<i>Euora</i>	74000.	<i>Lerida</i>	64000.	<i>Mandanedo</i>	63000.
<i>Camora</i>	57000.	<i>Enna</i>	58000.	<i>Lugo</i>	50000.	<i>Oporia</i>	69000.
<i>Callabora</i>	65000.			<i>Maliga</i>	64000.	<i>Orensa</i>	58000.

*Damianus à Goes* addeth that the Clergie of *Spaine* haue twice as much Reuenues as the Bishops, besides Impropriations of Tithes they granted by the Pope to the King and Grandes: and that besides all this, the Monasteries and Abbeyes Reuenues, exceed those of the Clergie.

There are also in *Spaine* certaine Militarie Orders instituted to free the Countrey from the *Moors*. Such were the Orders of *Saint James*, with a long red Crosse, of *Alcantara* with a square red Crosse of *Calatrana* with a square greene Crosse: which were by Pope *Adrian* appropriated to the King: besides the Orders of *Christ* and others.

The rest not vnder 40000. Marqueses from 10000 Duc. to 60000. Earles from 10000. to 40000.

There



There are also Iesuits diuided into five Spanish Prouinces : the Prouince of *Toledo* hath Colledges, Houses and Residences one and twentie, in them five hundred and seuentie Iesuites. The Prouince of *Castile* eight and twentie, in them six hundred and thirteene. The Prouince of *Aragon* fourteene, and Iesuites three hundred and ninetie. The *Batske* Prouince foure and twentie, and six hundred Iesuites. The Prouince of *Portugall* eighteene, and six hundred and eightie of the Societie. The Ile *Maiorica* hath a Bishop and Vniuersitie. The *Canaries* haue a Bishop also. So haue the Islands of *Cape Verd* with a Colledge of Iesuites. *Tercera* likewise : and in it and *Saint Michaels* are Iesuites Colledges. *Madera* hath a Bishop and Iesuiticall Colledges.

Iesuites in Spaine.

- 10 IN France are numbred one hundred and seuentene Diocesses, fourteene of which haue Arch-  
Bishopricks, which are these, with their one hundred and three Suffragans. The Primate  
Archbishop of *Lions* hath *Austun, Langres, Mascon, Chalon Sur Saone*. The Archbishop of *Rone*  
in *Normandie*, *Baioux, Aureux, Eurenx, Sais, Lizieux, Constances*. The Archbishop of *Tours*,  
hath *Mans, Renes, Angers* an Vniuersitie, *Nantes* an Vniuersitie, *Cornouaille, Vannes, Leon, Tri-*  
*quier, Saint Brien, Saint Malo, Dol* which weareth a Pall, and is exempt. The Archbishop of  
*Sens, Chartres, Auxerre, Trois, Orleans* an Vniuersitie and Dutchie of the Kings second Sonne,  
*Paris* an Vniuersitie and seate Royall, *Meaux, Neuers*. The Archbishop of *Rhemes*, Duke and  
Chiefe Peere of *France*, hath *Soissons, Chalon, Laon, Senlis, Beaunais, Amiens, Ncyon, Bouloigne*  
*Surmer*. The Archbishop *Bisuricensis*, or of *Bourges* Primate of *Aquitaine* an Vniuersitie, hath  
20 Suffragans *Clérmon, Rodes, Albij, Caors, Limoges, Mende, Le Tuy, Castres, Vabres, Tulle, Saint*  
*Flour*. The Archbishop of *Bordeaux* hath *Agen, Engoulesme, Santonge, Poitiers* an Vniuersitie,  
*Perigoux, Condom, Maillezais, Luzon, Sarlat*. The Archbishop of *Auch* hath *Aq, Letoure, Saint*  
*Bertrand de Comenge, S. Legier de Conserans, Aue, Basas, Tarbe de Bigorre, Oleron on Bearn, Les-*  
*car, Baionne*. The Archbishop of *Narbonne, Beziers, Agde, Carcassoue, Nismes* an Vniuersitie,  
*Lodens, S. Pont de Tomiers, Alec, Mompelien* an Vniuersitie, *Vzes*. The Archbishop *Aquensis*, or  
of *Aix* in *Prouence*, hath Suffragans the Bishops of *Ries, Apt, Frejus, Gap, Cisteron*. The Arch-  
bishop of *Vienne, Genene* (now residing at *Anessy* in *Sauoy*) *Grenoble, Vuisers, Die-valents*, both  
Vniuersities, *S. Jean de Maurienne* vnder the Duke of *Sauoy*. The Archbishop of *Embrun* hath  
*Digne, Grasse, Vence, Senex, Clandenez, Nice* in *Sauoy*. The Archbishop of *Arles, Marseille, S.*  
30 *Paul de Tricastin, Tolon, Orange*, the Principalitie of the Prince of *Orange*, an Vniuersitie and seat  
of a Parliament. The Archbishop of *Tolose* (an Vniuersitie) hath *Pasmires, Montauban, Mire-*  
*poix, La Vaur, Rieux, Lombes, S. Papoul*. Foure of the former Bishops, *Maurianensis, Genenensis*  
*Niceensis* and *Arançonensis* are not subiect to the French King : in whose roome you may adde  
*Metemsem, Tyllemsem, Urdumensem* and *Bellicensem* to make vp the former number.

France.

In France also are the Chiefes or Originals of many Orders, as the *Chuniake* Order in the Dio-  
cese of *Meticon* founded Anno 910. by Abbat *Berno*; *Grandemont* founded by *Stephen*, Anno  
1126. *Cartusia Maior* by *Bruno* 1084. *Cistercium* 1098. *Pramonstratum* 1120. In the Diocese of  
*Landun*. *Cerni Frigidi* by *Iohn Matha* 1126. *Vallis Scholarium* in *Champaine* by *William* an Eng-  
lishman 1218. *Fons Ebraidi* in the Diocese of *Poitiers* by *Robert Blefeld* 1117. The Hospitallars of  
40 *Saint Anthone* in the Diocese of *Vienna*, by *Gasto* 1121. Our Ladies Charitie 1307. *S. Bernard*  
*de penitencia*, or the Reformed *Cistercians* by *Iohn Barrerim* 1600. The *Willhelmites* by *Saint Wil-*  
*ham* Duke of *Aquitaine*. The Militarie Orders of the Holy Ghost by *Henry* the Third, and of  
*Saint Michael*, and of *Saint Mary* of Mount *Carmel*, and of *Saint Lazarus* approoued by *Paul*  
the Fifth.

Religious and Militarie Orders.

The Iesuites haue five Prouinces in France, the Prouince called of *France*, hath fourteene  
Houses, Colledges and Residences; the Prouince of *Aquitaine* ten, in which Prouince are two  
hundred and eightie Iesuites. The Prouince of *Lions* fourteene, in them foure hundred and se-  
uentie. The Prouince of *Tolose* eleuen, in them three hundred and ten. The Prouince of *Cham-*  
*paine* ten, and two hundred twentie six Iesuites.

Iesuits in France.

In France, though not in the French subiection is the Country of *Aninion*, in which Citie the  
50 Popes resided seuentie yeeres together. The Archbishop hath three Suffragans, *Carpentras, Cabal-*  
*lon, Vaison*. In *Sauoy* is the Archbishop *Tarentaisensis*, to whom the Bishops *Augustanus* and *Sedu-*  
*nenfis* are Suffragans. *Piemont* is subiect to the same Duke, the Metropolitan Citie whereof is  
*Taurinum*, Seat of the Dukes and an Vniuersitie, to which are subiect the Bishops *Epoediensis,*  
*Montis Regalis* and *Fossanensis*; *Saluzo* is an exempt.

Aninion the Popes Coun-ty. Sauoy.

The Duke of *Sauoy* is Chiefe of two Militarie Orders, Of the Virgins Annuntiation, and of  
SS. *Maurice* and *Lazarus*. *Lorraine*, sometimes a Kingdome, now a Dutchie, hath *Nancie* the  
Metropolitan Citie, *Pontamousson* an Vniuersitie ruled by Iesuites, *S. Nicola* is of next note. *Lo-*  
*raine* is subiect to diuers Bishops, amongst others, *Metensis, Tullensis* and *Urdunensis* Imperiall Ci-  
60 ties wonne by *Henry* the second.

Two Militarie Orders. Lorraine.

The Principalitie of *Orange*, hath the B. of *Orange* as is said, and an Vniuersitie: it is subiect to  
the house of *Nassau*, *Henry* of *Nassau* marrying the Sister and Heire of *Philibertus Cabillonensis*  
Viceroy of *Naples*, flainat the siege of *Florence*, A. 1530. *Renatus* son of *Henry* was flaine 1544.  
*William* his brothers sonne succeeded and was traiterously murdered at *Delfe* 1584. His sonne

Orange.



The Low  
Counties.

*Philippus Gulielmus* after long detention in *Spain*, died at *Brussels* An. 1618. and left his Brother Prince *Maurice* his Heire by Testament: whose Arts, experience and exploits Militarie haue attracted into a stupendious gaze the Eyes of all *Europe*,

His Name admits vs into *Gallia Belgica*, or the Low Countreyes, or seuentene Lands, of which foure are Dukedomes, *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Luttenburg* and *Gelderland*: seuen Counties or Earledomes, *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Hanalt*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Namur* and *Zutphen*: the Marquisate of the *Holy Empire*, and five Lordships of *East Frisland*, *Mechlin*, *Virecht*, *Ouerisel*, and *Groningen*. In these are two hundred and ten Cities walled and ditched about, Villages fixe thousand three hundred, besides Monasteries, Forts, Palaces and Mannor-houses almost innumerable. That part which obeyeth the Archdutchesse is Romish, that which acknowledgeth the States <sup>10</sup> gouernment is of the Protestants faith, not without *Arminian* and other fancies amongst many of them.

In times past there were but foure Belgian Bishopricks, of *Cambray*, *Arras*, *Tournay* and *V. trick*. But King *Philip* the second (seeking to alter the gouernment, which occasioned the Wars and this Diuision, whereby about one halfe of the Countrey haue not only defended their Liberties, maugre the *Austrian* Greatnesse, *American* Treasures, *Spanish* Ambition and *Italian* Souldioury, to the Worlds amazement, many hundred thousands of Christians beeing slaine to purchase the *Spaniard* this losse; but haue acquired a Free Estate, with wealth and honour, and by them haue beene so acknowledged, whom they would willingly with conseruation of their Liberties haue obeyed) *Philip* the second (his losse made me almost lose my selfe) Anno 1559. <sup>20</sup> procured the Pope to constitute three Archbishopricks, and fiftene Bishopricks (his Inquisition shall escape our inquisition) the Archbishop of *Mechelen*, to whose Iurisdiction are subiect the Bishops of *Antwerpe*, of *Bruges*, *Gant*, *Iperen*, *Rurmound*, *Hertogenbosch*: the Archbishop of *Cambray*, whose Suffraganes are *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Saint Omer*, *Namur*. The Archbishop of *Utrecht* hath *Donenier*, *Groningen*, *Harlem*, *Leenwarden*, *Middleburgh*.

Iesuites.

The Iesuites haue there two Prouinces, *Flandre-Belgica* which hath eightene Houses, Colledges and Residences, in which there are of that crue fixe hundred and seuentene. And *Gallo-Belgica* which hath twentie Houses, Colledges, and Residences, and fixe hundred fiftie two Fellowes of that Order, beside Augustinians, Dominicans, and I know not what others. <sup>30</sup>

*Germanie* hath seuen Archbishopps *Mentz*, *Collen*, *Trier*, all three Electors; *Meydburg* *Salzburg*, *Breme*, *Befanzon*. To the Archbishop of *Mentz* (an Vniuersitie) are subiect Bishops *Wormes*, *Wurtzburg* an Vniuersitie, *Speir Aichstet*, *Strasburg*, *Werden*, *Chur*, *Heildesheim*, *Paderborne*, *Costritz*, *Halberstadt*, *Ausburg*. *Bamberg* is exempt. To *Coloigne*, are Suffraganes *Liege*, *Munster*, *Minden*, *Osenbrug*. To *Trier*, *Metz*, *Toul*, *Vordun*, all in *Lorraine* and now *French*. To *Meydburg*, *Meyssen*, *Mersburg*, *Brandenburg*, *Hanelburg*. To *Salzburg* (an Vniuersitie) *Freyfingen*, *Regenspurg*, *Passau*, *Brixen*, *Goritz*, *Lauenmütz*, *Seckaw* *Vienna* in *Austria*, is an Vniuersitie and exempt; *Newstat* and *Loßbach* are also exempt. <sup>40</sup>

German Bi-  
shops Princes.

To *Breme* are subiect *Lubeck*, *Rathenburg*, *Swerin*. To the Archbishop of *Vesontionensis* or *Befanzon* (an Vniuersitie) are subiect *Basel* an Vniuersitie, *Losanne*, *Bellay en Bresse*. All these, as also the Bishop of *Trent* are Princes of the Empire, and Lords in *Temporalibus*, except *Lauenmütz*, *Seckaw*, *Chiemse*, and *Goritz*. *Meydburg* and *Breme*, and eight Bishopricks are Protestants.

Iesuites.

The late Warres haue since our Authors writing so altered the face of things in *Germanie* that iust account cannot bee giuen of their Religion and State so vnsetled. And how can things be well settled where the Foxes haue so many Burrowes. The Iesuites haue (as some say) three score Colledges in *Germanie*, deuided into three Prouinces.

The Prouince of Higher *Germanie* hath thirteene Colledges, two Houses, three Residen- <sup>50</sup> ces, five hundred fortietixe Iesuites. The Prouince of *Rhene* hath three and twentie, and in them fixe hundred and one. The Prouince of *Austria* five and twentie, and five hundred fiftie three of the Societie.

Switzers.

The *Switzers*, *Cantons* are thirteene, Episcopall Cities fixe, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Switz*, *Vnderwalden*, *Zugb*, *Friburg*: Iesuites Colledges two, at *Lucerne* and *Friburg*. They are also in great part subiect in Spirituals to the Bishops of *Constance*, and of *Basel*, whose Seat is now at *Bruntutum*. *Laufanna* hath a Bishop subiect to the Archbishop *Bezanzon*.

Grixons.

The *Grixons* are diuided into three leagues, in which *Chur* is a Bishop subiect to *Mentz*. The *Valesins* haue seuen Communalities, one of which *Sedunum* hath a Bishop. *Pomerland* is a Dukedome and hath foure Cities, *Stetin*, *Caminum* sometimes a Bishops See, *Griphswald* an Vniuer- <sup>60</sup> sitie, and *Wolgastum*.

Bohemia.

In *Bohemia*, *Prage* is an Archbishopricke, to which are Suffraganes, the Bishops of *Olu-  
nütz* in *Moravia*, and *Littomssensis* in *Bohemia*. In *Silesia*, *Wratisslania* or *Preslaw* is a Bi-  
shopricke.



In *Hungaria*, *Strigonium* hath bin the Seat of the Archbishop & Primat, which being taken by the *Turks*, it is removed to *Tyrana*, and hath six Suffragans, *Nitrich*, *Raab*, *Agria* vnder the *Turks*, *Vaccia*, *Quinqueeclesia* vnder the *Turke*, as is also *Vesprim*. *Colocia* is an Archbishop in *Pannonia inferior*, vnder which are the Bishops of *Agram*, *Fairwar* in *Transilvania*, *Varadin*, *Sirmisch*, *Conad*, *Bossina*. *Transilvania* hath an Vniuersitie at *Clandiopolis* and a Seminary. In *Austria* *Vienna* is also an Vniuersitie before mentioned: There and at *Oenipont* in *Triol* and at *Prage* in *Bohemia* *Ferdinand* the Emperour founded Iesuites Colledges. *Brixina* is Suffragan to *Salzburg*. *Gratz* hath an Vniuersitie and Colledge of Iesuites, and is a Metropolitan Citie; the Bishop *Secouienfis* there, and *Gurcenfis* & *Laurentinenfis* in *Carinthia* are subiect to the Archbishop of *Salzburg*.

*Hungaria.*

The Kingdome of *Poland* containeth the Prouinces of *Lithuania*, *Masonia*, *Samogitia*, *Cnania*, *Linania*, *Varmia*, *Prussia Regalis*, *Russia Nigra*, *Volbima*, *Podolia*, and others. There are two Archbishops of the Latin Church, *Gnesuensis* the Primat, and *Leopoliensis*. To the former are subiect these Bishops, *Krakow*, *Poznan*, *Plock*, *Miednikie*, *Preslaw* in *Silesia*, *Lebus*, *Uladslaw*, *Chemnicz*, *Lucko*, *Vilensk* or *Wilde*, *Wenden*, *Warmerlant* an exempt. *Leopolis* or *Lunow* is in *Russia Nigra*, and hath Suffragans *Przemysl*, *Chmielnick*, *Kion*, *Camianick*. All these together with the Bishop *Culmensis* are Senators or Councillors of the State, except *Preslaw* and *Lebus*. There are also eight Russian or Greeke Bishops in *Poland*, *Kion* the Metropolitan, *Vlodimir*, *Luceorsensis*, *Polocensis*, *Pramissiensis* or *Przemysl*, *Leopoliensis*, *Chelmensis* and *Pinscensis*, which were receiued into Communion by Pope *Clement* the eighth. *Russia Nigra* is subiect to the Pole and *Russia Alba* to the *Mosconite*. There liue also in *Poland* many *Armenians* which haue a Bishop of their owne, Resident at *Leopolis*. The Russian Bishops haue no Parliament voyce. The Iesuites haue two Prouinces in these parts, that of *Poland* containing fifteene Colledges, Houses, and Residences, and 459. Iesuites, that of *Lithuania* as many, and Iesuites 336. *Prussia* is diuided into *Regalis* and *Ducalis*. The former hath two Bishops, *Varmiensis* which resideth at *Brunsbereg*, and *Cuimensis*: the *Ducal* had two, but extinct with the Order of the *Dutch* Knights, the one of *Kuningsberg*, the other at *Mariawerda*. The Marquesse of *Brandenburg* possesseth the Countrey.

*Poland.*

*Prussia.*

*England* hath two Archbishops, *Canterbury* and *Yorke*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* is Primate of all *England*, and Metropolitan, the other Primate of *England* and Metropolitan. To the former are subiect the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Conuentre* and *Lichfield*, *Salisbury*, *Bathe* and *Welles*, *Lincolne*, *Excester*, *Hereford*, *Norwich*, *Ely*, *Rocheſten*, *Chicheſter*, *Worceſter*, *Saint Davids*, *Bangor*, *Landaff*, *Saint Aſſe*, *Peterburrow*, *Gloſter*, *Oxford* and *Bristol*. To the Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Durham*, *Cheſter*, *Carlile*, to which is added *Soderenſis*, or the Bishop of *Man*. *Scotland* also hath two Archbishops, one of *Saint Andrewes*, and the other at *Glasco*. Suffragans to *Saint Andrewes* the Primate of *Scotland*, *Myraus* reckoneth the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, *Aberdin* (an Vniuersitie) *Moranienſis* resident in *Elgin*, *Dumblain*, *Brechin*, *Roffe*, *Cathnes*, *Orckney*: to *Glasco*, *Galloway*, *Lismor*, *Colmkil*. His Maiestie hath beene such a restorer, as he may in some sort bee reckoned the Founder of the present Episcopall, both Sees and Government in that Kingdome. At the dissolution of the Bishops they erected Superintendents, changing a good Greek word for a bad Latin, but referuing to those Superintendents the greatest part of Episcopall power; and after some Changes, his Maiestie hath reduced it to the present state.

*England.*

*Scotland.*

Booke of Discipline 1560. See the Booke of the Proceedings at Perth, Ireland.

*Ireland* hath foure Archbishops. To the Archbishop and Primate of *Armah* are subiect, *Dunensis*, *Conner*, *Derry*, *Misib*, *Clocher*, *Ardache*, *Kilmore*, *Rapho*, *Dromore*, *Killoom*, *Dondalck*. To the Archbishop of *Dublin* (an Vniuersitie) *Kilkenny* or *Offerriensis*, *Kildare*, *Ferme*, *Leghlin*, *Glendalagh*. To the Archbishop of *Cashel*, *Limericke*, *Lismor*, *Roffe*, *Waterford*, *Emmelen*, *Corcke*, *Lymbricke*, *Clon*. To the Archbishop *Tuamenſis*, *Galuben*, *Achade*, *Alache*, *Olsin*, *Roscomau*, *Clonsert*, *Killaloe*. Thus *Myraus*.

*Denmark.*

*Sueden.*

*Denmarke* hath the Archbishop of *Lunden* erected 1092. Primate of the Kingdome, Suffragans, *Roschilt*, *Odenſee*, *Slezwick*, *Rype*, *Wiburg*, *Arhusen*. *Norway* hath *Nidrosia* the Metropolitan See, and Suffragans, *Bergen*, *Staffanger*, *Hammar*, *Groenlandt*, *Scalbolt*, *Hola*. In *Suecia* the Archbishop *Vpsalienſis* hath subiect to him the B B. of *Scar*, *Lincopen*, *Stengenes*, *Abo*, *Aroesen*, *Villimen*. Thus *Myraus*, who addes a little of *Russia* and *Greece*, which you shall find more full in the Discourses of those parts, both precedent and following: as likewise touching the Christians of *Asia*, *Maronites*, *Iacobites*, *Nestorians*, &c. handled by *Myraus* in his second Booke. The Archbishop of *Goa* hath subiect to him the Bishops of *Cochin*, *Malaca*, *Macao*, *Iapon*, *Malabar*, *Melaxor* or *San Thome*. The Archbishop of *Cranganor* (erected by *Paul* the Fifth, 1608.) is called also the Archbishop of the Christians of *San Thome*: hee hath no Suffragans. *Myraus* reckons Iesuites Houses, Colledges and Residences in the East Indian Prouince of *Goa* 15. and 280. of the Societie. In the Prouince of *Malabar* 14. in them 150. For *China* and *Iapon* you shall learne better in our Relations then in *Myraus*. In the *Philippinas* he reckons nine Residences & one hundred Iesuites. Neither shall wee need his instructions of *Africa* in his third Booke, our Relations being farre more full and certaine: as also of the New World handled in his fourth Booke. Hee numbers therein five Archbishops, the first of *Mexico*, whose Suffragans are the B B. of



Tlaxcala in Pnobia de los Angeles, Mechoacan in Valladolid, Guaxara in Antequera, Guadalajara, Gnatimata in Saint Iago, Iucatan in Merida, Chiappa, Honduras in Truxillo, Vera Paz, Nicaragua in Leon. This Archbishop, and those of Lima and Domingo were founded by Charles the Fifth, confirmed by Paul the Third, A. 1547. The Archbishop of Saint Domingo hath Suffragans Porto Rico, Saint Iago de Cuba, Venezuela, Iome adde Margarita. To the A. of Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, Truxillo, Guamanga, Quito. Paul the Fifth erected two Archbishop Sees, Plata or Potosi in Charcas, to whom are subiect the Bishops of Baranca, Paz, Santiago in Tucuman, Buenos Ayres, Panaton, Santiago in Chili, Imperial, Nuestra Señora de la Assumption, Paraguay: the other Archbishop is of Saint Faub of Bogot in New Granada, to whom are subordinate the Bishops of Popayan, Carthagena, Saint Martha; Manila is an Archbishopricke in the Philippinas, to which are subiect the Bishops of Cagayan, of the Name of Iesus, and Cacerensis. Mexico and Lima are Vniuersities. The Iesuites Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and the Fathers of our Lady of Putie are many, besides Priests, Canons, Inquisitors, &c. The Iesuites haue foure Prouinces: that of Peru hath Seminaries, Residences, Colledges and Houses of probation thirteene, and therein 370. of the Societie: that of Paraguay ten, and therein 116. that of New Granada seuen and 100. of the Company: that of Mexico fourteene, and therein Iesuits 340. In Brasil they haue in nineteen Houses, Colledges, and Residences 180. Iesuites.

And thus haue we audited Myrans his accounts of Bishops and Iesuites, names not otherwise futable but by Papall Arts. For what concord hath Antiquitie and Noueltie, Iesus and Iesuites, Catholike and Romish, Apostolicall Institutions with Apostaticall? Neither hath the Church wanted Bishops in all ages and places Christian since the Apostles, or knowne Iesuites in any age but this last, or in any Church (except as busie bodies) but the Romish: so that what they obiekt to vs, is truly their owne with aduantage, to be both *Nonatores* (*Leiola* being farre later then *Luther*) and *Veteratores* too; like the *Gibeonites*, which fained themselves *Ambassadors*, and tooke old Sackes upon their Asses, and old Bottells for Wine both rent and bound up: and old Shooes and clouted upon their feet; also the raiment upon them was old, and all their provision of bread was dried and moulded: Thus pretended they remoteness being neere neighbours, to delude the *Israelites*; as these neerer vs in time, then those others to *Ioshua* in place and habitation) chant nothing so much as Catholike and Old, when Time knew them not till yesterday, nor doth any Place yet know them but such as are Romish, except in Treasons: their old, old, old, being but the old Serpent, the old Man, and old refined rubbish to build their new Babel. *Nihil mihi antiquius*, said one in another case, *quā antiquare antiquitas istor*. The ancient government of the Church by Bishops, by Papall Monopoly vsurped, was set on foot by weakening Bpiscopall power in exempted Monasteries, that so all Monasteries might become Papall Forts, and in manner all the learned and leasurely penne might plead for the Patron of their exemption; furthered by both the one and the others inuestitures first, and dependance after, with subiection denied to Kings; and when the *Waldenses* began to shake downe the *Lateran*, the Pope dreamed that *Dominike*, or as the *Franciscans* will haue it, that *Francis* supported the *Lateran*, which proued not a dreame in their new deuised Orders of Friars, which maintained the Papacy with no lesse reputation of learning and fulnesse of commission in those dangerous daies, then the Iesuites haue done since *Luther*; which all the Deuills could not haue kept from falling both then and since, if they had not found such old-shoed *Ambassadors* to trauell ouer the World for their Mother *Babylon*, and their Father the Pope, palliated with the name of the Catholike Church. I wil not trouble you with recitation of their other orders particularly, but out of *Myrans* wil tel you that the *Benedictine* Order can glory beyond the *Iesuiticall* in 52000. Monasteries, 15000. Writers, 44000. Saints, 4000. Bishops, 1600. Archbishops, 200. Cardinals, and 25. Popes, which in succession of times they haue had. And if the Iesuite pretend his *Tam marte quā mercurio*, his mustering of Armies against the Heretickes, and setting Europe in the present combustion; the *Benedictine* can produce Martiall Orders, affixes to his profession, intituted for better purposes against *Mahumetans*, the *Templaries* (sometimes as proud as the proudest of Iesuites) the Knights of *Calatrana*, of *Alcantara*, *Montesia*, and *Mercedis* in Spaine, of *Christ*, of *Anise*, of *Ala* in Portugall, of *Saint Maurice* in Sauoy, of *Saint Steuen* in Toscanie, and others elsewhere. The *Augustinians* haue 555. Monasteries in Italy, and in Europe, as *Volatteranus* writeth 4000. and besides other subdiuided Orders, haue also their Military Knights of *Rhodes* or *Malta*, the *Dutch* Knights of our Lady in *Germany* and *Prussia*, the Knights of *Saint Iago* in Spaine; of *Saint Lazarus* of *Ierusalem*, of *Iesus Christ* instituted by *Dominike* against the *Albigenses*, of *Saint Mary* of Mount *Carmel* and *Saint Lazarus* (the former *Lazarites* being vnited to the *Maltafes*) instituted by *Paul* the Fifth. But Monastike Religions, notwithstanding their vow of chastitie haue so multiplied in the West, (for in the East few Orders are found to this day) that *Benedicts* Order hath procreated 23. *Augustines*, 28. and that later of *Francis* 15. And for the Individualls they are like the *Grashoppers* of *Egypt*, *Pauperis est numerare pecus*, The Pope is not so poore as to bee able to number his Creatures. Of the *Franciscans* alone *Sabellicus* numbers in his time at once liuing 90000. and addes that the Generall to that Order offered to Pope *Pius* against the *Turke*, 30000. able warriors of this Seraphicall Family without detriment to their Holies. They haue (saith hee) filled the world, being

10f.9.

\* Thus Myre-  
no Hospinian  
hath Abbates  
cruditione &  
scriptis celebres  
15700. Canoniz-  
atos 15600.

Volaterr. l. 21.



being divided into fortie Prouinces, each Prouince into *Custodie*, Wards or Wardenships, & these subdivided into *Convents* and *Places*. These mortified Minors had in that time found the way, *Sabel. En. 9. l. 6* five of them to the Papacy, 26. to the Red Hat; as for inferior Prelacies who can number them? The Dominicans in the same time (about six score yeeres since 21. Prouinces, Conuents 4143. in them living 26460. Friers, and of them about 1500. Masters (or Doctors) of Divinity, besides many of them in *Armenia* and *Ethiopia*, or *Abussia*, *Constantinople* anticipating the Iesuites glory in this kind, the Augustinians also were then numbered 30000. the Carmelites more, not to speake of the rest. This course of life first begun by deuout persons to auoid persecution; *Antony* and others which made vse of Deserts, and a solitary life to escape the Sword, and the Worldes infection by vice together: was after imitated by good men, both for their owne deuotions, freed by this meanes from secular interruptions, and fitted for the seruice of the Church both in Faith by Doctrinall studies, and exercises in their Monasticke Schooles, and also in charity by beneficence therein to the poore, with the labours of their hands; and lastly, degenerated into smoakie superstition and ambition, of getting the glory of the World; with wealth and ease by seeming denials thereof; and became a refuge, and sinke-sanctuary to Malecontents, Bankrupts, men in danger of Law, and weary of the crosses which attends each vocation (God hauing set downe this rule to all men, to eat their bread in the sweat of their browes, which these seeme to illude) that they which cannot bee *In negotio sine periculo* (to vse the Orators words) may bee *In otio cum dignitate*. A master-piece of hypocrisie, which in another fence, and by another course can say with the Apostle, as hauing nothing, and yet (euen carnally) possessing all things.

- 20 But who will hope to number the persons of each Order termed Religious, when the Orders themselves cannot bee reduced to due order or number? All Historians in manner mention them, but none can name them all, much lesse marshall them. *Ioannes Wolphius* in his *Centenaries of Memorable Readings*, thus expresseth many of them with the times of their Originall. A. D. 341. *Thabensiorum*. 366. *Ordo Publica*. 384. Order of Saint *Basil*. 399. Of Saint *Augustine*. 422. Of *Paula Romana*. 495. *Canonissarum Regularium*: also *Ordo Canoniorum*. A. 530. *Apostolicorum*: also *Benedictinorum*: also *Scholasticorum Benedictinorum*. 595. *Gregorianorum*. 610. *Gervandensium*. In the seuenth and eighth Centenary none. In the ninth A. 912. *Ordo Cluniacensis*. 950. *Camaldulensium*. 977. *Canoniorum Secularium*. A. 1012. *Hospitalium*. 1017. *Humilitati*. 1030. *Ordo Ieiunantium*. 1046. *Lazaritarum*. 1050. *Luceolanorum*. 1076. *Grandmontensium*. 1080. *Carthusianum*. 1059. S. *Antonij de Vienna*. 1098. *Ordo Cisterciensis* A. D. 1110. *Templarij*. 1113. *Bernhardini*. 1119. *Pramonstratenses*. 1121. *Militia Calatrave*. 1137. *Ordo Robertinorum*. 1148. *Gilbertinorum*. 1160. *Carmelitarum*. 1170. *Ordo Militum D. Iacobi de spatha*. 1190. *Ordo Tentonicorum Marianorum*. 1190. *Franciscanorum*. 1200. *Cruciferorum*. 1201. *Ordo S. Spiritus Hospitaliorum*. 1202. *Gladiferorum*. 1205. *Dominicanorum*. 1211. *Ordo S. Trinitatis*, *sive Equitum de Redemptione Captiuorum*. 1214. *Ordo Militia Montesia*. 1215. *Ordo Eremitarum S. Pauli*. 1217. O. *Vallis Scholarium*. 1228. O. S. *Clara*. 1232. Or. *Militia S. Mariae*. 1250. *Ordo de Observantia Minorum & Predicatorum*. 1252. *Ordo Fratricellorum Beghardorum*, *Beghinorum*, *sive Beguittarum*. 1257. O. *Bethleemitarum*. 1258. O. *Bonorum hominum*. 1273. O. *Augustinianorum Eremitarum & Guibelmistarum*. 1282. O. *Servorum S. Mariae*. 1297. *Celestinorum*. 1300. *Militum Sepulchri Domini*. 1303. 40 *Sarabitarum*. 1323. *Militum Iesu Christi*. 1326. *Alcanthare militum*. 1349. *Flagellantium*. 1350. *Charteriorum Equitum*. 1360. *Equitum Stella*. 1365. O. *Iesuatorum*. 1366. *Ordo Saluatoris sive Scopetinarum*. 1370. S. *Brigitte*. 1371. *Turlupinorum*. 1399. *Albatorum*. 1400. *Vallis Vmbrose*. 1405. *Hieronymitarum*. 1407. *Canoniorum S. Georgij in Alga*. Also *Mendicantium D. Hieronimi*. Also S. *Spiritus*. Also *Montoluitensium*. 1408. *Canoniorum Lateranensium Congregationis Frisenaria*. 1409. S. *Iustine*. Also *Mauritianorum Equitum*. 1420. O. *Equestre Annuntiationis B. Mariae*. 1429. O. *Eq. Aurei Velleris*. 1433. S. *Ambrosij ad Nemus*. 1453. O. *Equitum S. Spiritus*. 1455. S. *Catherina Senensis*. 1464. *Equitum Lune*. 1469. *Equitum S. Michaelis*. 1499. *Ordo penitentium mulierum semmeretricum*. 1500. *Ordo peregrinorum pauperum*. 1506. *Ordo Indianorum*. 1529. O. *Sodalitatis diuini amoris sive Theatinorum*. 1537. O. *Paulinorum sive Gastalianorum*. 1540. O. *Iesuitarum*, *sive Societatis Iesu*. 1549. *Capucinorum*. 1561. O. *militum S. Stephani*. 1571. *Ordo minorum Iesu Mariae seu Tertiariorum*. 1579. O. *Eq. S. Spiritus*.

Vnto these Orders whereof some time is set, may bee added many others of whose Originall no certaine time is deliuered. *Wolphius* hath in Alphabetically order named these of that kinde, *Ord. Ambrosianorum*, *Antonianorum*, *Fratrium de Armenia*, *Ordo Equestre de Anis*, *Batutinorum*, *Bona voluntatis*, *Bursfeldensium*, *Canoniorum Regularium*, differing from the former, *Capellano- rum*, *Challomerianorum*, *Cellariorum*, *Clauigerorum*, *Constantinopolitanorum militum*, *Cruciferorum* another kind. O. *Fratrium Crucis*, O. *Stellatorum Crucis*, O. *Forficorum*, O. *Genette Equestre*, O. S. *Gertrudis Monialium*, O. *Fratrium Helena*, O. *Fratrium de Hispania*, Or. *Histrice Equestre*, O. *Hospitaliariorum*, O. *Fratrium D. Iacobi*, O. *Ignorantia*, O. *Ioannitarum de ciuitate*, *Ordo Vallis Iosaphati*, O. *Iosephi*, Or. *militum de Labanda*, *Lazariseu Magdalena*, *Linonchleniorum*, *Monialium S. Mariae*, O. S. *Mariae nouus*, *Conceptionis Mariae*, O. *ex Fratrib. martyrum*, *Maturinorum*, *Mensa Orbicularis* (Knights of the Round Table) O. *Pauperum Voluntariorum*, O. *de Corbullo S. Petri*, O. S. *Petri in Schunbach*, O. *Purgatorialium*, *Rebaginorum*, *Reclusorum sive Inklusorum*, O. S. *Russi*, *Ordo Monache* *usi*



vel Sacerd. libera. Scala dei. Sclauonianorum. Fratrum ex Scotia. S. Sophia sine Gratia. Speculariorum. Stellatorum. Militum S. Thome. Vespillonum. Fratrum de viridi vallo. O. Valentinario-feruentium. Ungarici eq. O. Wenceslaurum. Zambonitarum. Zupfnoharum.

But it is time to haue done, lest such vncouth names make some Reader feare hee shall thereby coniure vp some Demills, ordered to disorders. I could almost out of History adde others, but these are more then enough, Papall Orders enough to breake all Christian orders and rules of simplicitie and sanctitie, with their superstition and hypocrisie. Of their rules, habits, and other superstitions (vnderstand this of the later, for the ancient were bath without vow, and fit Schooles and Seminaries for the Church, as our Vniuersities now) the same *Wolfius*, *Hospinian* and other Authors haue written at large.

## CHAP. XVII.

*A Discourse of the diuersity of Letters used by the diuers Nations in the World; the antiquity, manifold use and variety thereof, with exemplary descriptions of about three score severall Alphabets, with other strange Writings.*

Rationis & orationis privilegia.

Manifold and excellent use of Letters.

Who first inuented Letters  
Ios. Ant. l. i. c. 2.

Plin. l. 7. c. 36.  
Orho Heurnij  
Chaldaicus.

Ful. Misc. l. 4. c. 4

Iob 13. 26. & 19  
23, 24, & 6.

**G**OD the giver of euery good gift, hath endowed Man (created after his owne Image) with diuers priuiledges aboue other sensitiue Creatures, not onely with dominion ouer them, but with Reason and Speech, both aboue their Naturall capacities: By the one he composeth naturall syllogismes in himselfe, proposing to his *Vnderstanding*, disposing in it, and by his *Will* electing what seemes best of those things, which the externall Senses, as the *Cinque-Port-Intelligencers* haue brought in, and the Internall, the *Common sense*, *Phantasie*, and *Memory*, as Reasons handmaids haue prepared to *Discourse*. By the other, as a Sociable creature, hee imparteth those Mind-conceptions vnto other men; and those which are many persons, are made as it were one body reasonable. God hath added herein a further grace, that as Men by the former exceed Beasts, so hereby one man may excell another; and amongst Men, some are accounted Ciuill, and more both Sociable and Religious, by the Use of letters and Writing, which others wanting are esteemed Brutish, Sauage, Barbarous. And indeed much is the litterall aduantage; by speech we vtter our minds once, at the present, to the present, as present occasions moue (and perhaps vnaduisedly transport) vs: but by writing Man seemes immortall, conferreth and consulteth with the Patriarkes, Prophets, Apostles, Fathers, Philosphers, Historians, and learnes the wisdom of the Sages which haue beene in all times before him; yea by translations or learning the Languages, in all places and Regions of the World: and lastly, by his owne writings furnieth himselfe, remaines (*littera scripta manet*) thorow all ages a Teacher and Counsellor to the last of men: yea hereby God holds conference with men, and in his sacred Scriptures, as at first in the *Tables of Stone*, speakes to all. And whereas speech pierceth the Eare (pierceth indeede and passeth often, in at the one, and out at the other) Writing also entertaineth the Eyes; and so long, by our owne or others reading, speakes to either of those nobler Senses, as wee will, and whereof wee will our selues; hushit and silent at our pleasure; alway free from feare, flattery, and other humane passions. Therefore the dead were esteemed the best companions and faithfulest Counsellors, in *Alfonso* his opinion, namely, in their Writings still liuing to performe those Offices: and want of Letters hath made some so seely as to thinke the Letter it selfe could speake, so much did the *Americans* herein admire the *Spaniards*, seeming in comparison of the other as speaking Apes. Thus excellent is the use of letters: how ancient, vncertaine. *Iosephus* mentions Writing enter then the Floud, by which, knowledge of Astronomy was commended to posteritie in two Pillers, the one of Stone, the other of Bricke, to outliue those two dismall destructions which *Adam* had prophesied should befall the World, by Fire and VVater: that of Stone remaining to his time. *Plinie* conceiteth an eternitie of Letters, as of the VVorld and Mankind: and supposeth that the *Affyrians* were such: elsewhere attributing their inuention to the *Phœnicians*, as of Astronomy also, and the Arts of VVarr and Nauigation, and after others opinion to the *Egyptians*, after others to the *Syrians*. It is, I see not how probably by some affirmed, that *Moses* first receiued Letters in the Two Tables of the Law written by the finger of God. Master *Fuller* is of opinion that the *Phœnicians* themselues learned them of *Abraham*, who seemeth to him, as likely in his long stay with the *Canaanites* to haue taught them Letters, as to haue instructed the *Egyptians* in so short a space, in Astronomy and Arithmetike, which *Iosephus* affirmeth. And most probable it seemeth that in blessed *Shems* posteritie by *Heber*, *Noah* had left the best Arts of the former VVorld. *Iob* is by some, vpon good reasons, holden ancienter then *Moses*, who yet often speakes of Bookes and writing, as a thing then familiarly vsed.

Another notable controuerted question is of the ancientest kind of Letters, which *Postellus*, *Scaliger*



Scaliger & others thinke to be the *Phœnicians*, or as now they are called, the *Samaritan*, at first vsed by all the *Canaanites* (of which the *Phœnicians* were a part) and *Hebrewes*; but after the deporation to *Babylon*, the *Cuthæans* or *Samaritans* still continued them (being taught by the *Israelish* Priest) but the *Iewes* grew into vse of others, which Scaliger saith, are *nupera ac nouitia ex Syriacis deprauata*; illa autem ex *Samaritanis*; quod sicut luce clara sit, tamen quidam semidocti, semitheologi, & ut signantius loquar semihomines, *Iudaicas literas verè Hebraicas esse priscas audent deirare, &c.* And after; *Videntur hodie Sicli qui quotidie Ierosolymis effodiuntur, & sub regibus Iuda in vsu fuerunt. In illis nummis eadem litera incisa sunt, qua in scriptis Samaritanorum leguntur*; and thinkes it *extrema insania & imperitia* to thinke that the elder *Hebrewes* had any other.

What Letters most ancient.  
2. Reg. 17. 17.  
10. Scal. Annot. in Euseb. Chron.  
See those Coines and Letters at the end of this Chapter.  
1st. pref. in 1. reg.

- 10 Saint *Jerome* also affirmeth, that *Esdras* was Inuenter of the present *Hebrew* Letters after the Captiuitie. His words are, *viginti & duas literas esse apud Hebraeos, Syrorum quoq; lingua testatur, qua Hebraea magna ex parte confinis est. Nam & ipsi 22. elementa habent, eodem sono, sed diuersis characteribus. Samaritani etiam pentateuchum Moysitotidem literis scriptitant, figuris tantum & apicibus discrepantes. Certumq; est Esdras, post captam Hierosolymam, & instauracionem templi sub Zerubabel, alias literas reperisse, quibus nunc utimur, quàm ad illud usq; tempus, idem Samaritanorum & Hebraeorum characteres fuerint.*

- 20 *Postellus* attributeth the reason of this new Inuention to the difference of Religion, which began in *Ieroboam*, but became worse in those *Cuthæans* & other strangers which were placed by the *Assyrians* in the Cities of *Samaria*, whose irreconcilable hatred I haue elsewhere shewed in my Pilgrimage. He alledgeth also such Coines, said to be as old as since *Salomons* dayes, seene by him, (two of which shall follow with their Letters.) Hee addeth that the *Iewes* affirmed the same, which still hate the *Samaritans*, but highly prize those Coines as their owne Antiquities; the Inscription whereof being *Ierusalem the holy*, could not proceed from the *Cuthæan Samaritans*, which worshipped in their *Mountaine*, (as the *Samaritan* woman said to our Sauour) and not in *Ierusalem*. *Postellus* saw a Grammar in their Letters, but the Language *Hebrew*, the Exposition *Arabike*; the Characters their owne, which now also want the points which in Saint *Jeromes* dayes they had.

G. Postell. ling.  
12. Alphab.

P. Pilg. l. 2. c. 94

Ioh. 4.

- 30 *Scaliger* sheweth further how the ancient *Greeke* or *Ionike* Letters (like in forme to the present *Latine*, which seeme thence deriued) were by *Cadmus* carried from *Phœnicia*, and communicated to the *Greekes*, of him called by *Herodotus* *Καδμήϊα γράμματ᾽*, which both hee and *Panfanias* affirme that they had seene; and of which *Plinie* testifieth, *Gentium consensus tacitum primus omnium conspirauit, ut Ionum literis uterentur.* Of these anon you shall see an example. *Scaliger* addeth that the *Chaldees* fashioned theirs from the *Phœnician*, now vsed by the *Nestorians* and *Maronites*. These haue both Capitall Letters and lesser: from which *Chaldee* Letters the moderne *Iewish* and *Arabike* are deriued, the *Chaldees* being in a meane betwixt the *Phœnicians* and them.

10f. Scal. ubi sup.

- Our Learned Countreyman Master *Fuller*, as hee will not yeeld that the ancient *Hebrew* was the *Phœnician* Language; so neither will subscribe to this opinion, which maketh the moderne *Hebrew* Letter to be of later deuise. But as the *Egyptians* had two sorts of Letters, one sacred and hieroglyphicall, the other vulgar; and as with vs the writing proper to the publike Courts in Court and Chancery hands differ from the common writing: so the *Hebrewes* also might haue a two fold writing, the one in ciuill and common affaires, still read in the *Samaritans* Bookes and Coines; the other Ecclesiastike or sacred, vsed by the Priests and Leuites, and in which the holy Scriptures are preserved; which then became Secular and Vulgar, when their emulation against the *Samaritans* admitted nothing common betwixt them, especially in Letters, which it appeareth they learned of one of the *Samaritan* Priests of *Bethel*, of *Ieroboams* institution, and not of *Leuiticall* race. For it is probable that *Ieroboams* baser Priests either could not, or would not write in that *Leuiticall* and Priestly Character, but retained vnto all purposes that which before had beene admitted only to ciuill affaires. He conceiueth them to be both of *Israeliticall* originall; and if either be ancienter, the sacred (still stiled *Hebrew*) to haue the preheminence, Ecclesiasticall things being of more Antiquitie then ciuill; in which sense *Irenæus* calleth the ancient *Hebrew* Letters, *Sacerdotales*; these being also more simple and vniforme then the *Samaritan*, as is seene in the *Iod*, which our Sauour citeth as the lest of Letters, which yet in the *Samaritan* is multiforme and large. How euer the case stands herein, it is euident they are both very ancient, and as it were Mother-letters to the rest of the World: which as wee haue noted already of the *Chaldees*, *Ionike* and *Latine*, so may it be obserued in the principall of those others which we shall anon present to your view.

Full. Miscellane.  
l. 4. c. 4.

1. Reg. 12. 13. &  
2. Reg. 17. 17.

Iren. aduers. hær.  
l. 2. c. 41.  
Mat. 5. 18.

- 60 *Plinie* reporteth that *Cadmus* brought sixteene Letters into *Greece*, to which in the *Troian* Warre *Palamedes* added foure others @ ε φ χ, and after him *Simonides* other Ζ Η Ψ Ω. *Aristotle* saith there were eighteene ancient Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ, to which *Episcarmus* added @ χ, or rather *Palamedes*: *veteres Græci fuisse easdem pene quæ nunc sunt latine*, he auereth out of a Brazen Table in the Palace inscribed Ν Α Ψ Ι Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε Σ Τ Ι Σ Α Μ Ε Ν Ο Α Θ Ε Ν Α Ι Ο Σ (so *Scaliger* expresth it) in later Letters Ν α υ τ ι κ ρ α τ ε ς Τ ι σ α μ ε ν ο υ Α θ η ν α ι ο ς. *Scaliger* also out of an old Scholy vpon *Enripides* his *Orestes*, affirmeth that the

Plin. l. 7. c. 56.



the old *Greekes* had seuentene Letters, sixteene of *Cadmus* his Inuention, and *V* added there-  
to, and thinks this to be *Aristotles* assertion, who would neuer haue reckoned  $\phi$  for one, being  
of later inuention. These seuentene are ΑΒΓΔΕΗΙΚΛΜΝΟΞΡΖΤΤ. Before  
 $\Theta$  &  $\chi$  were inuented by *Simonides*, saith *Marinus Victorinus*, they vied to place after  $\tau$ ,  $\Gamma$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  
the aspirate  $\eta$ , as  $\tau\eta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\eta\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\eta\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\tau\eta\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\eta\iota\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\eta\rho\eta\epsilon\varsigma$ . But let  
the studious herein read *Scaligers* whole Discourse or Digression in his Notes vpon *Eusebius* his  
Chronicle, who also giueth the examples mentioned by *Herodotus*: ΑΜΓΗΙΤΡΥΟΝ.  
Μ. ΑΝΕΤΗΕΚΕΝ. ΕΟΝ. ΑΠΟ. ΤΕΛΕΒΑΟΝ. in the moderne Letters,  
*Αμπετρουν μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἐὼν ἀπὸ Τηλεβοῶν*. The like he doth in diuers others. But an old Inscription is  
in *Ionike* Letters I could not but transcribe from him. It was ingrauen in a Pillar in *Via Appia*,  
thence remoued to the *Farnesian* Gardens; whereby it appears that these *Ionike* Letters conti-  
nued in *Italy* long after they had ceased in *Greece*.

ΟΔΕΝΙ. ΘΕ ΜΙΤΟΝ ΜΕΤΑΚΙΝΕΣ ΑΙ  
ΕΚ. ΤΟ. ΤΡΙΟΙΟ. ΗΟ. ΕΣΤΙΝ. ΕΓΙ. ΤΟ  
ΤΡΙΤΟ. ΕΝ. ΤΕΙ. ΗΟΔΟΙ. ΤΕΙ. ΑΓΓΙΑΙ.  
ΕΝΤΟΙ. ΗΕΡΟΔΟ. ΑΑΡΟΙ. Ο ΑΑΡ.  
ΛΟΙΟΝ. ΤΟΙ. ΚΙΝΕΣΑΝΤΙ. ΜΑΡΤΥΣ.  
ΔΑΙΜΟΝ. ΕΝΗΟΔΙΑ. ΚΑΙ. ΗΟΙ  
ΚΙΟΝΕΣ. ΔΕΜΕΤΡΟΣ. ΚΑΙ. ΚΟΡΕΣ  
ΑΝΑΘΕΜΑ. ΚΑΙ. ΑΘΟΝΙΟΝ. ΘΕΟΝ. ΚΑΙ. \*

The same Inscription in later Greeke Letters.

ὁδὲν δὲ μίτον μετακινῆσαι	καὶ τὸν τῶν κινῶντων. Μάρτυς
ἐκ τοῦ τριοῖο, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ	δαίμονι Ἡροδῶτα, καὶ οἱ
τεῖτον ἐν τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀγγίᾳ	κόρες τῆς Διμήντρος, καὶ Κόρης
ἐν τῷ Ἡρόδῳ ἀρχῶν. καὶ γὰρ	ἀνάθεμα, καὶ Ἀθόνιον θεόν, καὶ *

Plin. ubi sup.

*Plinie* saith that the *Pelasgi* first brought Letters into *Italy*: *Hennius* cites these Verses out  
of an old Booke touching the Inuencers of Letters.

*Moses primus Hebraicas exarauit literas:*  
*Mente Phœnices Sagaci condiderunt Atticas:*  
*Quas Latini scriptitamus edidit Nicostrata:*  
*Abraham Syrae & idem reperit Chaldaicas*  
*Isis arte non minore protulit Egyptias:*  
*Gulfila prompsit Getarum quas videmus ultimas.*

But who is so literate as to reduce the Letters of each Nation to their first founder? it see-  
ming probable, that as Nations became more ciuill, so some more Heroike Spirit in each Na-  
tion deuised new of himselfe, or deriued the old from some other Nation, or made a mixture of  
both: besides that the conquered Nations vsually haue receiued in some part both Language,  
and Letters, with their Lawes from the Conquerors.

We see still that those which teach short writing, can and doe deuise new Characters daily for  
that purpose; that others ordaine Cyphres or Characters only knowne to those whom the Au-  
thour shall impart the skill vnto; and these diuersified *ad libitum*, as any intends to impound  
or pale in his secrets or mysteries of State, or Art; some of which perhaps in proceſſe of time  
haue beene made vulgar and ordinary Letters. These mysticall Writers haue also deuised other  
Arts of concealement, as writing with Allume water, not to be read after it is once dried, but  
laid in water; with an Onyon, to be read at the fire, &c.

Differing fi-  
gures of Let-  
ters, and di-  
uerſitie of In-  
struments and  
materials.

Now for the varietie and differing formes, Art hath superabounded: both in the subiect and  
instrument, some writing with Pencils as the *Iapemites* and *Chinois*, others with Pens, others  
with Instruments of Iron as the *Malabars*, of Gemmes, Brasse also, or other metall, in Table-  
bookes, Leaues, Barkes, Wood, Stone, Aire, Sand, Duſt, Metall, Paper, Cloth, Parchment, and  
innumerable other materials: in the forme also and manner, with *Quippos* in Stones or Threads,  
as in *Pern*; with Pictures as in *Mexico*, and the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphikes; with Characters,  
each



each expressing a word or thing, not a letter, as the *Chinois, Iaponites*, and our Arithmeticians and Astronomers in the figures of their Arts; some with fiery Torches, as you may read in *Captaine Smiths* following Relations; the most haue vsed letters, which by Art are disposed to frame all words, and hath beene the most complete kind of writing which euer was. But *Babel* neuer had more confusion of languages then Letters haue sustained alteration, differenced both by place and time, yea and by the humours of men. Thus not onely diuers languages haue diuers letters, but the same language, as it changeth with time, so the letters also are diuersified, as in the *Ionike* and later *Greeke* hath beene obserued, from both which the *Moderne Greekes* write much differently. In this our Countrey wee haue had manifold successions of letters in succeeding ages, as is most easie to be seene in well furnished Libraries, and that especially of the Miracle of industry in this kind, *Sir Robert Cotton*, both in Bookes, Chartells, and Letters. The Conquerour (as *In-*  
 10 *gulfus, Edmerus* and others then liuing obserue) would not indure the *English* Language or Letters, whereby the *Saxon* Letters are now commonly extinct. And both all Records of old, and the diuers Courts of this Kingdome, yea euery Copy-booke, and each writing Masters Masterpiece hanged forth to publike view, easily manifest the passed and present varietie of Letters in common vse at the same time. It is impossible therefore to giue an example of all, either Letters or Languages. Yet in this so Generall a History, I thought it would minister some delight to the Reader, to haue a taste of that immense varietie, which here out of *Thesius Ambrosius, Possellus, Duretus, Scaliger, Gramaye, Lazius, &c.* we exhibite.

Cap. Smith,  
inf. l. 8.

Why *Saxon*  
letters ceased.

Variety of let-  
ters vsed with  
vs at this day.

Let the Reader take notice also of the varying in lines, some reading (as the *Latines, Greekes*,  
 20 and most of the *Europaans*) from the left hand to the Right sidewayes; the *Hebrewes, Arabikes*, and most of the *Indians* (except the *Malabars* and *Siamites*) from the right to the left: the *Iugres, Cathayans, Tartars*, that is the most of the Easterne and Northeasterne *Asians* write their lines downeward, and multiply them from the left hand to the right, as you may see in the *Iaponian* charters following. And in *Patane* they vse three, both languages and sorts of writing: the *Malayan*, which I haue seene in *Arabike* characters written from the right hand; that of *Siam* from the left, and that of *China* downewardes. The people of *Tangut* (North-neighbours to *China*) are said to write from the right hand to the left, and to multiply their lines vpwads. The *Mexicans* had writings in forme of a wheele, which were read from the  
 30 Center vpwads to the Circumference. In *Honduras* they had Bookes of Paper made of Cotton-Wooll, or the inner Barke of Trees, or of Metleleaues, folded like Broad-cloathes, the writing whereof was partly painting (where such things as had forme or figure were therein represented) partly in Hieroglyphicall characters, as Fishhookes, Starres, Snares, Files, &c. In these they kept their Records. And our Heralds Art keepeth records of pedegrees in a kinde of Hieroglyphikes, not much vnlike. To let passe Magicall characters, *Thesius Ambrosius* hath published a confused kind of scroll, the Copie of one (hee saith) written by the Deuill. I had rather mention that which *Eusebius* in the life of *Constantine* recordeth written by Diuine hand, which some say was the Crosse, but by his description appeareth rather to haue beene the two first letters of Christs name,  $\chi$  and  $\rho$  combined, with promise of victory to the pious Emperour, not in that signe (of the Crosse) but in Christ himselfe, to whom be glory for euer, *Amen*.

Diuers wayes  
of Reading.

*Iaponian* Char-  
acter l. 4. c. 1. §.

*America* books.  
See a whole  
History in Pic-  
tures. To. 2. l. 5,  
c. 6.  
Heraldry.  
Magicall cha-  
racters and  
diabolically.

40 The *Phœnician* or *Samaritan* Letters, which some say were the *Mosaicall* and first *Hebrew*, with the Names of the elder and later *Syrians*, and the *Ionike* and later *Greeke* Letters answering them, and answered by the *Latine*, we haue transcribed out of *Ioseph Scaliger* in this forme and order.

*Apellaciones*



Appellationes Syrorum posteriorū.	Appellationes Syrorum veterum.	Phœnicia littera.	Græcæ literæ recentiorum & Ionum veterum.	Latine.
Olaph.	Alpha.	Α	Α Α. Αλφα.	A.
Beth.	Betha.	Β	Β. Βητα.	B.
Gomal.	Gamla.	Γ	Γ Α. Γαμμα.	C.
Dolath.	Delta.	Δ	Δ Α. Δλτα.	D.
He.	He.	Ε	Ε Ε. Η.	E.
Wau.	Wau.	Ϝ	Ϝ Ϝ. Επισημον βαυ.	F.
Zoe.	Zetha.	Ζ	Ζ. Ζητα.	G.
Heth.	Hetha.	Η	Η. Ητα.	H.
Teth.	Tetha.	Θ	Θ Θ. Θητα.	Θ.
Iud.	Iota.	Ι	Ι. Ιωτα.	I.
Chuph.	Kappa.	Κ	Κ. Κητα.	K.
Lomad.	Lambda.	Λ	Λ Λ. Λαμβδα.	L.
Mim.	Me.	Μ	Μ Μ. Μυ.	M.
Nun.	Nun.	Ν	Ν Ν. Νυ.	N.
Semchath.	Simcha.	Ξ	Ξ Ξ. Ξι.	Ξ.
E.	Oe.	Ο	Ο Ο. Ου.	O.
Phe.	Phe.	Π	Π Π. Πι.	Π.
Tzode.	Tzode.	Ϟ	Ϟ Ϟ. Επισημον σιγμα.	P.
Kugh.	Kophe.	ϙ	ϙ ϙ. Επισημον κοππα.	Q.
Refch.	Roe.	Ρ	Ρ Ρ. Ρο.	R.
Schin.	Schin.	Σ	Σ Σ. Σαν. Σιγμα.	S.
Thau.	Thau.	Τ	Τ. Ταυ.	T.
		Υ	Υ Υ. Υι.	Υ.
		Φ	Φ Φ. Φι.	Φ.
		Χ	Χ Χ. Χι.	Χ.
		Ψ	Ψ Ψ. Ψι.	Ψ.
		Ω	Ω Ω. Ωι.	Ω.

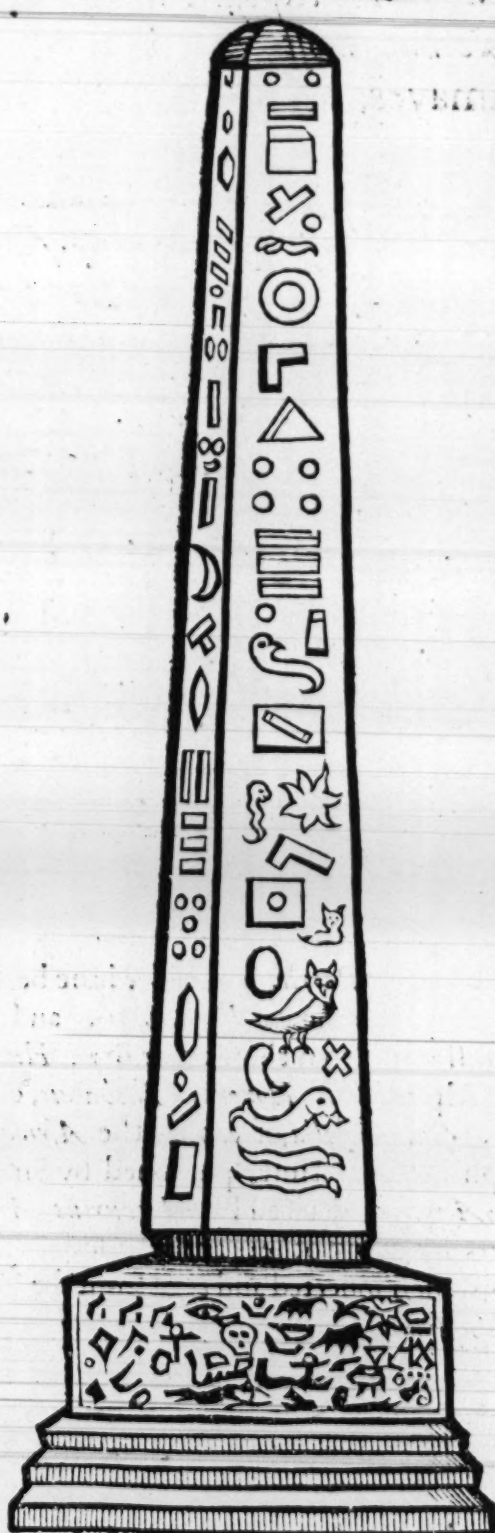
BY the figure of these Characters it is easie to bee gathered that the Letters ( which *Herodotus* calleth Καρμυδια χαρακτα, scene by him in the Temple of *Apollo Ismenius* at the *Boeotian Thebes* ὁμοῖα ἔοντα ταῖσι Ἰωνικοῖσι ) were deuised by *Cadmus*, with no great alteration in the most from the *Phœnician*, except in the turning them from the right had posture to the left, and adding sometimes, sometimes cutting off some particks. The *Latine* no lesse seemeth deriued from the *Ionian*, and are in the most the very same. Your eyes may easily discern and iudge; and *Scaligers* Commentary is well worth your consultation herein, too long to transcribe or translate hither. Of the twenty two all had not the vse of Letters and Elements of writing amongst the *Ionians*, but sixteene onely: the rest were called ἐπισήματα, that is *notes*. to wit, of Spirit or Numbers: and therefore the first note Ϝ stands for the numerall VI. F is ἐπισημον το βαυ in steed of *Wau*, wher- of the *Aeolians* had frequent vse, which called Ελένη *Felēn*, & therefore was not reputed a Letter, because it might be taken away without change to the word; it stands also for a note of the



*spiritus lenis*, as in that *hexametre* [αἰὺς δ' ἐφ' ἑνὶ φάρμακῳ] it is neither Consonant nor Vowell, there being a *Synalapha* for *ei* and no Position in *Farmy*. H with the old *Iones* was as H with the *Latines*, as in that *HODOI* in the former Inscription is seene: they also vied *E* onely, both long and short syllable, as in the same Inscription *KINESANTI* sheweth, and *TEI* for *τη*. *Beda lib. de Indigitatione* hath touching those *ἑμίονα* these words; *Græci omnibus suis literis exprimunt numeros. Verum toto Alphabeti sui charactere in numerorum figuras extenso, tres, qui plus sunt, numeros, notis proprijs quæ ex Alphabeto non sunt depingunt. Prima est ε̄ qua dicitur Epimon, & est nota numeri VI. Secunda est Γ, quæ vocatur Kophe, & valet in numero XC. Tertia est Ϟ qua dicitur Enneacosia quia valet DCCCC.* But let the learned read *Scaliger* himselfe.

10

The Hebrew Letters and Names thereof now in use are these.



Aleph  
Beth  
Gimel  
Dalet  
He  
Vau  
Zain  
Cheth  
Tet  
Iod  
Caph  
Lamed  
Mem  
Nun  
Samech  
Ain  
Phe  
Tsadi  
Coph  
Rec  
Cin  
Thau

א  
ב  
ג  
ד  
ה  
ו  
ז  
ח  
ט  
י  
כ  
ל  
מ  
נ  
ס  
ע  
פ  
צ  
ק  
ר  
ש  
ת



I have also added two Coines of the old *Samaritan* letters, the higher described from *Postellus* his *Introduction of twelve languages*, the lower from *Bezas* larger Annotations, *Matth. 17*. His words are *Huius vero numi, id est dimidij Stateris argentei, qui quatuor Drachmarum erat quales ipsi Iudæi olim signarant, veram imaginem hic exprimendam curavi, expressam ex vero & puri puri argenti numo, mihi à fido illo Christi seruo D. Ambrosio Blaurero, donato. Habet autem hic numus Samaritanis li-*

R

teris



teris insignis, una ex parte urnam illam sacram, in qua recondita fuit Manna, superposita litera Aleph, qua declaratur simplex hic fuisse siclus, duarum videlicet drachmarum, cum duplex esset drachmarum quatuor, cum inscriptione [SCHEKEL IISRAEL] id est, Siclus Israel: ex altera vero, Virgam illā Aaronis florentem, cum inscriptione [IERVSCHALAIM KODSCHAH] id est Ierusalem Sancta. That of Postellus (of Silver also) differeth somewhat in the figure and the superscription S.B. which (I conceive) signifieth that it was a double Shekel.

Inf. pag. 910.  
Socrat. l. 5. c. 16.  
Saz. l. 7. c. 15.

I haue added an Obeliske or Columne inscribed with Egyptian Hieroglyphikes, copied out of Gramay; and in the basis thereof haue added another described out of Laurentius Pignorius his Mensa Isiaca expositio, where the Reader may feast himselfe with Characters of that kind. I also haue elsewhere giuen some of those Egyptian figures. These I thought good to adde for illustration of that mention of the Crosse in the Ecclesiastical History against the Egyptian figures in the Temple of Sarapis, which occasioned the conuersion of many Ethnikes to Christianity.

The Alphabets following wee haue distinguished by figures, for the Readers better vnderstanding of the exposition added. Wherein wee haue most followed Gramayes.

1	h3 d d l m g n i l l m z w 9 x z m c a p f s x z i z v v v t r y r
2	o h 4 6 l i p l c t a h t u l : a m v e > h o e f z x
3	h g y n g y x u x u g n z m z m x m n y y u y u m m m y y
4	o o o o o o o o o o o o e o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o
5	p z z y
6	o o
7	n n
8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
9	o o

1. The first is that of the *Alans* or *Lumbards*, set forth by *Patricius*: other haue beene published by *Bonauentura Vulcanius* in his *Specimen Variarum linguarum*, and others.
2. The old *Aleman* Alphabet of *Trithemius*, much different from those of *de Bry*, *Hermannus Hugo*, and *Iames Bonauentura*.
3. An olde Magicke Alphabet of *Honorius Thebanus*, of which there are other kinds too many.
4. An Alchymicke of *Cid Abdalla*, of which the *Africans* haue other sorts.
5. *Gramay* saith, it is an old *English* Alphabet sometimes published by *Sir Thomas Moore*.
6. The ABC. vsed by the Priests of *Iupiter Ammon*, deuised by *Mercurius Egyptius*.
7. The *Abassine* attributed to *Salomon*; many others by many others are so inscribed.
8. The *Affyrian*, ascribed to *Abramam*.
9. The old *Apulian*, which inuerted and read from the bottome is one kind of the *Armenian* fathered on *Saint Iohn Chrysostome*.











48. The *Ethiopiike* Alphabet, with the Letter *A.* added thorowout. 49. *Syriak.* 50. *Arabike.* They haue diuers other sorts of Letters, as in *Erpennius* & *Postellus*, *Megiferus* and others which haue written of them is seene. The *Turkes* also vie the same Letters and Points, or notes of vowels, howsoeuer their Language differeth much, being neerer the *Persian* and *Tartarian*. 51. *Armenian.* 52. *Dalmatian.* 53. *Russian.* 54. The *Iacobites.* 55. *Egyptian.* 56. *Indian.* 57. *Persian.* 58. The old *Syriake.*

I haue added also this Copie of *Malabar Writing*, read as the *Latine* from the right hand, written with a needle in a *Palme* leafe folded vp, of which I haue two of great length and many folds.

திரவமாதவரணிபகரனது  
இயல்புசெய்யுருகும  
புடயியமாதகுதிருதின  
னமமமமமமமமமம

The *China* Characters are seene in our Map of *China*, the *Iaponian* in the Charter of that Emperour to our Merchants in Captaine *Saris* his Iournall, as alio the *Indostan* and *Arabike*; the *Mexican* Hieroglyphikes in a whole Historie therein written. Wee haue ended with our owne ancient *Saxon* Characters. But first will giue you another sort of *Vlphilas Gotike* Characters set forth by *De Bry*.

Tom. 2. l. 2. c. 7.  
Tom. 1. l. 4. c. 1.  
Tom. 2. l. 3. c. 23.



## Vlphilas Gotike, and the Saxon Alphabet.

See of these  
Gotike Letters,  
Tom. 2. l. 3 c. 23.

A	a	p	r
b	b	δ	S
c	c	γ	s
d	d	τ	t
E	E	u	u
e	e	p	w
f	f	χ	X
g	g	x	x
h	h	y	y
i	i	Ϸ	Æ
l	l	ʀ	e
m	m	Ð	Th
n	n	ð	th
o	o	þ	th
p	p	ʒ	and
q	q	ʒ	that

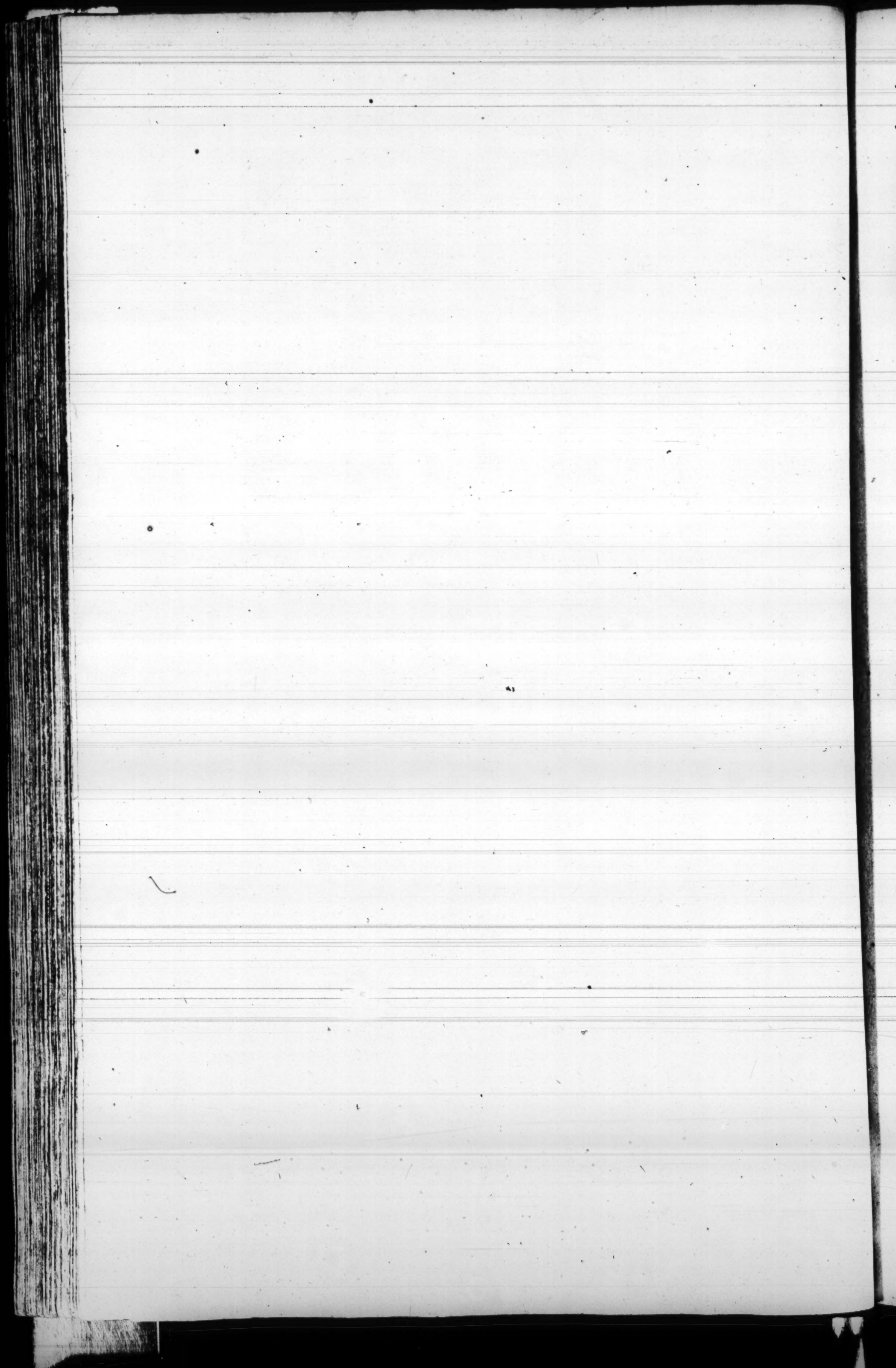
The end of the first Booke.

20111













# AN ALPHABETICALL TABLE OF THE PRIN- CIPALL THINGS CONTAI- NED IN THE FIRST BOOKE

of the first Part of PURCHAS  
his Pilgrims.

<p><b>A</b></p> <p><b>A</b> Atalla, a Papall Easterne Patriarke, 151</p> <p>Abassines their habitation, Religion, Rites and opinions, 137. 138. 147. 148. 149.</p> <p>Abdesu an Easterne Patriarke, 151.</p> <p>Ægypt, Christianitie there sometime exceedingly flourished, 112. What Christians there now, 113.</p> <p>Æneas his Navigation, 71</p> <p>Æthiopian Church their rites and opinions, 138. Their faith declared at large by Tecla Maria an Æthiopian, 147. 148. &amp; seq.</p> <p>Africa hath the richest Mines in the World, 28. Her religion, 112. 113 &amp; seq.</p> <p>African tongue, 101. Almost all Africke Mahometan or Gentiles, 112. 116. 118. Jewes there, 119. The torride parts of Africke resembled to a Libards skin, 113</p> <p>Alans, and the old Aleman Alphabet, 182</p> <p>Alcantara Order in Spaine, 170</p> <p>Alexander the Great, 57. 75. 88. His life, Acts, Peregrinations and Conquests, 81. 82. &amp; seq. His sickness, temperance, Persian expedition, battles with Darius, 83 His marriage, and crueltie, 84</p>	<p>His ambition frustrate, danger, escape, view of the Ocean, 85. His marriage, feasts, guard, mourning, rage, death, 86</p> <p>Alexanders Port, 87</p> <p>Alexandria builded by Alexander, 83</p> <p>Algum trees mentioned, 2. Chronicles, 38</p> <p>Almug trees, 38</p> <p>Alphabets diuers kinds old and new, 181. 182. 183. 184. &amp; seq.</p> <p>Alpes why so termed, 140</p> <p>Alvarez taxed for his report of the Nubians their dependance on the Pope, 137</p> <p>Amazonian tale, 84</p> <p>America thinly and newly inhabited, 30. Whither new-peopled, and when the word there first preached, 58. The multiplying of people and cattle there, 60. What Christians among them, and their poore Christianitie, 115. Four large Regions thereof, as large as Europe possessed by the Spaniards, 115. The whole Countrey stored with Beares, Lions, Tigres, Wolves, Foxes, &amp;c. 120</p> <p>Ammons Oracle, 83</p> <p>Anabaptists deny their Baptisme, 7 They wickedly remooue the Landmarke, 16</p> <p>Anacharsis the Philosopher his travels, 75</p>	<p>Anachoreticall, or Hermeticall Monkes, 160</p> <p>Andrew the Apostle where he preached and died, 53</p> <p>Antiochia, the place where the Name of Christians was first heard in the World, 129. The Patriarch thereof, ibid.</p> <p>Ants casting up heaps full of golden sands, 32</p> <p>Ants as great as a mans span, 89</p> <p>Anzichi an Idolatrous and man-eating nation, 113</p> <p>Apes, 39. 436</p> <p>Apochrypha Bookes falsely attributed to the Apostles &amp; others, 56</p> <p>Apollonius Tyanæus his Pilgrimage, 76</p> <p>Apostles their mission and preheminence, 50. Their preaching through all the World, 51. Their tongues &amp; miracles, 53. Their preaching in the old knowne World, 57</p> <p>Apostolicall Acts &amp; Conquests, 61</p> <p>Aquitaine speech, 106</p> <p>Arabian Gulfe, 40</p> <p>Arabicke Language which, &amp; where spoken, 110</p> <p>Arabia the nest that bred and fostered Mahometisme, 116</p> <p>Archbishops of the Romane Province, 168</p> <p>Archbishops of Spaine and their revenues, 170</p> <p>Argyre, stored with gold &amp; silver, 33</p> <p>Argo-</p>
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# THE TABLE.

Argonauts, their Voyage 69. Their Arts, 70

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Aristippus by flattery a Trencher-  
worme to Dyonisius the tyrant, 75

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I  
A  
DESCRIPTION OF ALL  
THE CIRCVM-NAVIGATIONS  
OF THE GLOBE.  
THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

*Of the improuement of Navigation in later Times, and the meanes  
whereby the World in her old Age hath beene  
more then euer discovered.*

¶ I.

*Of Magneticall and Astronomicall Instruments, first  
applied to Navigation.*



10 GOD, the giuer of euery good Gift, hauing first made the  
World, made Man, as it were a visible God of this visible  
World; infusing in his super-admirable Creation, the know-  
ledge of it, of himselfe, of GOD. This Trinitie of Know-  
ledge was defaced by Mans voluntarie Rebellion, which  
enforced against him the Sentence of Curse from the euer-  
blessed TRINITIE: Which yet in Iudgement remem-  
bring Mercie, did not at once dissolue the World, or Man,  
but altered his *Tenure*, suffering him as a *Customarie Te-  
nant for terme of life* (to be holden at the *Will of the Lord*)  
to occupy and husband it for the necessitie of his Body; lea-  
uing also some sparkes of that Heauenly Fire in his Soule

(maugre those darke flames of Hell) whereby he might by laborious Art (being robbed  
of his white and pure Robes, wherewith Nature had adorned him) patch together Leaues  
or Skins for a time, to couer some part of his nakednesse. Neyther is \* it any more, or of  
more worth, that here we labour for, and get as Seruants, then some light Plumes and bro-  
ken Feathers of that goodly Fowle, which wholly without labour God had first giuen vs as  
Children.

20 Thus in regard of this temporall state; which yet he (out of a Curse producing Blessing)  
made the Seed-time of a better Haruest, a richer Possession (rayed out of this Rubbish of  
our Ruine) by farre then that which we had lost: for Time, which we had forfeited, giuing  
vs Eternitie, which cannot die; for Paradise, Heauen; and GOD himselfe for the World;  
an earnest whereof wee haue already, his SONNE giuen for vs, his SPIRIT to vs, and  
the promise of HIMSELF in ineffable fruition.

A a

Yes,

\* In the sweat  
of thy Browes  
thou shalt eat,  
&c.



\* Os homini  
subl me dedit,  
Caelumq; vide. c.  
Ec.

\* Faith is the  
evidence of  
things vnseene.  
Heb. 11. 1.  
Deut. 34.

Pf. 104.

\* -- Nil nisi  
pontus & ether.  
-- Caelum undiq;  
& undiq; pontus.

Two later  
helpes of Na-  
uigation vn-  
knowne to  
Antiquitie.

Gilbertus de  
Magna.

\* Prima ratem  
uentis credere  
dofsa Tyrus.

Vid. §. 7.

1503. Vert. c. 14.

Yea, meane-while, to solace this our wearie Pilgrimage, he hath giuen an erected <sup>1</sup> Coun-  
tenance to the Body, still to be viewing the vtter Court of our promised Palace, the faire  
Walls of our fairer Inheritance, and to the Soule the Eye of Art, whereby not leaving the  
greater, or her little, Earth, it can in a moment mount and surmount Heauen, and compasse  
all this spacious extension (that I speake not of that spirituall Eye of \* Faith, which sees  
things vnseene, the priuiledge of his Saints.) Yea, she hath found out meanes, by the Giuers  
bountie, to carry her beloued Body (not from some high Mountaine to ouer-looke the lowly  
Plaines, or as Moses into Mount Nebo, in Vision, to see that, which to see with ioyfull en-  
ioying, was denyed; but) really and actually to possesse and vse the remotest Seas and Lands.  
She emboldeneth the Body to forsake her Earthly Nest, and (like young Eaglets on the 10  
Eagles Wings) carryeth her to take a Naturall and Vniuersall Possession of the Vniuerse,  
where the Heauens alone \* are spread about her as a Curtaine, where the Beames of her  
Chambers are (in properest sense) layd in the Waters; where the Clouds are her Chariot (the  
Wheels at least) whereby shee walketh on the wings of the Wind, and those swelling Spi-  
rits are made her Driuers; the angriest Element being tamed by industrious Art, which vseth  
all their Natures to her best purposes.

To compasse this in former times, was impossible, and how many Seas to our fore-fathers  
impassable, for want of the Compasse: The Starres and Coasts were then the Guides, and  
without those Stilts, and Stayes, Nauigation durst not adventure, in that her impotencie and 20  
infancie, to goe into the Maine. And if any disastrous Stormes had made sudden surprize of  
Ship and Men, the Master found himselfe and his Art at a losse in the midst of his Ship and  
Mariners; and if the frowning Heauens long refused with wonted Eyes to looke on him,  
and the absented Earth forgot to extend her Lap and Armes, lost hee must bee for euer. No  
great Discouerie was otherwise by the Art of the Ancients performed; nor durst any repeat  
that Lesson by Art, which Tempest had occasionally taught him, farre from the Coast, against  
his will. Chance is a forgetfull Mistresse, vnlesse Art be the Vsher of her Schoole, teaching  
and emboldening to repetition of her casuall Lectures.

God Almighty pittying this Frailtie, intending better things to the last and worst  
Ages of the World (as in this fulnesse of time he sent his Sonne and the Spirit of his Sonne to 30  
prepare Men for Heauen, so since, I hope to further the former) hath giuen the Science of  
the Loadstone and Astronomicall Rules and Instruments, applyed by Art to Nauigation, that  
hee might giue more ample Possession of the Sea and the Earth to the sonnes of Men. Let  
others applaud, admire, adore, the Stones called Precious: this shall bee to mee Pearle and  
Ruby, and Saphire, and Diamant, and more then all those multiplyed Names of Gemmes,  
which all are also made ours by helpe of the Loadstone. This Magneticall vertue was hidden  
to the Golden and Siluer Ages, her Iron sympathie hath long beene knowne to the Iron  
World; but her constant Polar ramishments, and her no lesse constant inconstancie by Vari-  
ation, were Mysteries reserued to later Posterities. The former of these Qualities yeelds the  
Compasse, the Needle by Magneticall touch directing the way in waylesse Wildernesses by  
Land, and thorow the vastest Waterie Plaines.

This vertue of the Loadstone, to be the Lead-stone and Way-directing Mercurie thorow 40  
the World, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Galen, Lucretius, Plinie his Solinus,  
and Ptolomee, Scholers of the highest Formes in Natures Schoole, knew not, though the  
Magneticall attraction of Iron be mentioned in their Workes. Some haue also added some  
Physicall Vertues, and some the Fables of the Adamant and Garlike preuenting that attrac-  
tion, which later Authors haue receiued by authoritie, without due examination. But if any  
list to see Armies of Authors mustered, and their Writings also of this Subiect examined,  
Dr Gilbert in his learned Worke of the Magnete, hath done it in sixe whole Bookes; the  
causes also enquired both of that attraction, and this (whereof we now speake) Polar motion.  
This inuention some ascribe to Salomon: which I would beleue, if he had written of Stones, 50  
as he did of Plants; or if the Tyrians, which were almost the engrossers of \* Nauigation  
in that Age, and were the Sea-men which Salomon vsed in his Ophyrian Discoueries (which  
we haue laboured in fitter place to discouer) had left any Tradition or Monument thereof  
to Posteritie: which could no more haue been lost then sayling it selfe, which the Greekes,  
Carthaginians, and other Nations successiue deriued from them. Others therefore looke  
further into the East, whence the Light of the Sunne and Arts haue seemed first to arise to  
our World; and will haue Marco Polo the Venetian aboue three hundred yeeres since to haue  
brought it out of Mangi (which wee now call China) into Italy. True it is, that the most  
magnified Arts haue there first beene borne, Printing, Gunnes, and perhaps this also of the  
Compasse, which the Portugals at their first entry of the Indian Seas (whereof you shall pre- 60  
sently heare) found amongst the Moors, together with Cards and Quadrants to obserue both  
the Heauens and the Earth. And Vertomannus about the same time trauelled with them  
ouer



ouer the Arabian Desarts to Mecca and Medina, directing their course by the Compasse, and there also obserued that Tale of *Mahumets* Body hanging in the Roofe of the Temple by the attractive power of Loadstones (which *Chinocrates* is reported to haue intended to himselfe at Alexandria, in the Temple of *Arsinoe*, making the Roofe of these Stones, so to attract his Iron Image, preuented by death) to be but a Tale and Fable. But as neyther Printing nor Ordnance were brought from thence to vs, but (casuall Acts opening a passage to industrious Arts) were inuented by European heads, and brought to riper perfections then in the East, which had knowne them before, so I also conceiue of these Marine Instruments. Nor will I enuie to *Iohn Goia* of *Malta*, that whatsoeuer glory of the first Inuention, which

- 10 *Blondus* and others, (some <sup>b</sup> naming him *Flaminius*) haue ascribed to him. Italy indeed hath best deserued in Discoueries, for her *Polo* and *Goia*, and *Vertoman*, now mentioned, and for her *Colombo* and *Cabota*, of which is question, whether first found out the Variation of the Needle, or whether discovered more of the New World; though another Italian, *Americus Vesputius*, carried the <sup>c</sup> Name away from them both.

This Variation is, when the Magneticall Needle points not out the true Pole, but is distracted somewhat eyther with an Easterly or Westerly deflexion. This Variation of the Compasse is the best remedie yet found out against the Mariners Variation from their Compasse, and Deuiation from their scope and intended course. And although the Variation cannot without Starre or Sunne be obserued, as the direction of the Compasse may (which giues

- 20 Light in the darkest Night, pointing still toward the Pole) neyther can hereby the true longitude of Places be discovered (this Light shines most out of Darkenesse, and from Eccipses, which I haue therefore in this Historie taken all occasions to obserue, is most illustrious and plaine) yet for ordinarie and generall vse in Discoueries and Navigations in vnknowne Seas, this yeelds best supply of that knowledge of Longitudes, by reason of the constant inconstancie (as I said) of this Variation. For howsoeuer it varies from the true Pole, yet it neuer varies from it selfe, but in the same place eternally holds the same Variation, if it be exactly obserued; which sometimes, by want in the Instrument or Workman, and almost alway by Sea, through the vnsteadinesse thereof, falls out, and therefore is better farre, being taken in calme Weather, and best, if opportunitie serue, on Land.

- 30 Now for the Causes <sup>d</sup> eyther of Direction or Variation, Philosophers haue rather busied their owne, then established others Conceits from variation by their Directions, and pointing out the causes hereof in nature: some, telling vs of Hyperboreall Magneticall Mountaines; some, deriuing the cause from the Pole of the Heauen; some, from a Starre in the tayle of the greater Beare; some, from the Heauens neere to the Pole; some goe also beyond the Poles and Heauens, to I know not what Magneticall Power, placed out of place; some lead vs into a Magneticall Iland (Ly-land) euery man will say somewhat, and so doe they that flye to hidden Miracles in Nature. But that somewhat is nothing: And we indeed are lesse then Nothing and Vanitie; which, whiles we call all our Arguments *Demonstrations*, and all our Arts *Sciences*, neyther know God, nor the World, or Nature, nor our selues, how euer vainly
- 40 puffed vp with the Conceits and Deceits of Knowledge. *Ego vero quid?* (sayth <sup>e</sup> *Scaliger* of this Subtletie, who yet hath a Reason too, though as reasonlesse (perhaps) as those of others; so fortunately doth our Wit find it selfe vnfortunate, and knowes but one thing, that it knowes nothing) *quid aliud nisi unum verum? nos in luce rerum tenui caligare, in mediocri cecutire, in maiori cacos esse, in maxima insanire. Quid aliud quam me nescire? Solus omnium ego nihil afferendo veritatem attuli.*

Most laborious haue beene the paines, most probable (perhaps) the reasons of our Countreyman Doctor *Gilbert*, by many yeeres experiments in this subiect, who hath obserued the whole Earth to bee as a great Loadstone, the Loadstone and the Iron (which naturally also with exact tryall hee hath obserued, euen without <sup>f</sup> touch, to hold

- 50 like Direction and Variation, in respect of the Pole) to containe the principall Qualities of the Earth; that the Direction and Variation are both, not from Contraction or Coition, or other hidden cause, but from the disposing power of the Earth, and the conuertible nature of the Magnete, the Earth it selfe being Mother and originall Fountaine of the Magneticall vertues and operations. Hee deriueeth the Direction from the Polar conformitie of the Earth; the Variation, from the inequality of the same, in the Superficies thereof; partly by Seas, partly by Mountaines, which haue diffomed though not deformed the Globolitie of this Globe, in paying to other places by excessiue height whatsoeuer was taken from the Deepes, to make Channels for the Waters. Hence the greater Continents of Earth haue greater force and power, and where the Earth is most depressed or weakened, there hath it
- 60 lesser; yet so, as these Magneticall Motions being from the constant Magneticall nature of the whole Earth, a small Iland cannot preiudice or preuent the clayme of the greater Continent. Thus in the Azores the Needle hath no apparant Variation, which on the Coast of

a A Towne in the Kingdome of Naples: of which is this Verie, *Prima dedit nautis usum Magnetis Amalphus.*  
b *Lop. de Gouara, cap. 9. Bellon. Ous. l. 2. c. 16.*

c America. *Vide Epist. Ed. Wright. ante Gilb. op. de Mag.*  
d How vaine a thing is Man? who can by reason manifest the number of the Spheres of the Elements? or that there are Spheres? their substance, operation, motion? yea, whether the Earth or the Heauens moue, or both, is yet vndecided. How many opinions of the Ancients are now proued false by experience? And had not God giuen vs his Word for the ground of our faith (which the Deuill enuying, hath here also obtruded Tradition) what certaintie had remained, but knowledge of euill vnto his Posteritie, who for knowledge lost Paradise?  
e *Scalig. Exerc. 131.*

f By helpe of the Loadstone, rich veins of Iron and other Metals are discovered. In Militarie Affaires, both in Mining, leuelling of Peeces in the darke, also in Building, conueying of Water-works, and a thousand other Deuices, is vse of the Loadstone.



g Hauing doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the Variation doubles and lookes to the West from the Pole, as the Land doth.  
 h All Compasses are not fit for all Navigations, as appears by the differences of those in the Straits, and here, &c. the variation least neere the Line in 60, 70, or 80. very great, &c.  
 Portugals prayse.

Guinee inclines Eastward to the African & Continent, and neere the American bends Westward; in these Islands as indifferent betwixt two equall Continents, aims at the Pole of the Earth, and therefore Magneticall. His many Rules, Experiments, and Observations are worthy a learned and leysurely Reader: My selfe hauing haste to trauell ouer the World, and that with so many Trauellers, cannot stand in this Muze, or Maze rather of Philosophers. Let vs now consider not the naturall Causes, which are hard, but take easier view of the sensible effects thereof in the furtherance of Nauigation, wherein the touched Needle is the Soule as it were of the Compasse, by which euery skilfull Mariner is emboldened to compasse the whole Body of the Vniuerse. Let the Italians haue their prayse for Inuention: the prayse of Application thereof to these remote Discoueries is due to the Portugals, who first began to open the Windowes of the World, to let it see it selfe. These first also of all Europeans, applyed by the direction of King *John* (as followeth in this storie) Astronomical Instruments to this Magneticall, and occasioned those Spanish Discoueries in the New World, by *Colombo's* Industry.

The Load-stone was the Lead-stone, the very Seed and ingendring Stone of *Discouerie*, whose soeuer *Iouiall Braine* first conceiued that *Minerva*. But the *Iuno Lucina*, that helped Nature in this happy Conception and educated *Discouerie* to that strength, that it durst ordinarily aduenture beyond the knowne World, and made way to that Maturitie, whereby it opened soone after another World, was Prince *Henry* of Portugall.

Thus doth the Great God rayse vp the least things to Greatnesse: and this, one of the last and least of European Kingdomes, was dignified with the first search and Science of Discoueries. Spaine and Portugall, after a long seruitude, fattened their Soyle with the blood of the Moores, and thence haue growne by Diuine Blessing not onely to free themselues of that Yoke, but with farre-spreading Boughes to ouer-look and ouer-awe the remotest East and furthest West; paying themselues with the Drugges and Gemmes of Asia, the Gold and Slaues of Africa, the Siluer and Possessions of America, as Wages for that European slavery vnder the Mahumetans, many Ages continued, which now shall follow to be declared.

## §. II.

Of *HENRY*, third sonne to *JOHN* the first King of Portugall by an English Woman, the Prince of later Discoueries: and of the helpes both against the Moores, and in their Discoueries which the Portugals haue receiued of our Nation.

a *P. Pilg.* 13.  
 c. 2. §. 2.

\* Some say

714.

b See Spanish

*Hist. Turquet.*

*li. 1. Bar. Dec. 1.*

*li. 1.*

**H** He Saracens (as we haue related <sup>a</sup> elsewhere) about the yeere \* 712. brought by *Iulianus* Earle of Cepta (to reuenge the deflowring of his Daughter *Caba* by *Rodericus*, the last of the Gottish Kings) into Spaine, vnder the conduct of *Muses*, conquered and subiected the same to *Ulit* the Chalipha. *Pelagius* <sup>b</sup> began first to make head against these Barbarians, whose successors had succeeded in the same Quarrell with prosperous successe about three hundred yeeres space, when *Alphonfus* the sixt tooke Toledo from the Moores. He, in recompence of good seruices in the Warres, gaue vnto *Henry* of Lorraine, whom some call Earle of Limbourg, his Daughter *Teresa*, with the Countrey of Portugall in Dowrie, and whatsoever he could further conquer from the Moores, by Title of an Earle: whose sonne *Don Alphonso* was the first King of that Realme, newly erected on the blood and desolation of the Moores in those parts, whom by degrees they chased quite out of that Kingdome, from that time till that of *John* the first. He pursuing that Hereditarie Quarrell, passed ouer Sea into Africa, and there tooke Cepta, and brake the Ice to his Posteritie, which made valiant and successfull progresse in those Designes of Africa, till their Navigations into Asia with greater hopes and happinesse, made them neglect that neerer and dearer Purchase.

c *T. Wals. Hist.*  
*Ang. An. 1415.*

This Conquest of Cepta, or Seut, is mentioned by *Thomas c Walsingham*, which then liued, in these words: This yeere the King of Portugall relying on the helpe of the Merchants of England most of all, and of the Almans, overcame the Agarens in the Land of the King of the Betinarines, many thousands of them being sent to Hell; and tooke their Citie, seated on the Sea, called Sunt, very large, compassed with a Wall, as they say, of twentie miles. Some reason the English had to this Assistance: for the Wife of *Don John* was *Philip*, Daughter of *John* of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Sister to *Henry* the fourth, whose sonne *Henry* the fifth then reigned in England. They did imitate also their English Ancestors, who long before, in the time of *Henry* the second, had ioyned themselues with other Northerne <sup>d</sup> Pilgrimes for the Expedition to the Holy-Land, and sayling together

d *A.D.* 1188.  
*vid. Mat. Paris.*  
*in fine Hen. 2.*



gether from Dartmouth, about 37. ships well manned touched at Lisbon, where the Portugall King besought their aid against the Mores in the Citie Syluia, or Syluis, profering to them the spoyle in recompence. Which they attempted, and on the third day of the Siege, brake into the Suburbs, and forced *Alchad* the Prince to yeeld the Citie, wherein were of all sorts about 60000. Mores, whereof 47000. were slaine, and the Mahumetan Temple consecrated to the Mother of God.

Thus both at home and abroad were the Portugals indebted to the English; as also in the example of some Englishmen, and namely one *Macham*, which had beene by tempest driuen on shore in Madera: but in nothing more, then that English Lady before mentioned, whose  
10 third sonne *Don Henry* was the true foundation of the Greatnesse, not of Portugall alone, but of the whole Christian World, in Marine Affaires, and especially of these Heroike endeavours of the English (whose flesh and blood hee was) which this ensuing Historie shall present vnto you.

This illustrious *Henry* hauing giuen prooffe of his valour against the Infidels at Cepta, de-  
uis'd with himselfe, how he (being Gouvernor of the Militarie Order of *IESVS CHRIST*, formerly instituted, and endowed to maintaine Warres against the Mores, already expelled out of Portugall) might aduance the honor of his Name and Order, in Conquests which o-  
thers had not yet attempted, and therefore in Discoueries of Countries yet vnknowne. To  
20 this end he spent his life in single estate, and in the studies of the Mathematickes: for which purpose, he chose the clearer Ayre of Cape *S. Vincent*, that there he might better intend his Mathematicall Theorie, the practise thereof in Instruments, and the vse, in sending out Ships at his owne charge to discouer remoter parts, whereof he had both heard by enquire of Captiues taken at Cepta, and conceiued by his owne studie and reason (for besides that of *Macham*, ancient Histories giue some light to the studious, in the reports of *Menelaus*, *Hanno*, *Endoxus*, and others) that the Atlantike and Indian Seas had concour'd, the one yeel-  
ding passage to the other, or rather being one continued Ocean. He also from Maiorca cau-  
sed one Master *Iames*, a man skilfull in Nauigation, and in Cards and Sea Instruments, to be brought into Portugall, there at his charge, as it were, to erect a Schoole of Marinership, and to instruct his Countrey men in that Mysterie.

30 The first Ships which he sent, discouered no further then Cape Bogiador, 180. miles beyond Cape *Non* (the *Non ultra* before, of the Spanish Nauigations) beyond which they durst not passe, because of the loftie breaking of the Surge, caused by the Capes extension farre into the Sea: not daring (such was then the infancie of Nauigation) to auoid the same, to put further off into the Sea, lest they might hap to lose themselves, if they lost the sight of Land. That which Art durst not, Tempest compelled in the next Barke sent for Discouerie, which with distresse of Weather driuen into Seas out of the Mariners knowledge, happily encountred that Iland, which they hereupon named *Porto Santo*, and without further coasting the shore of Africke, returned home with the newes, and desire of licence to people it; so well did they like of the Ayre, Soyle, and gentle Condition of the Natiues. The Prince  
40 accordingly sent three Ships, two of which hee committed to *Iohn Consaluo Zarco*, and *Tristan Vaz*, the former Discouerers; the third to *Bartholomew Perestrelo*, who with Seeds and Plants carried thither a Conie great with young; which lighting her burthen by the way, and together with them put forth, so multiplyed in two yeeres, that they grew wearie of all their Labours, destroyed by those Conies. Whereupon *Perestrelo* returning, the other two, *Consaluo* and *Vaz* would needs discouer whether it were Land or no, which appeared vnto them like Clouds or Vapours, and found it indeed the Iland *Madera*, or Wood, so called of the abundance of Wood which then ouer-shadowed it, and with the moist Vapours had seemed to bury it in a Cloud. They returning with this newes to the Prince, receiued by the Kings consent the same Iland, diuided betwixt them; the one part, called  
50 Funciale, to *Consaluo* and his heires; the other, called *Machico*, to *Vaz*. This was so named of an Englishman, called *Macham*, which had before arriued there by Tempest, and buried therein a Woman, whom he loued, with a memoriall thereof ingrauen on the Stone of her Tombe; after which, with a Boat made of one Tree, he passed to the Coast of Barbary without Sayle or Oare, and being presented to the King for a Wonder, was by him sent to the King of Castile.

In the yeere 1420. began that Plantation, and the thicke Trees being by *Consaluo* set on fire, continued burning seuen yeeres: which destruction of Wood hath caused since as great want. The Prince caused Sugar Canes to be carried from Sicilia thither, and men skilfull of that Art, whereof the increase hath beene such, that in some yeeres the fifth  
60 part (which the Prince referu'd to his Militarie Order) hath amounted to about three score thousand Arrobes (euery Arrobe is five and twentie pounds) growing onely in one place, little more then nine miles compasse. To *Perestrelo* hee gaue *Porto Santo*, on condition to

c See Dam. a  
Goas de Aethiop.  
Mor.  
Barrius, Dec. 2.  
l. 1.  
Ofur. de Reb.  
Eman. l. 1.  
Massieu Hist.  
Ind. l. 1.

f Vide P. Pilg.  
l. 7. c. 12. §. 2.

g Of which  
their Prouerbe  
was, He which  
shall passe the  
Cape of *Non*,  
shall turne a-  
gaine, or else  
be gone.  
h *Porto*, for  
that it was  
their Hauens:  
and *Santo*, for  
that it was  
found on the  
day of All  
Saints.  
i Conies  
strangely mul-  
tiplied.  
k The Iland of  
*Madera* or  
Wood disco-  
uered.  
l *Macham* an  
Englishman.  
m Ant. Galuano,  
An. Do. 1344.

m Bar. Dec. 1.  
l. 1. c. 3.

n *Madera*  
Sugar.

o *Porto Santo*  
peopled.



people it, which hardly hee could doe for the Conies, whereof in one little Ilet at one time were killed three thousand.

p Difficulties  
pretended, to  
stay the Prince  
from discou-  
ering further.

Twelve yeeres had passed, since the Prince had begun this Enterprize; before Cape Baiadore could be passed; such was the p conceit of tempestuous Seas, strong Currents, Whirlpooles which would swallow Ships, beyond that Cape: yea they added, that the Land was not fit for habitation, but like the sandie Desarts of Libya. Much did they murmure, that the Natiues of the Land were exhaust in Discoueries, which before, wise and prouident Kings would haue vndertaken, had there beene likelyhood of successe; who yet contented themselves with the knowne World, and sought not a torrid Zone, vnfit for humane dwelling. These costs might with lesse danger haue beene bestowed in the barrenner parts of the Kingdome at home, without Sea-perils. 10

These murmurings I recite, as alwayes attending and preoccupating great Actions, and to shew the poore *Trentiship* which Nauigation then serued, that it might attaine that *Freedom* which the next Age brought forth. The patient Prince endured these Exceptions, with quarrellings at the Victuals, Money, and Men spent in a Seruice so vnseruiceable and needlesse, so dangerous, so hurtfull, and so! what euery barking Tongue could alledge; nor could the apparant profits of Madera and Porto Santo stop their mouthes. His men also, which he sent forth, preyed on the Coasts of Barbary, and tooke Slaues, which helpe bare charges.

q Baiadore  
first passed.

But one of his seruants, named q *Gilianes*, seeing the Prince discontent that they went no further, aduentured that *Herculean* Labour (as it then seemed) and passed that Turne- 20  
againe or Baiadore Cape, with some prooue of the Plants, report of the Seas passable, and commendations of the Ayre and Soyle in those parts. This happened *An. 1433*.

r Cape Blanco.  
f Popes Dona-  
tion, as security  
against Forei-  
ners, and an in-  
centiue to the  
vulgar, accord-  
ing to the  
conceit of  
those times,  
r 1443.  
u 1444.

The next yeere *Anton. Consaluo* pierced fortie miles further, and found the Countrey inhabited. Nor could much more be effected, till the yeere 1441. when *Nugno Trifan* disco-  
uered r Cape Blanco, and tooke some Prisoners. After which, Prince *Henry* obtained f of  
Pope *Martin* the fifth a perpetuall Donation to the Crowne of Portugall, of whatsoever  
should be discovered from Cape Baiadore to the East Indies inclusiuely, and Indulgence ple-  
narie for the Soules of all such as should perish in that Conquest: which the succeeding  
Popes, *Eugenius*, *Nicholas*, and *Sixtus* confirmed, at the instance of King *Alphonfus* and his  
sonne *Iohn*. 30

At the next t returne they traded with the *Negros* for exchange of their Men, for which  
they had Gold and other Slaues, whereupon they called the place the Golden Riuer, and  
passed further to the Isles of Argin and Garze. Gold made a recantation of former Murmu-  
rings, and now the Prince was extolled; yea, u now the inhabitants of Lagos capitulated  
with the Prince to set forth Carueiles at their owne charges, which tooke many Captiues.

x Sanaga and  
Cape Verde.

The yeere 1445. *Denis Fernandez* passed the Riuer x Sanaga, which diuideth the Aze-  
negui from those of Guinea, called Gialof, and discovered also Cape Verde. Other Discou-  
eries successiue followed; in which, some hauing made slaues of friends, the Prince made  
the Authors apparrell and send them backe at their owne charges, to the Canaries, whence  
they had stolne them. 40

y Canaries.  
Ant. Galuans.  
Macham first  
discoverer of  
Madera and  
the Canaries.  
z Prince Henry  
his death.

These y Canaries, by relations of *Macham* the Englishman afore said, became knowne  
to the French and Spaniards; and *Betancor*, which held three of them in possession, com-  
pounded for them with Prince *Henry*: but the Spaniard challenged them, as conquered by  
that Frenchman through the aid of Castile; vnder which Crowne they now are, after many  
choppings and changings. But the Prince neuer gaue ouer his endeours of Discouerie, till  
he discovered the Celestiall Ierusalem, which z happened the thirteenth of Nouember, 1463.  
three and fortie yeeres after Madera had beene descryed: in all which time, his Trauell suc-  
ceeded no further then from Baiadore to Sierra Liona, one thousand one hundred and tenne  
miles space, in neere fiftie yeeres continued Cares and Costs. So hard a thing is it to disco-  
uer. An argument of patience to our Moderne Discouersers, which are readie to murmure, and 50  
almost to mutinie, if new Worlds drop not into their mouthes at the first Voyage.

\* Islands of  
Cape Verde  
discovered.  
Botero d. 1560.

A little before his death, the Islands of \* Cape Verde were discovered by *Antonio di Nolle*,  
a Genuois, licensed by the Prince. On May Euen was Maio found, and on the next day  
two others, called also of the Time, one *Philip*, and the other *Iacob*, or Iago, which was first  
peopled. In his time \* also were discovered the Terceras, by certaine Flemmings sayling to  
Lisbone; which first began to be peopled *An. 1449*.

\* Terceras dis-  
covered, or  
Alores, or  
Flemmish  
Islands.

King *Alphonfus* hauing little leysure for further Discoueries, farmed the same to *Fernand  
Gomez*, a Citizen of Lisbon, for five yeeres space, with condition euery yeere to discover  
three hundred miles, to begin from Sierra Liona, and so to proceed along the Coast. He dis-  
covered \* Mina by *Santaren* and *Sconare* his Captaines; and after that, to Cape S. *Catarine*, 60  
on the South side of the Line. In that time was also discovered the Island of *Fernand Po*, the  
Islands also of S. *Thomas*, S. *Matthew*, *Annobon*, & *del Principe*; the Names of the Discouersers  
are vnknowne. S. III.

\* Mina.



## §. III.

## Of King Iohn the second his Discoveries, and advancement of the Art of Navigation.

**K**ing Iohn the second having some experiment of the Profits of Guinea, which King Alphonsa had bestowed on him for his Princely maintenance, could not now by the Objections of the length of the Way, vnholesomenesse of the Countrey, expence of Victuall, and the like, be detained by his Counsellors; but in the yeere 1481. he sent a Fleet of ten \* Carauels, vnder the command of *Diego Dazambua*, to build the Castle of *S. George della Mina*, which in the yeere 1486. he dignified with the Priuiledges of a Citie. In the Church thereof was ordayned a perpetuall Soule-Priest for Prince Henry aforesaid: and three yeeres after that Castle was builded, he added to his Regall Title, Lord of Guinea. *Caramansa* the Lord of the Countrey would haue hindered that Building, and the people (which worshipped the Stones and Rockes) mutined; but the Popes Gift, with their Strength, Gifts, Cunning, and some Reuenge, preuayled: The King commanded, that Stone Crosses or Pillars, with the Portugall Armes, should be set vp in conuenient places, expressing the time and Authors of such Discoveries. So did *Diego Can* 1484. on the Bankes of the Riuer Zaire, in the first Discouerie of the Kingdome of \* Congo (the King whereof, as also the King of Benin, desired Priests, and Baptisme) and in his next returne two others, hauing discovered fixe hundred miles, and in both his Voyages 1125. miles from Cape Catarine, further on the Coast.

\* One of the Captaines was an Englishman called *Diego* or *James Ruiz*.

Stone Crosses or Pillars erected in places discovered. a Zaire & Congo.

By the Embassador of the King of Benin (which is not farre from Mina) the King of Portugall vnderstood of the <sup>b</sup> *Abassine*, commonly called *Prefter Iohn*, by them *Ogane*, whose Vassall the King of Benin then was, none being <sup>c</sup> acknowledged lawfull Prince, till he had sent his Embassadour to the said *Ogane*, and had receiued from him a Crosse to weare about his necke, in token of his admission. Hereupon King Iohn sent both <sup>d</sup> by Sea and Land to inquire both of the Indies, and of this great *Negus*, or *Ogane*: by Sea, two Pinnaces, of fiftie Tunnes apiece, vnder the conduct of *Bartholomew Diaz*, with a little Victualling Barke, in August, 1486. Hee set certaine Negroes on shore in diuers places, which had beene before carried into Portugall, and well vsed, that among those Sauages they might relate the Portugall Ciuitie and Greatnesse; carrying also with them some shewes thereof in Apparrell, and other things giuen them; and to make knowne, if it were possible, his desire, to find by his Discoveries meanes of acquaintance with *Prefter Iohn*. He gaue Names to places discovered, and erected Pillars or Crosses of Stone (as is said) the last in the Ile called hereof, the *Crosse*; where his people with much disquiet vrged his returne, alledging their Victuals spent, and the losse of their Victualling Barke. Yet after consultation, hee proceeded so farre, that hee first discovered the famous Cape, which for his manifold troubles he termed *Cabo Tormentoso*, or the tempestuous Cape: but King Iohn hoping thence to discover the Indies, named it at his returne the <sup>e</sup> *Cape of Good Hope*; where hee placed another Pillar of Stone, called *S. Philip*; as the other were termed *S. George* in the Riuer of Zaire, *S. Augustine* in the Cape thereof so termed, and likewise the rest. He returned in December, 1487. sixteene moneths and seuentene dayes after his setting out, hauing discovered a thousand and fiftie miles of Coast. He found by the way his Victualler, wherein he had left nine men, of which, three onely were left aliue; <sup>f</sup> one of which, *Fernand Colazzo*, died with sudden ioy of this sight nine moneths after the losse of each other.

<sup>b</sup> Newes from Benin of *Presbyter Iohn*.  
<sup>c</sup> King of Benin tributarie to him.  
<sup>d</sup> Enquire for him by Sea and Land.

<sup>e</sup> *Cabo Tormentoso*, or of good Hope, first discovered.

<sup>f</sup> Death caused by sudden ioy. The like happened to an Englishman, left 14. moneths in *S. Helena*.

By Land, the King had sent some by the way of Ierusalem to passe with the *Abassine* Pilgrims; which yet, for want of the Arabick Tongue, returned. Whereupon he sent *Peter Conilian*, well skilled therein, and with him *Alphonso Paina*, in May, 1487. which went to Alexandria, thence to Cairo, and thence with certaine Mores to Aden: from whence *Paina* went to seeke a passage to *Prefter Iohn*, but died at Cairo. *Conilian* from Aden, neere the straits of the red Sea, imbarcked himselfe for Cananor, and thence to Calicut and Goa in the East Indies: from whence he returned vnto Africa, neere the Mines of Sofala, and after that to Cairo, with purpose of returne into Portugall. But the King had sent by two Spanish Iewes, *Rabbi Abraham* and *R. Ioseph*, the later of which had beene at Bagdad, and had acquainted the King with the Trade at Ormus, and from thence had passed to Aleppo and Damasco, and was now sent backe to *Conilian*, that by the one an answer might be brought what he had done, with charge not to desist, till he had beene with the *Abassine*, to whom he employed him in Embassage: the other, to goe to Ormus, and informe himselfe of the Affaires of those parts. By *Ioseph Conilian* wrote to the King, and to encourage his Navigations, sent him a Mappe of his Discoveries in India, and on the African Coast. Hee pierced after

<sup>g</sup> *Peter Conilian* first discoverer of *Prefter Iohn*, and of the Indies, & Sofala.



after this, to the Court of *Alexander* the Abassine, who kindly entertained him, but soone after died; neyther would his successors permit that *Vlysses* to returne, a man of many Languages, and much vsefull for his experience in the World: but to *Francis Aluares*, which accompanied *Roderike de Lima* in an Embassage thither almost thirtie yeeres after, hee related the summe of his Trauels.

Rules of Astronomie first applied to Nauigation.

Astrolabe, and Tables of Declinations.

Many other worthy Acts were performed by King *Iohn*, in seeking to reduce some of these wild people both in Guinea and Congo, to holy Baptisme and Christian Religion, not so pertinent to this our purpose: but this was the furthest of his Discoueries. He had omitted an oportunitie offered by *Columbus*, whom in his first returne from the Indies with his new Indians, he saw in March, 1493. But Occasions Head in the hinder parts was bald, the Spaniard hauing before fastned on her fore-locks. Yet doth Nauigation owe as much to this Prince as to any, who had imployed *Roderigo* and *Ioseph*, his Iewish Physicians, cunning Mathematicians of that time, with *Martin Bohemus* the Scholler of *Iohn Mome Regius*, to deuise what helps they could for the Mariners in their saylings thorow vnknowne Seas, where neyther Starres (as vnknowne) nor Land (being out of kenne) could guide them. These first, after long study, applied the Astrolabe, before vsed onely by Astronomers, to Marine vse, and deuised the Tables of Declinations, to find out the Latitude of Places, and how to direct their course (which was afterwards by the knowledge of the Variation, exceedingly furthered) whereby the Mariners Art first began to free it selfe from the rudenesse of former times, and in these Nauigations of *Camus* and *Dias*, as those also of *Columbus*, to prepare a Way to open our Eyes in these parts, to see a new World, and there in those, to see a new Heauen by Euangelicall Light, whereof a little mislead glimpe they haue alreadie; an Earnest (as wee hope) of more, and more perfect, by Gods grace in due time to be reuealed.

### §. IIII.

#### Of the Coniectures touching a New World by CHRISTOPHER COLON or COLUMBUS, and his manifold Difficulties therein.



And vnto Portugall was Spaine beholden for *Columbus*, and *Columbus* also for his skill, whereby the Columbian (so fitlier named, then American) World was discovered. This *Columbus* or *Colombo* (by the Spaniards for easier pronounciation termed *Colon*) was borne, some say, at Sarona, some at Nerui, others in Cicurco, in the territorie of Genua, of an ancient House, of great reputation in the Empire of *Otho* the second (whose Charters to the Family of the *Columbi* are yet extant) but now almost antiquated, rotten and ruined with antiquitie. He began to embrace the Sea, and vse Nauigation in his Childhood, and traded many yeeres into Syria and other parts of the East; and became also a maker of Cards for the Sea. The fame of the Portugall Nauigations brought him thither, to learne the Coasts of Africa, and with their skill to amend his Cards, and withall, his fortunes. There he married a Wife, *Philippa Munniz de Pereirello* (by whom he had his sonne *James*) and traded the Coast of Guinea. Some skill, it is manifest, hee had in the Latine Tongue, and was very studious of the Mathematikes, being also in his Religion (according to that knowledge he had) very deuout, frequent in Prayer, obseruant of Fasts, temperate in Diet, modest in Attire, grauely courteous in Behaviour, abstinent of Oathes, and abhorning Blaphemies. Such an one did God make him, before he would make him a Discouerer. And as the Psalmist singeth of Heauenly, it is true also in Earthly Mysteries, *The secret of the Lord is with them that feare him, and the meeke he will guide in iudgement*: Which easily sheweth the cause why no better successe hath followed some mens endeouours, who going forth with high-swolne Sayles, filled with pusses of Pride, and blasts of Arrogance, addicting themselves to Swearing, Cursing, and other resolute Dissolutenesse (as if they sought Discoueries in the infernall Regions, and acquaintance with those Legions of Hell, rather then to discover Lands, and recouer Infidels to internall peace by the eternall Gospell) eyther perish at Sea, or returne with the gaine of losse, and shame, in stead of glory. Our *Christopher Columbus* was such in Deed as in Name, carrying Christ in his heart, and Doue-like louely carriage in conuersation.

He is reported by *Gomara*, *Mariana*, and others, to haue beene first moued to this Discouerie by a Pilot, which had beene before by distresse of Weather driuen vpon the Islands of America, which the most iudicious Spaniards either omit or deny; *Benzo* and *Ramusio* thinke it a trick of Spanish enuy, derogating from the worth of an Italian. But the reasons more

Herera Dec. 1.  
l. 1. c. 7.  
Gomara Hist.  
Gen. c. 14.  
See Edens Preface to Pet.  
Mart. Dec.

Botero Rel. vn.  
parte 4. l. 2.

Pf. 25.

Herera Dec. 1.  
l. 1. Ouiedo l. 2.

pro-



probable, are his piercing Wit, iudicious obseruation of Occurrents, learning in the Mathematices, and the speciall instinct of Diuine Prouidence, without which no humane patience could haue sustained such magnanimous Indeuours, so long conterned, so much, so variously condemned. Experience of the Portugals, amongst whom he dwelt, had taught him the vanitie of Antiquitie touching the Antipodes, the Torrid Zone not habitable, and that the Sea was euery way Nauigable. Art instructed him of the roundnesse of this inferior Globe (which in the Moones Eclipse is visible) and the proportionablenesse of the Earth to the Water, that as much dry Land might be as well on that, as on this side the Line: neyther was it likely, that so huge a quantitie of the Globe should be couered with Waters, which was made principally for the vse and habitation of Man; or that this Globe was not equally poyzed on both sides that Centre, which is one to it and the Water; or that there should be such huge Lands (if they were Lands) in this old Age of the World, not inhabited by Man, whose Blessing from the Creator was to fill or replenish the Earth, renewed againe after the Floud; or that the Indies in the East might not in the Earths Globositie be as readily found out by the West, following the Sunne in his dayly Iourney, which with all his Night-watch of Starres was as vnlike to be there appointed a continuall course and circular Race for the Seas or Desart Lands. Experiments had also taught him, both by relation of the Portugals in their longer Voyages, and in his owne on the West of Spaine, that the Westerne Winds holding a constant course yeerely, and that also farre off at Sea, could not but arise from some Lands further Westward, then any yet knowne: And *Martin Vincent*, a Mariner which vsed the Azores or Terceras, had told him, that he was once carried foure hundred and fiftie leagues to the West of Cape S. Vincent, and there tooke vp a piece of Wood or Timber, wrought by mans hand, and that, as farre as he could iudge, without Iron, which he imagined had come from some Westerne Iland. *Pedro Correa*, which had married his Wiues sister, had likewise signified to him, that at Puerto Santo he had seene the like Peece driuen thither by the Westerne Winds, wrought in the same fashion: and besides, he had seene great Canes, which in each knot might containe aboue two gallons of Water, which he also sent to him to see; which being vnlikely to grow in the knowne parts of the West, and hauing read of such growing in India, he supposed, that some long and violent Westerne Winds had brought them thither from thence. The inhabitants also of the Azores had told him, that strong West and Northwest Winds had brought by Sea vpon Graciosa and Fayal certaine Pine trees, two dead men also on the Coast of Flores, with larger faces then are vsuall in these parts, and of other fauor, and two Canoas another time driuen also by the Wind. *Antonio Leme* of Madera had related, that being carried in his Caruile farre Westward, he had seemed to see three Ilands: And another of that Iland had sued to the King of Portugall in the yeere 1484. for licence to discouer certaine Land which he sware he had seene euery yeere ouer-against the Azores. *Diego Velazques* had fortie yeeres before beene carried farre into the West, and there obserued the Seas and Winds such, as if the Land were not farre off, as he affirmed to *Columbus*: and another Mariner told him of Land hee had seene farre West from Ireland, which is supposed to be New-found-Land. *Petro de Velasco* had signified the like, in his going for Ireland; and *Vincent Diaz*, a Portugall Pilot, had seemed to himselfe, in his returne from Guinea, to see an Iland in the height of Madera, for which also search was after made, but no discouerie.

*Columbo's*  
grounds for  
discouerie of  
the new World

*Gen. 1. 28. & 9. 1.*

*Her. Dec. 1. l. 16  
c. 2.*

These things argue his laborious industrie and diligent enquirie: his readings of *Marco Polo* and other Iournals (that I mention not the Ancients) did not a little animate him, as may appeare in his enquirie for Zipango, mentioned by *Polo*, supposed now to be Iapan; and naming Hispaniola *Ophir*, thinking, or seeming to thinke, that he had found out the East Indies. And for that cause was this New World called the Indies also, with distinction of *West*: and this was his maine argument to such Princes as he sought to patronize this his discouerie, the riches of the East Indies, promised by a Westerne Nauigation. And herein his resolution was admirable, that howsoever some derided as folly, others reiected as impossible, his suit, yet he neuer desisted.

Why America  
called India.

Hee first propounded it to his Countreyemen the Genuois, and found, that a Prophet found no profit at home; he seconded it in Portugall where he dwelt, and was married at Lisbon, and had learned most of his Art and Intelligence, confirmed therein also by *Martin Bohemus* the Mathematician; but *Iohn* the second did not second his desires, as adiudged vaine by *Roderigo* and *Ioseph* the Iewes, before mentioned, with other Committees; which yet moued with his reasons, counsell'd the King secretly to send a Caruell, vnder colour of a Voyage, to Cape Verde, to make this Discouerie; wherein crossed with foule Weather, they effected nothing. This made him out of loue with Portugall, and to send his brother *Bartholomew* to King *Henry* the seventh of England with the same suit: who falling into the hands of Pyrats, was forced to sustaine himselfe with making Sea-Cards, and so long deferred for want of suitable suites, to make his suit and petition to the King, that when it was granted, and his brother sent for, hee had sped before in Spaine. Thither had hee himselfe repaired in the yeere 1484. secretly, and by Sea, for feare of the Portugals, which had before deluded him: *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* the Catholike

*I. di Barros* in  
his Dec. 1. lib. 3.  
cap. 11. saith,  
that he was  
not beleued  
at all, and li-  
cenced by the  
King to goe  
for Castile.  
But we haue  
followed *He-  
vera* in the  
most part of  
this relation.



Catholike Princes being then busied in Warre against the Moors of Granada. But hauing spent fve yeeres in pursuing his suit, his answer from the Court was, That the Kings Treasure was so exhaust in the Conquest of Granada, that they could not entertaine new expences: but those being ended, they would better examine his intent, and giue him dispatch.

Much was *Columbus* aggrieved at this answer, yet failed not his constancie. Hee, caused his desires to be made knowne to the Dukes of Medina Cœli, and of Medina Sidonia, but with effect like the former. Twice hee purposed (as his sonne *Fernand Columbus* writeth) to leaue Spaine, and goe himsele into France or England, whence hee had not heard of his brother *Bartholomew*: but Diuine Prouidence otherwise disposed. And hee which hitherto had not found credit to aduance (nay, scarcely meanes, but in great part, by the bountie of *Alphonso di Quintaniglia* the Kings chiefe Auditor, to sustaine) him, obtained the Letters of Frier *Iuan Perez de Marchena* to Frier *Fernando di Talavera* the Queenes Confessor, and at last, by the mediation of the Cardinall *Mendoza*, Archbishop of Toledo, procured audience and graunt of the Catholike Kings, Queene *Isabel* taking order with *Lewis* of *S. Angelo* to empayne some of her Iewels, to the value of two thousand Duckats for his Expedition, which yet he lent out of his purse: so low was the Treasure of Spaine, when God offered them the Westerne Treasure.

Magnanimous *Columbus*, not broken with Pouertie at home, with Affronts and Discountenances abroad, with imputations of impotent, almost impudent, at least as imprudent as importunate fancies of impossible, impassable Navigations by vnknowne Seas to vnknowne Lands! not amated so farre, as to abate his Conditions of no small nature to him and his heires, as if he had already effected his designs: not desiring any reward, except he found somewhat answerable to his promise, nor lesse then, than the Office and Title of Admirall by Sea, and Vice-Roy on Land, with the Tenth of the Profits throw all the Seas, Ilands, or firme Lands (to himsele during his life, and after, to his heires and successors) whatsoever he should discover: which (saith *Oniedo*) he enjoyed while he liued, his sonne Admirall, *James* or *Don Diego Colombo*, after him, and his nephew *Don Lewis Colombo* the Admirall at this day. This composition was made betwixt him and the Catholike Kings in the Field before Granada, then besieged, in the middest of the Armie, the seuenteenth of April, 1492. as if God would reward their endeouours and expences, in rooting out the Moors, which had possessed those parts of Spaine aboue seuen hundred yeeres, with this New Discouerie, so profitable to the Spanish Crowne.

*Oniedo*, Hist. del Ind. l. 2. c. 5.  
*Herera* Dec. 1. l. 1. c. 10.

§. V.

*COLUMBUS* his first Voyage, and improuement therein of the Mariners Art.

\* *Oniedo* hath *Gallega*.

*Mart. Dec. & Oniedo*.

\* When he had runne aboue 700. he reckoned lesse then 600. nor their Pilots much more deceiued by the wind alway large.  
\* This *Grasse* they call *Sal-gazzi*, or *Sara-gasso*, floating in diuers places this and that way, which at first terrified them, as if they had encountred sunken Lands,

**O**N Friday, the third of August, the same yeere, hee set forth with his three Carauels from Palos; himsele in the Admirall, called \* *Santa Maria*; the second *Pinta*, in which, was Captaine *Martin Alonso Pinçon*, and his brother *Francisco Martinez Pinçon*, Master; the third *Ninna*, whose Captaine and Master was *Vincent Tannez Pinçon*, which found halfe that eighth part of the expence which *Colombo* had couenanted to contribute. There were in all (some say) an hundred and twenty men; *Herera* hath but ninety. On the fourth of August, the Rudder of the *Pinta* proued loose, which they fastened as well as they could with Cords, but soone after with force of Wind brake, and they were all compelled to strike sayle; which, in such a Voyage as this (they knew not whither) could not but be troublesome, and seeme also ominous. On the eleuenth of August they had sight of the Canaries; where hauing refreshed themselves in the Ile Gomera, they hasted thence the sixt of September, for feare of the Portugals, who had set forth three Caruells to take them. The seuenth they lost sight of Land, with sighes and teares, many of them fearing neuer to see it againe; whom *Don Christopher* comforted as well as he could, with promises of rich Discoueries: and sayling that day \*eightene leagues, he reckoned no more then fiftene, diminishing his accompt, to make them seeme neerer home. On the foureteenth of September he first obserued the Variation of the Compas, which no man till then had considered, which euery day appeared more euident. On Sunday, the sixteenth, they saw pieces of \* *Grasse*, or Herbes, on the Water, of a pale Greene colour, and on one of them a *Grasse-hopper* aliue, and some signes of Land approaching, made some beleue they had seene it. On the nineteenth they saw an *Alcatraz* (a kind of Sea-Fowle) and the next day two, which with other *Grasse* euery day encreasing, encreased their hopes of Land, saue that the *Grasse* sometimes hindered their sayling.

All this while he had the Wind in poupe, which on the two and twentieth of September came crosse at South-west; and the Spaniards murmured, that the former Winds, which had been large to bring them hither, would neuer permit their returne to Spaine, and now began to blame the King and Queene, which had listned to that bold Italian, resolving to pursue the Voyage no further (the Admirall vsing all his Wits to the contrarie in vaine, mixing with Promises and Prayers,



Prayers, Threats and Menaces) alledging, That he thought to make himselfe a great Lord with the price of their liues; and that they had alreadie done their dutie, sayling further from Land then euer any had: nor ought they to be guiltie of their owne deaths; proceeding they knew not whither, till Victuals fayled them, which alreadie would scarcely hold out their returne, nor yet the Caruels, being alreadie spent, and faultie, with other like quarrels: threatning to throw him into the Sea, if he would not returne; and if hee were so desperate to perish, they would saue themselves. *Colombo* sweetly calmed those tempests with gentle words and rich promises, &c. (as is thought, before agreed vpon) talking with *Vincent Pinçon*, suddenly cryed, Land, Land, on the five and twentieth of September, which filled them with cheare and hope, which yet proued but Clouds: and therefore howsoeuer the mutinous tempest was for a time stilled, yet on the second of October that storme reuiued with such force, that hee hauing prolonged as faire as hee might, with likelier signes dayly of Land, at last he indented with them for three dayes. This they promised to trie, but not one houre longer, saying, all were Lyes which he had promised. The first of these dayes he perceiued by the Sunne-set, that Land was neere, and commanded, that they should abate their Sayles in the Night; in which Night hee spied Light.

Two houres after Midnight, *Rodrigo de Triana* descryed Land on the eleuenth of October, 1492. which when it was day, they saw to be an Iland of fifteene leagues compasse, plaine and woodie, with a great Poole of fresh Water, the naked people wondring on the shore, thinking their Shippes were liuing Creatures. They went on Land, and termed it *San Salvador*, by the Inhabitants called *Guanahani*, one of the Iles Lucayos, nine hundred and fiftie leagues from the Canaries, and hauing said a *Te Deum* on his knees, with teares in his eyes, *Colombo* tooke possession in name of the Catholike Kings, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, in presence of *Rodrigo de Escobedo*, Notarie; the Spaniards also acknowledging him for Vice-Roy. The people wondred at the Beards, Whitenesse, Clothing of the Spaniards, who gaue them coloured Caps, Glasse-beads, and other Toyes. And when they departed, the naked Natiues followed, some in Canoas, others swimming after them. They were all naked, their haire bound vp, their stature meane, bodies well formed, colour like those of the Canaries, Oliue, painted some blacke, others of other colours, in part, or all ouer the body, as each best fancied. They knew not the vse of Iron, or Weapons, but layd their hands on the edge of the Sword. They saw no liuing Creatures but Parrats among them. They trucked for Cotton Yarne, and had Rings of Gold in their Nostrils, which they said that it came from the South, where they had a King rich therein. They tooke the Spaniards to be men come from Heauen.

On the fifteenth of October he went seuen leagues thence to another Iland (which he called *Santa Maria de la Concecion*) the seuenteenth, to *Fernandina*, where the Women, with Cotton short Coates, from the Nauill to the mid Thigh, couered their nakednesse. The fourth Iland he called *Isabella*, and thereof (as of all the former) tooke solempne possession. He would not suffer any of his companie to take ought from the Natiues in any place. Thence he passed to Cuba, and went on Land, thinking it to be Zipango; and some Indians which he carried with him, signified, that there was Gold and Pearles. He sent two Spaniards with two Indians to search the Countrey, which found a Towne of fiftie houses of about a thousand persons (for a whole Kindred or Linage dwelt together in one house) where the people kissed their hands and feet, thinking them heavenly Wights, gaue them Bread of a Root, and perfumed them with certaine Herbes burned. They saw store of Cotton growing of it selfe, and strange kinds of Birds and Trees. The Spaniards had most mind to the Gold which they saw in their Notes, of which they questioned these Indians, who answered Cubanacan, that is in the midst of Cuba, which the Spaniards vnderstood of the Can of Cathay, mentioned by *Marco Polo*. In hope of singular successe, *Martin Alonso Pinçon* left the Admirall, who also left Cuba, which he called Iuana, in honour of the Prince of Castile, to seeke that Iland which he named Hispaniola, before *Haiti*. For hauing demanded of Zipango in Cuba, the Indians thinking hee had meant Cibao, which is one of the richest Mines of Hispaniola, directed him thither. Here giuing a Woman which they tooke, Meat, Drinke, and Clothes, he sent with her some of his Indians, which reported much good of the Spaniards, whence grew much acquaintance betwixt them, and after, with their King *Guacanagari*, which entreated *Colombo* to come aland. Here he lost his principall Ship, and erected a Fort called the *Natiuitie*, and vnderstood of the Golden Prouinces of this Iland: and hauing good remonstrance of his Golden Hopes and Haps also, in exchange for Trifles, with some Indians taken with him, leauing eight and thirtie Spaniards in his new Fort, after reconciliation with *Pinçon* (the Indians, which carried the Admirals Letter to him, attributed their mutuall vnderstanding to some Deitie therein) he prepared for his returne.

Before this, he charged them to behaue themselves with all due respects to *Guacanagari*, and to his Indians, without wrong to any: and on Friday, the fourth of Ianuary, in the yeere 1493. (after their account) sayled from the Port of *Natiuitie*. He saw three Mermaids leaping a good height out of the Sea, Creatures (as hee affirmed) not so faire as they are painted, somewhat resembling

*Rod. de Triana*  
first saw Land.

*Guanahani*, or  
*San Salvador*.

A Conoa is a  
Boat made of  
one tree, which  
they wrought  
into that forme  
with sharpe  
stones, & helpe  
of fire: some  
carried but one,  
& some aboue  
40. or 50. men  
in them.

*S. Maria de la*  
*Concepcion*.  
*Fernandina*.  
*Isabella*.  
Cuba.

A Fort

Three Mer-  
maids.



resembling Men in the face, of which at other times he said he had seene on the Coast of Guinea. In his returne, he discovered a great part of the Coast of Hispaniola, and gaue Names to Capes and Harbours. In this Voyage, *Colombo* is said first to haue taught the Spaniards, in their sayling, to obserue the Sunne and Pole in their Navigations, which they before knew not. Obseruing by his skill in Astronomie, that the Moone being in coniunction with *Mercury*, and opposition with *Iupiter*, and the Sunne also in like opposition, to produce great Windes, hee made some stay, and had new commerce with other Indians, where accidentally happened the first quartell and skirmish betwixt the Spaniards and Natiues. But soone after the King sent them his Crowne of Gold, and much Victuall, and gaue them further intelligence. From this Gulfe de las Flechas, or of Arrowes, on Wednesday the seuenteenth of Ianuarie, hee departed, and made homewards: in which it is obserued, that as in their way to the Indies, hauing the Wind large, they reckoned farre fewer leagues then they sayled, so in their returne they accounted more, the Admirals reckoning being a hundred and fiftie lesse then theirs.

Pilgrimages  
vowed.

A tedious Tempest befell them in Februarie: wherein other remedies seeming to fayle, they vowed Pilgrimages to our Lady by Lot; the first fell on the Admirall himselfe, to Guadalupe; the second to Loretto, on *Pedro de Villa*; and a third Vow was common to all, that they should at the first Church of our Lady they came to, make Procession in their shirts, with other like deuoted Deuotions.

Pf. 107. 24, 25,  
26, 27, 28, 29,  
30, 31.

How vnlike was this to that of the Psalmist, in like stormes happening to them that see the Wonders of the Lord in the Deepe. For the Lord commandeth and rayseth the stormie Wind, which lifteth up the Waues thereof. They mount up to the Heauen, they goe downe againe to the Depths, their Soule is melted because of trouble. They reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wits end. Then they cry vnto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses. He maketh the Storme a Calme, so that the Waues thereof are still. Then are they glad, because they be quiet. So he bringeth them vnto their desired Haue. O that men would prayse the Lord (not goe on Pilgrimage to our Lady) for his goodnesse and for his wonderfull workes to the children of men, &c.

Providence,  
lest the Voyage  
should mis-  
carry.

The Psalmist in like case is to distressed Mariners a better Admirall then *Colombo*, whose deuotion herein fayled in the Obiect. Yet his diligence and wisdome in this is to be commended, that fearing shipwracke, lest this famous Discouerie might also be lost, he writ the whole Discourse in Parchment, and folding it in a Seare-cloth, he put it in a Barrell or Hogs-head, which he threw into the Sea.

Bar. Dec. 1. 13.  
6. 11.

But on the fifteenth of February they saw Land, being *S. Maries* Iland, one of the Azores; where going on shore to fulfill their vowed Pilgrimage, the Gouverneur came vpon them, and after many words told them, that hee had order from the King of Portugall to take them. But making an escape, another Storme tooke them, and caused another Pilgrimage to be vowed to our Lady of Cinta, the Lot falling on the Admirall: And thus was he forced to Lisbon; where, after much contesting with the Portugals, the King sent for him, being now much grieved for omitting such an opportunitie; yet vsed him kindly, although there were that offered to kill *Colombo*, before hee should carry newes of this Discouerie to Spaine; the rather, for his boldnesse, obiecting to the King his neglect. But the gentle King reproved these cruell Gentlemen, and after kind vsage, licenced him to depart.

Enuy.

True it is, that the Portugall Nation haue in their Bookes and Writings sought to obscure this Exploit of *Columbus*, attributing it rather to a Dreame of Zipango out of *Marco Polo*, and his confident glorious nature, seconded by successe vnlooked for (for which, as idle imaginations, their King had refused his offer) then any such excellencie as the Castilian Writers ascribe to him. But Enuy is the darke shadow, that alwayes followes him at the heeles, which walkes in the bright Sunne-light of Vertue and high Attempts. Euen the Spaniards themselues, not only by the tale of the Pilot before mentioned, but by light esteeme of his worth haue shewed a contemptible contempt of him: some of whom obiecting to himselfe the easinesse of this Discouerie, as he sate at Table, he prayed to make an Egge, which then he gaue them, to stand on end; which when they could not, hee bruising the shell, and making the end flat, made it to stand thereon: thereby insinuating, how easie it was for them to doe that which they had seene and learned of him.

Yea, the *Pinçons*, his chiefe Associates, by like spirit of proud Enuy, maligned him; one of which had, after the Islands discovered, forsaken him, as yee haue heard: which hee was forced to dissemble, and be reconciled, the most of his companie being of kinne to the *Pinçons*, or at lest inhabitants of Palos with them. They also entred suit with *Colombo*, and arrogated to their owne valour this Discouerie, which *Columbus* would (after so many dayes not finding Land) haue forsaken, but was proceeded in by their resolution. And in his third Voyage 1499. *Rodanus Ximenius* raysed a Rebellion in those parts, and effected, that *Bonadilla* was sent Gouverneur into Hispaniola, who sent the Admirall, with his Brother, Prisoners all the way, of his long Discouerie into Spaine, for which he had so aduentured. These Iron Chaynes could cold Enuy, for so much Gold, for such a World, render vnto that Worthy of Men. But the Catholike Kings



of higher Spirits (for Envy, the first sinne we read of in the Deuill, and which made him a Deuill, as *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* in their Tractates of Patience haue obserued, the first also in the first-borne Man, which made him an incarnate Deuill and Murtherer, is but the sinke and settled Dregs of Balenesse, which wanting proper worth, malignes it to others) these much honoured *Columbus*, as well they might, and confirmed his Priuiledges anew, besides many speciall graces done him, as did also the Cardinall of Spaine, and still is done by their ingenuous Writers, *Oniedo*, *Herera*, and others.

This Storie at large I haue set downe, that Discoverers may by this example learne to digest greater Stormes at home, then the boysterous Elements in their tempestuous Conspiracie yeeld them; and to know, that Pusillanimitie and Impatience are the vnfittest Attempters in the World. The Spaniards other Discoveries in the American parts (for so were they called of *Americus Vesputius*, a Florentine, who accompanied *Colombo* in his first Voyage, and after discovered a greater part of the Continent then the Admirall had, as *Cabota* in that did more then they both) I list not to pursue; easie it is to know, that Gold bartered for Glasse, Beads, Needles, and other Toyes, would be strongly actiue, and strangely attractiue to new Discoveries. *Dimidium facti qui bene capit, habet.* *Cortes* his Conquest of Mexico, and *Pizarro* his Peru were not comparable to their Masters Master-Peece, who found the New-World, to find them worke. Before *Colombo* went his second Voyage, he left a Card, containyng the description of the whole Nauigation and Discoverie, in Spaine with the Kings, and his sonnes, Pages to the Prince.

*Impatientie natales ab ipso Diab. deprehendo. Diabolus iam tum cura Deus uniuersa opera homini subiucisset, impatienter tulit. Nec enim doluisset si sustinisset, nec inuiderisset si non doluisset. Tert. de patientia. Cyp. de bene pat. Diabolus hominem ad imaginem Dei factum impatienter tulit, inde & per primus & perdidit.*

§. VI.

Of the Popes Bull made to Castile, touching the New World.

He Catholike Kings, presently after that first Discoverie, gaue accompt thereof to the Pope, which then was *Alexander* the sixt (before named *Borgia*, a Spaniard of Valentia) by his Embassadour, and desired his fauour for the Crowne of Castile and Lions, in the Grant of those New Discoveries, made or to be made: For long since had the Pope challenged Christs right ouer the Christian World. *Adrian* the fourth, in his Letters of Ireland to King *Henry* the second affirmeth, That all Ilands vnder the Sunne, of righteoussesse belong to Papall disposition. This second *Alexander*, in Gods right, claymes all the World: & in ordine ad Deum, for the conuersion (ferfooth) to the Faith, the temporall Estates of the whole World are by his Parasites vsually put vnder that triple Diademe. So they thought, or so would seeme to thinke, in regard of Papall Grants before to the Crowne of Portugall (whence was like to arise some griuance and impediment to their Affaires, as pretending a Monopoly, by former Dispensation in Indian Discoveries) and therefore sought this fauour of that Monster of Men, then sitting in that Chayre. This Bull, because it is not common, I haue here transcribed.

EXEMPLAR BVLLÆ SEV DONATIONIS,

Autoritate cuius, Episcopus Romanus ALEXANDER

eius nominis sextus, concessit & donauit Castellæ Regi-

bus & suis successoribus, Regiones &

Insulas Noui Orbis.

ALEXANDER Episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo filio FERDINANDO Regi, & Charissimæ in Christo filia ELIZABETH Regina Castellæ, Legionis, Arragonum, Siciliæ, & Granatæ, illustribus, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.

*Hanc Bullam habet Lopez de Gomara, in hist. gen. parte 2. c. 19. & R. Eden.*

Inter cetera Diuina Maiestati beneplacita opera & cordis nostri desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum existit ut fides Catholica & Christiana Religio nostris presertim temporibus exaltetur ac ubilibet ampliatur ac dilatetur, animarumque salus procuretur, ac barbare Nationes deprimantur & ad fidem ipsam reducantur. Vnde cum ad hanc sacram PETRI Sedem Diuina fauente clementia (meritis licet imparibus) euocati fu-



animum vestrum, omnesque conatus ad hoc iam dudum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio Regni Granatæ à Tyrannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos, cum tanta Diuini nominis gloria facta, testatur. Digne ducimur non immerito, & debemus illa vobis etiam sponte, ac fauorabiliter concedere per quæ huiusmodi sanctum ac laudabile ab immortalis Dco acceptum propositum, indies feruentiori animo ad ipsius Dei honorem & Imperij Christiani propagationem, prosequi valeatis. Sane accepimus quod vos qui dudum animum proposueratis aliquas Insulas & Terras firmas remotas & incognitas, ac per alios hætenus non repertas, querere & inuenire, ut illarum incolas & habitatores ad colendum redemptorem nostrum & fidem Catholicam profitendum reduceretis, 10 hætenus in expugnatione & recuperatione ipsius Regni Granatæ plurimum occupati, huiusmodi sanctum & laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequiuistis. Sed tandem, sicut Domino placuit, Regno prædicto recuperato, volentes desiderium vestrum adimplere, dilectum filium CHRISTOPHORVM COLONVM, virum utique dignum, & plurimum commendatum, ac tanto negotio aptum, cum Nauigijs & hominibus ad similia instructis, non sine maximis laboribus, ac periculis, & expensis destinastis ut Terras firmas & Insulas remotas & incognitas, huiusmodi per Mare ubi hætenus Nauigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret. Qui tandem (Diuino auxilio facta extrema diligentia in Mari Oceano Nauigantes) certas Insulas remotissi- 20 mas, & etiam Terras firmas, quæ per alios hætenus reperta non fuerant, inuenerunt. In quibus plurimæ gentes pacifice viuentes, & (ut asseritur) nudi incedentes, nec carnibus vescentes, inhabitant: Et ut præfati Nuncij vestri possunt opinari, gentes ipsæ in Insulis, & terris prædictis habitantes, credunt unum Deum Creatorem in Cælis esse, ac ad fidem Catholicam amplexandum & bonis moribus imbuendum, satis apti videntur: Spesque habetur, quod si erudirentur, nomen saluatoris Domini nostri Iesu Christi in Terris & Insulis prædictis facile induceretur. Ac præfatus CHRISTOPHORVS in una ex principalibus Insulis prædictis, iam vnā turrē satis munitā, in qua certos 30 Christianos qui secum inerant in custodiam, & ut alias Insulas ac Terras firmas remotas & incognitas inquirerent posuit, construi & edificari fecit. In quibus quidem Insulis & terris iam repertis, Aurum, Aromata, & aliæ quam plurimæ res præciosæ diuersi generis & diuersæ qualitatis reperiuntur. Vnde omnibus diligenter, & præsertim fidei Catholicæ exaltatione & dilatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges & Principes) consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum clara memoriæ Regum, Terras firmas & Insulas prædictas, illarumque Incolas & Habitatores, vobis Diuina fauente clementia subijcere, & ad fidem Catholicam reducere proposuistis. Nos itaque huiusmodi vestrum sanctum & laudabile propositum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes ut illud ad 40 debitum finem perducatur, & ipsum nomen saluatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quamplurimum in Domino, & per sacri lauacri susceptionem, qua mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis, ut per viscera misericordiæ Domini nostri Iesu Christi attente requirimus, ut cum expeditionem huiusmodi omnino prosequi & assumere prona mente Orthodoxæ fidei zelo intendatis, populos in huiusmodi Insulis & Terris degentes, ad Christianam Religionem suscipiendum inducere velitis & debeatis, nec pericula nec labores ullo vnquam tempore vos deterreant, firma spe fiduciaque conceptis, quod Deus omnipotens conatus vestros feliciter prosequetur. Et ut tanti Negotij Prouinciā Apostolicæ gratiæ largitate donati, liberius & audacius assumatis, motu proprio non ad 50 vestram vel alterius, pro vobis super hoc nobis oblata petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate, & ex certa scientia, ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes Insulas & Terras firmas inuentas & inueniendas, detectas & detegendas versus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & construendo vnā lineam à Polo Arctico, scilicet Septentrione, ad Polum Antarcticum, scilicet Meridiem, siue Terra firma & Insula inuenta, & inueniende sint, versus Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcunque partem, quæ linea distet à qualibet Insularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis, versus Occidentem & Meridiem. Itaque omnes Insule & Terra firma reperta & reperienda, detecta & detegenda à præfata linea versus Occidentem 60 & Meridiem, quæ per alium Regem aut Principem Christianum non fuerint actualiter possesse vsque ad diem Natiuitatis Domini nostri Iesu Christi proxime præteritum, à quo incipit Annus præsens Milleſimus quadringentesimus nonagesimus tertius, quando fuerunt



10 fuerant per Nuncios & Capitaneos vestros inuenta aliqua predictarum Insularum, Au-  
toritate Omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato PETRO concessa, ac Vicariatus Iesu Christi,  
qua fungimur in Terris, cum omnibus illarum Dominijs, Ciuitatibus, Castris, Locis, &  
Villis, iuribusque & iurisdictionibus ac pertinentijs vniuersis vobis, heredibusque, &  
successoribus vestris (Castella & Legionis Regibus) in perpetuum tenore presentium do-  
namus, concedimus, & assignamus: Vosque, & heredes, ac successores prefatos illarum  
Dominos, cum plena, libera, & omnimoda potestate, autoritate, & iurisdictione, facimus,  
constituimus, & deputamus. Decernentes nihilo minus, per huiusmodi donationem, con-  
cessionem, & assignationem nostram, nulli Christiano Principi, qui actualiter prefatas  
Insulas & Terras firmas possederit vsque ad predictum diem Natiuitatis Domini nostri  
Iesu Christi ius quassitum, sublatum intelligi posse, aut auferri debere.

20 Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute sancte obedientie (ut sicut pollicemini & non  
dubitamus pro vestra maxima deuotione & Regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad  
Terras firmas & Insulas predictas, viros probos & Deum timentes, doctos, peritos, &  
expertes ad instruendum Incolas & habitatores prefatos in fide Catholica, & bonis mo-  
ribus imbuendum, destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in premisis adhiben-  
tes. Ac quibuscunque personis, cuiuscunque dignitatis, etiam Imperialis & Regalis status,  
30 gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis late sententie pena quam eo ipso,  
si contra fecerint incurrant, districtius inhibemus ne ad Insulas & Terras firmas inuentas  
& inueniendas, detectas & detegendas versus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando &  
construendo lineam a Polo Arctico ad Polum Antarcticum, siue Terra firme & Insule  
inuenta & inuenienda sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcunque partem, qua  
linea distet a qualibet Insularum, que vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo  
Verde centum leucis versus Occidentem & Meridiem ut prefertur, pro mercibus haben-  
dis, vel quavis alia causa accedere presumat, absque vestra ac heredum & successo-  
rum vestrorum predictorum licentia speciali: Non obstantibus constitutionibus & or-  
40 dinationibus Apostolicis, caterisque quibuscunque: in illo in quo Imperia & Dominatio-  
nes & bona cuncta procedunt, Confidentes quod dirigente Domino actus vestros, si hu-  
iusmodi sanctum ac laudabile propositum prosequamini, breui tempore cum felicitate &  
gloria totius populi Christiani, vestri labores & conatus exitum felicissimum consequen-  
tur. Verum quia difficile foret presentes literas ad singula queque loca in quibus expedi-  
ens fuerit deferri, volumus ac motu & scientia similibus decernimus, quod illarum trans-  
sumptis manu publici Notarij inde rogati subscriptis, & sigillo alicuius persone in Eccle-  
siastica dignitate constituta, seu Curie Ecclesiastica munitis, ea prorsus fides in iudicio  
40 & extra, ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur, que presentibus adhiberetur si essent adhibita vel  
ostensa.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc Paginam nostre commendationis, hortationis,  
requisitionis, donationis, concessionis, assignationis, constitutionis, deputacionis, decreti,  
mandati, inhibitionis, & voluntatis, infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis  
autem hoc attentare presumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum PE-  
TRI & PAULI Apostolorum eius, se noverit incursum.

50 Datum Romæ apud Sanctum PETRUM, Anno Incarnationis  
Dominicæ 1493. quarto nonas Maij, Pontificatus  
nostri, anno primo.

THE SAME ENGLISHED.

60 ALEXANDER Bishop, the Seruant of the Seruants of GOD, to our most  
deare beloued Sonne in CHRIST, King Ferdinando, and to our deare be-  
loued Daughter in CHRIST, Elizabeth, Queene of Castile, Legion, Ar-  
ragon, Sicilie, and Granata, most Noble Princes, greeting, and Apostolicall Bene-  
diction.

Among other Workes acceptable to the Diuine Maiestie, and according to our  
hearts desire, this certainly is the chiefe, that the Catholike Faith and Christian Re-



ligion, specially in this our time, may in all places be exalted, amplified, and enlarged, whereby the health of Soules may bee procured, and the barbarous Nations subdued and brought to the Faith. And therefore, whereas by the fauour of Gods Clemencie (although not without equall deserts) we are called to this holy Seat of PETER, and vnderstanding you to be true Catholike Princes, as wee haue euer knowne you, and as your noble and worthy Facts haue declared in manner to the whole World, in that with all your studie, diligence, and industry, you haue spared no Trauailes, Charges, or Perils, aduenturing euen the shedding of your owne Bloud, with applying your whole Mindes and Endeouours herunto, as your Noble Expeditions atchieued in recouering the Kingdome of Granata from the Tyrannie of the Sarracens in these our dayes, doe plainly declare your Facts, with so great Glory of the Diuine Name. For the which, as wee thinke you worthy, so ought wee of our owne free will fauourably to graunt you all things, whereby you may dayly, with more feruent mindes, to the honour of God, and enlarging the Christian Empire, prosecute your deuout and laudable Purpose, most acceptable to the Immortall God. Wee are credibly informed, that whereas of late you were determined to seeke and finde certaine Ilands and firme Lands, farre remote and vknowne (and not heretofore found by any other) to the intent to bring the Inhabitants of the same to honour our Redeemer, and to professe the Catholike Faith, you haue hitherto beene much occupied in the expugnation and recouerie of the Kingdome of Granata, by reason whereof you could not bring your said laudable Purpose to the end desired. Neuerthelesse, as it hath pleased Almighty God, the foresaid Kingdome being recouered, willing to accomplish your said Desire, you haue, not without great Labour, Perils, and Charges, appointed our welbeloued Sonne *Christopher Colonus* (a man certes well commended, as most worthy and apt for so great a Matter) well furnished with Men and Ships, and other Necessaries, to seeke (by the Sea, where hitherto no man hath sayled) such firme Lands and Ilands farre remote, and hitherto vknowne, who (by Gods helpe) making diligent search in the Ocean Sea, haue found certaine remote Ilands and firme Lands, which were not heretofore found by any other: in the which (as is said) many Nations inhabit, liuing peaceably, and going naked, not accustomed to eate Flesh; and as farre as your Messengers can coniecture, the Nations inhabiting the foresaid Lands and Ilands, beleue that there is one God, Creator in Heauen, and seeme apt to bee brought to the imbracing of the Catholike Faith, and to be endued with good Manners: by reason whereof, wee may hope, that if they be well instructed, they may easily be induced to receiue the Name of our Sauour IESVS CHRIST. Wee are further aduertised, that the fore-named *Christopher* hath now builded and erected a Fortresse, with good Munition, in one of the foresaid principall Ilands, in the which he hath placed a Garrison of certaine of the Christian men that went thither with him, as well to the intent to defend the same, as also to search other Ilands and firme Lands farre remote, and yet vknowne. Wee also vnderstand, that in these Lands and Ilands lately found, is great plentie of Gold and Spices, with diuers and many other precious things, of sundry kinds and qualities. Therefore all things diligently considered (especially the amplifying and enlarging of the Catholike Faith, as it behoueth Catholike Princes, following the examples of your Noble Progenitors, of famous Memorie) you haue determined, by the fauour of Almighty God, to subiect vnto you the firme Lands and Ilands aforesaid, and the Dwellers and Inhabitants thereof, and to bring them to the Catholike Faith.

Wee greatly commending this your godly and laudable purpose in our Lord, and desirous to haue the same brought to a due end, and the Name of our Sauour to be knowne in those parts, doe exhort you in our Lord, and by the receiuing of your holy Baptisme, whereby you are bound to Apostolicall Obedience, and earnestly require you by the Bowels of Mercie of our Lord IESVS CHRIST, that when you intend, for the zeale of the Catholike Faith, to prosecute the said Expedition, to reduce the People of the foresaid Lands and Ilands to the Christian Religion, you shall spare no Labours at any time, or be deterred with any Perils, concerning



ceiuing firme hope and confidence, that the Omnipotent God will giue good successe to your godly Attempts. And that being authorised by the Priuiledge of the Apostolicall Grace, you may the more freely and boldly take vpon you the Enterprise of so great a Matter, wee of our owne motion, and not eyther at your request, or at the instant petition of any other person, but of our owne meere liberalitie and certaine science, and by the fulnesse of Apostolicall power, doe giue, grant, and assigne to you, your heires and successors, all the firme Lands and Ilands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike (that is) from the North to the South: Contayning in this Donation, whatsoeuer firme Lands or Ilands are found, or to be found toward India, or toward any other part whatsoeuer it be, being distant from, or without the foresaid Line, drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, and South, from any of the Ilands which are commonly called *De los Azores* and *Capo Verde*. All the Ilands therefore, and firme Lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, from the said Line toward the West and South, such as haue not actually beene heretofore possessed by any other Christian King or Prince, vntill the day of the Natiuitie of our Lord IESV CHRIST last past, from the which beginneth this present yeere, being the yeere of our Lord a thousand foure hundred ninetie three, when soeuer any such shall bee found by your Messengers and Captaines, wee by the Authoritie of Almighty GOD, graunted vnto vs in Saint PETER, and by the Vicarship of IESVS CHRIST which wee beare on the Earth, doe for euer, by the tenour of these presents, giue, grant, assigne, vnto you, your heires and successors (the Kings of Castile and Legion) all those Lands and Ilands, with their Dominions, Territories, Cities, Castles, Towers, Places, and Villages, with all the Rights and Iurisdictions thereunto pertaining; constituting, assigning, and deputing you, your heires and successors, the Lords thereof, with full and free Power, Authoritie, and Iurisdiction: Decreeing neuerthelesse by this our Donation, Grant, and Assignment, that from no Christian Prince, which actually hath possessed the foresaid Ilands and firme Lands, vnto the day of the Natiuitie of our Lord before said, their Right obtained, to be vnderstood hereby to be taken away, or that it ought to be taken away. Furthermore, wee command you in the vertue of holy Obedience (as you haue promised, and as wee doubt not you will doe, vpon meere Deuotion and Princely Magnimitie) to send to the said firme Lands and Ilands, honest, vertuous, and learned men, such as feare God, and are able to instruct the Inhabitants in the Catholike Faith and good Manners, applying all their possible diligence in the premisses. Wee furthermore straitly inhibite all manner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soeuer they be, although of Imperiall and Regall Dignitie, vnder the paine of the Sentence of Excommunication, which they shall incur, if they doe to the contrary, That they in no case presume, without speciall Licence of you, your heires, and successors, to trauaile for Marchandizes, or for any other cause, to the said Lands or Ilands, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike, whether the firme Lands and Ilands, found and to be found, be situate toward India, or toward any other part, being distant from the Line drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, from any of the Ilands commonly called *De los Azores* and *Capo Verde*: Notwithstanding Constitutions, Decrees, and Apostolicall Ordinances whatsoeuer they are to the contrary. In him from whom Empires, Dominions, and all good things doe proceede: Trusting, that Almighty GOD, directing your Enterprises, if you follow your godly and laudable Attempts, your Labours and Trauailes herein, shall in short time obtaine a happie end, with felicitie and glorie of all Christian People. But forasmuch as it should be a thing of great difficultie, these Letters to be carried to all such places as should be expedient; wee will, and of like motion and knowledge doe decree, That whither soeuer the same shall be sent, or wheresoeuer they shall be receiued, with the subscription of a common Notarie thereunto required, with the Seale of any person constitute



in Ecclesiasticall Dignitie, or such as are authorized by the Ecclesiasticall Court, the same faith and credite to be giuen thereunto in Iudgement, or elsewhere, as should be exhibited to these Presents.

Let no man therefore whatsoeuer infringe or dare rashly to contrary this Letter of our Commendation, Exhortation, Request, Donation, Grant, Affignation, Constitution, Deputation, Decree, Commandement, Inhibition, and Determination. And if any shall presume to attempt the same, let him know, that hee shall thereby incurre the Indignation of Almighty God, and his holy Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*.

10

*Giuen at Rome at Saint PETERS, In the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord 1493. The fourth day of the Nones of May, the first yeere of our Popedome.*

## ANIMADVERSIONS ON THE SAID

### Bull of Pope ALEXANDER.

20

a Seneca.  
b Ciceo.  
c He was be-  
to. e called Ro-  
dericus Borgia,  
a Spaniard of  
Valencia.  
d Lucan.  
e Aug. de Civ.  
D. 1. 4. c. 4.  
Quid tibi ut  
Quem terra-  
rum? sed quia  
id ego ex quo  
facio nauigio,  
latro vocor, quia  
tum magna classe,  
imperator.  
f Ben. Cord. Bal.  
G. c. vid. script.  
vit. Pontif. de  
hoc & seq. P. P.  
g This History  
hath many Te-  
stimonies of  
their owne  
Authors: see  
it maintained  
against Baron.  
by Morn. Myst.  
Inq. pag. 323.  
in Fol.  
V. d. m. Schard  
ex vi. a. Germ.  
ser. 12.  
h He maintai-  
ned the Popes  
pove against  
the King and  
the Clergies  
immunitie  
(which had  
committed a-  
bout a hundred  
Murthers, as  
Newbrig. l. 2.  
then living, te-  
stifieth) from  
the King and  
justly therefore  
by Diuine Providence (though with humane Iniustice) was murdered himselfe. i King Henry the second  
held the Bridle to the Popes Legate twice, and suffered many stripes on his naked flesh with Roddes. k *Est illa curia  
fideles Christi multoties excruciat, nunquam tamen tam letaliter sauciatur, &c.* Mat. Par. 1255.

**A**lthough some deny libertie of Examination and Censure to Historians, but will haue them leaue all to the Iudgement of the Readers, to conclude what their owne Iudgements shall gather out of Historicall Premisses: Yet because wee write *a vita non Schola*, and Historie is not *b* onely *vita Memoria*, but *Magistra vita*, is the Schoole of Diuine Prouidence, wherein by Example is alway read that Rule, *Discite iustitiam moniti*; let me haue like leaue as almost all Historians, Diuine, Ecclesiasticall, and Humane, haue with thanks also obtained: And let the seuerer Criticke call it a Digression, or *Parentthesis*, or what he pleaseth, so it may profit the feebler feet of such as may stumble hereat, and confirme the firmer and more resolu'd: *Difficile est Satyram non scribere*. It is almost necessarie in this Treatise of Nauigations (most of which are, or seeme thereby inhibited) not to suffer this Bull (as Butcherly in sequele, as those the Statute includeth) to passe vnbaited.

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It was now the time that the Antichristian Kingdome was growne to the height, and began to sinke vnder the weight of it selfe, and the Prophecies of the Churches Restauration and Reformation began to ripen and hasten to the Birth, when this *c Borgia* ascended the Papall Throne, stiling himselfe *Alexander*, a Name ominous to the World, to the Church, and to themselves; in some, to some of them; in this (the totall summe of Mischiefe) to all. This appeared in that Great Macedonian, who was called *d Felix terrarum prado*; and to whom a *e* Pyrate, charged with Sea-rouings, objected his greater World-rouings and robbings, this onely differing, that the one did little with his little Ship, and therefore was called a Theefe, the other doing great harme with his great Army, was surnamed Great: who after his great Conquests, and greater ambition of Deitie, with a little Poyson was confined to his little Earth, a few Feet, a few handfuls of Dust; leauing the *Ptolemys* and *Seleucida*, which succeeded in part of his State, to exceed in crueltie to the Church.

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To the Christian Church, such haue beene the Popes that haue named themselves *Alexanders*. Thus *Alexander* the second (the first that assumed that Name reiecting *Anselmus*, which in his Baptisme hee had receiued) brought forth a Schisme with his Papacie, proceeded like an *Alexander* in Warres, and died in Prison (as some thinke of Poyson) to giue place to *f Hildebrand*, the true *Scanderbeg* of the Papacie. The next *Alexander* was procreated in *g* Schisme, betrayed *Frederike* the Emperour to the Soldan, sending him his Picture to that end, and after degenerating from the Macedonian *Alexanders* Humanitie, trode on his Necke in the Temple of *S. Marke* at Venice, and prophaned Scripture, *super aspidem &c.* to that Diabolicall Deligne; first made the Law of Canonization, and then with deuout *Bernard* canonized *T. Becket* *h* (an Angell of Light, and of Darkenesse yoked together, this being murdered or martyred in the Deuils Quarrell) had at once (beyond all *Alexanders* Pompe) the Kings of England *i* and France attending on foot, and holding his Bridle. The next *Alexander* began with Excommunications, Persecutions, Warres against *Manfred* King of Sicilia, which to maintaine, hee vsed Extortions and Exactions, such as had neuer beene heard of; *k* the *Cry* *wh-reof ascended to God, the Lord of Renenge, that the Bishop of London protested he would rather loose his head, the Bishop of Torke writ to him, to feede, not to shere, to flay, to enscerate, to deuoure the Sheepe like a hungry Wolfe, as Matthew Paris, who then liued, recordeth.* The Tenth

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which



which was granted for the Holy Land, and the prizes of Absolution for Homicide, Treason, Sodomie, Witchcraft, Periurie, and all Crimes, he thus employed; and after that publike Pestilence of the *Decretales* published, he died of Thought, Euent not seconding his *Alexander*-like Designs. The fifth *Alexander* <sup>1</sup> was produced in the greatest Schisme that euer befell the Papacie; he depofed *Ladislaus* King of Naples, and gaue that Scepter to *Lewis* the Duke of Aniou; as also the Kingdome of the Romans, from *Rupertus* to *Wenceslaus*; guided in all things by *Balthasar*, full of fiercenesse and ſecularitie; hee died of Poyſon, giuen him by his Phyſician, at the procurement of *Balthasar* his ſucceſſor, leauing a yeere of Peſtilence and Famine to infeſt the World.

- 10 But this ſixt *Alexander* was Heire of all their Vices: who hauing procreated many Baſtards, procured the Papacie <sup>m</sup> by Simonie (ſome adde, Diabolicall <sup>\*</sup> Contracts) to aduance them and himſelfe, with vniuſt Iuſtice miſerably plaguing thoſe Simoniacall <sup>n</sup> Cardinals, which for Price and Promise had exalted this Plague-ſore into that Chayre of Peſtilence, where hee acted the Monſter of Men, or was indeed rather an incarrate Deuill. *Bellarmino* <sup>o</sup> himſelfe (a man not of the tenderſt Forhead) bluſheth at his Name, though aſhamed of that ſhame, hee returnes with greater impudence, and from the immanitie of this and ſome other Popes, would haue vs more admire the ſtedfaſtneſſe of that Romiſh Rocke, which hath ſuſtained ſuch portentuous Beaſts, as an argument of Diuine Providence, that the *Gates of Hell* ſhall neuer preuaile (and what elſe but Vices, are the *Gates of Hell*!) againſt it. In vaine doe we Heretikes labour
- 20 to ſet forth the Vices of ſome Popes, which themſelues confeſſe, but ſo, that the glory of that See is thereby exceedingly amplified. *Egregiam vero laudem*! An exceeding amplification of *Bellarmino* his Wit! <sup>p</sup> *Onuphrins*, *Ionins*, *Guicciardine*, *Volaterrane*, and others of their owne ſeeme amazed at this mans Monſtroſitie, though Vices be no rarities in Popes, and of the ordinarie ones, one <sup>q</sup> ſayth, that he is accounted a good Pope (not whoſe Vertues equall his Vices, and hold ſome counterpoyſe, as *Comminaus* of a Prince, but) whoſe Wickedneſſe doth not exceed that of other men. To omit the Deluges of Waters, of Famine, Plague, Warres, which ouerflowed the Citie and all Italy in his times, Rome was by the impunitie of Aſſaſſinates made a very <sup>\*</sup> Butcherie; within it, no going by Night; nor without, by Day. And for his perſonall Vertues, Theologicall and Cardinall, his *Loue* was vnaturall Luſt, to his Daughter,
- 30 and for his Sonnes; his *Faith*, perfidie to all which truſted him: *Genes* the Turkiſh Emperors Brother, for Turkiſh <sup>\*</sup> Gold hee betrayed, and with a white ſweet lingring Poyſon, mixed with his Wine, murdered; his reconciled Enemies he fraudulently betrayed to maſſacre; to his Gueſts invited to his Table, hee gaue poyſoned Potions, in exchange of their great Riches (in one of which Banquets, himſelfe at vnawares, by a miſtaken Cup, was payd in his owne Coyne, the Sonne alſo pledging the Father; but to the Worlds greater ſcourge, by the benefit of Youth and Phyſicke, recouering.) His *Hope* was to make his Sonne *Cesar Borgia* (which had ſlaine his Brother, and is ſaid to communicate with his Father in his <sup>\*</sup> Siſters Bed) the *Cesar* of the Churches State or Patrimonie. His *Fortitude* was daring to any Miſchiefe; in *Prudence*, he was not wiſe as a Serpent, to preuent, but a wiſe Serpent to inuent Euill. With his
- 40 *Temperance* I will not further diſtemper your patience; but conſider his *Iuſtice* in this Donation, of he knew not whom, to he knew not what Miſerie.

And if it ſeeme impertinent to haue ſaid ſo much of the Perſon, let ſuch know, that I haue done it to ſhew, that here was *Dignum olla operculum*, Lips ſutable to the Lettuce, and amongſt all the Popes of later times, the Deuill (which is a *Murderer from the beginning*) could not haue found a fitter Vicar, whether wee regard the bloudie Executions and Depopulations that enſued, wherein both *Alexander* the Macedon, and *Alexanders* Popes, and if there be any *Alexander* Deuils, are by the euent of this Bull ſurmounted all; or whether that the Deuill, foreſeeing by the Prophecies of *Babylons Fall* (confirmed alſo with the <sup>t</sup> Fall of the Angell in this Popes time from the top of *S. Angelo*) that his Kingdome would ſoone decline, rayſed vp this

- 50 *Alexander* to be another *Alexander*, a Conqueror of another World, by his Spirituall Weapons, vnder a ſeeming Conuerſion to Chriſtianitie, to make a <sup>\*</sup> Conuerſion (of another *Ciceronian* Etimologie) a ſweeping of a World of Men out of the World together, and wiping <sup>\*</sup> them as a man wipeth a Diſh, wiping it and turning it upſide downe; this firſt, and in the remainders a Conuerſion to ſuch a Chriſtianitie, as ſhould make them <sup>\*</sup> two-fold more the Children of Hell, which is by themſelues <sup>y</sup> testified of the Indians: Or whether the Pope, his Vicar, as honeſt as that <sup>z</sup> *Steward* in the Goſpell, fearing to be caſt out of this Europæan *Stewardſhip*, bethought him, by giuing ſo great a part of the World, whereof his Maſter is called <sup>\*</sup> the God, to procure entertainment ſomewhere elſe, and thereupon was ſo liberall of the Deuils peculiar, this Ethnike World: Or that in the decay of the Spirituall Power, that *Genius* of the Papacie ſought to
- 60 ſupply it with Temporall (whereof the Chriſtian Kings are more iealous) and therefore hath

Popes daughter, *Hoc iacet in tumulto Lucretia nomine, ſed re Thais, Alexandri filia, ſponſa, nurus.* <sup>f</sup> *Volater.* & *Bal.* <sup>t</sup> Conuerſo à conuerſendo. *Cic. in Ver. ac. 4.* <sup>o</sup> *verrea* præclara. *Etenim quam tu Domum, quam Urbem adiſti, quod ſanum deniq; quod non curſus atq; exterſum reliqueris?* <sup>u</sup> *2. Reg. 21. 13.* <sup>x</sup> *Mat. 23.* <sup>y</sup> See the laſt Chapter of my Pilgrimage, lib. 9. <sup>z</sup> *Lu. 16.* <sup>a</sup> *1. Cor. 4. 4.*

<sup>1</sup> See *Theod. de Nicm.* which liued with him, his three laſt Chapters of the third book. <sup>m</sup> Whence thoſe Verſes, *Vendit Alexander Cruces, Altaria, Chriſtum, Vendere iure poteſt, emerat ille prius.*

<sup>\*</sup> *Bal. ex H. Mar. Euseb. Cap.*

<sup>n</sup> See *Onuph. in vit. Al. 6.*

<sup>o</sup> *Bel. de R. Pont. in præfat.*

<sup>p</sup> *Onuph. in vit. Al. 6. Pontifex*

*in cam totus incubuit curam ut*

*ingentes filio ojes*

*vel summa cum*

*omnium iniuria*

*pararet. And,*

*Inopie, metu rapax atq; ingenio*

*immani ſeuus.*

*opulentiff quemi*

*in Aula Sacerdotem & in his*

*Cardinales Aiquot ceteris diſi-*

*ores veneno tol-*

*landos conſtituit.*

*—Homo ad Italiae exitium na-*

*tus &c. So*

*Guic. l. 1. non*

*ſincerita, non*

*fede, non religi-*

*one auaritia in-*

*ſatiabile crudelta*

*pinche barbara*

*& ardentiff. cupidita diſſal-*

*tare in qualunq; modo ei ſigiloli*

*iquali erano*

*molti. Vid. Ion.*

*Volat &c.*

<sup>q</sup> *Guic. l. 16.*

*Ne noſtri cor-*

*rotti coſtumi è*

*laudata la bonta*

*del Pontefice*

*quando non tra-*

*paſſa la malignità de gli altri*

*huomini.*

<sup>\*</sup> *Volat. Roma*

*Nobilis iam car-*

*nific na ſalla.*

<sup>z</sup> 200000 Du-

cats, & Chriſts

ſeame-leſſe

*Coar. Jon. Hiſt.*

*l. 12.*

<sup>\*</sup> *Pontanus of*

*Lucretia, the*

*Conuerſo*



new forged the *Keyes* into a *Sword*, that what his *Keyes* could not vnlocke (nay, had nothing to doe with, as being no part of the *House*, like the first *Alexander* in the *Gordian Knot*) his *Sword* might chop in *funer*, and giue the one halfe to one, and the other halfe to another. Once, the *Sword* hath made way to the *Keyes* in those parts, and made the *Farme* of the *Popes* *Pardons* a good *Reuenue*.

I question not the *Right* of the *Spanish Crowne* in those parts: *Quis me constituit iudicem?* It is the fault I find in this great *Ardelio*. The *Castilian Industry* I honour (as appeares in the former *Relations*) their *Right* may, for that which is actually in their *Possession*, without this *Bull*, plead *Discouerie* euen before this was written, the *Sword*, *Prescription*, subiection of the *Inhabitants*, long and quiet *Possession*; which, howsoever the *b* Case was at first (wherewith I meddle not) must now, after so long *Succession*, be acknowledged *Iust*. I quarrell the *Pope* onely, and the *Clayme* of that *See*, herein truly *Catholike*, or *Vniuersall*, challenging euen in the *Deuils* *stile*, *Omnia Regna Orbis Terra*, and, *Potestatem hanc uniuersam & gloriam illorum, quia mihi tradita sunt, & cui volo, do illa*. Hee as the *Deuils Vicar* (cui tradita sunt, who by *Tradition* challengeth a *Right* to them, and by *Tradition*, that is, *Treason*, disturbs *Right* and *Rites* in them) doth *Tradere*, betray the *Rights* of them, by *Sentences*, *Censures*, and I know not what *Bulls*. True it is, that the *Catholike Kings* had other reasons to aske this furtherance from the *Pope*, in regard of the *Portugall*, which had obtained former *Bulls* (as is before related; as *d Neptune* with the *Ethnikes*, so *Naugation* with these, is propitiated with *Bulls*) and challenged a *Monopoly* of *Discouerie*; in regard of other *Princes*, to whom the *Popes* *Censures* (as *Thunder* in a darke *Night*) were in those times terrible, especially in a Case otherwise *iust*, where they had made *Discouerie*, and taken and continued *Possession* before all others; and in regard of the *People*, and (those blind *Leaders* of the blind) the *Friers* and *Priests*, who (*si dolosi spes refulserit nummi*) could with this *Bull*, as a *Bagge full of Wind*, make *Musike* to the *Vulgar*, and cause them dance ouer the *Seas* in this Attempt, as no lesse *holy* (approved by that *Holy Father*) then *e DAVIDS dancing before the Arke*. The *Bulls* bellowing, *Auctoritate Omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato PETRO concessa, ac Vicariatus IESU CHRISTI, qua fungimur in terris*, where *Gold* and *Glory* were really proposed, with *Conceits* of *Heauen* and *Merit* annexed, could not but to *Minds* credulous, couetous, and therefore willing, adde *Wind* in *Poupe*, and become another *generall Wind*, to carry them to this *New World*. Besides, in *Mindes* scrupulous touching the lawfulness of that *Designe*, but acknowledging that *fulnesse* of *Apostolicall power* without examination or scruple, it was almost necessarie to obtaine that, which had it beene necessary to themselves, and in their owne *Consciencies* had begun the lawfulness of that *Action*, they would not first haue *discouered* and *possessed* (as the *Bull* it selfe intimates) and afterwards haue demanded the *Popes Grant*; they would not haue *denoued* that was *sanctified* and set apart from their use, and after the *Vowes* haue enquired.

*Reason of State* is eident (*abundans cautela non nocet*) *Religion* of *Episcopall power* to be reason of giuing *iust Title* of *Inheritance*, and that to a *World*, to an *Ethnike World*, *Religio est dicere*, is not onely (as the *Mysteries* of *Religion* are) beyond and aboue, but vtterly against and contrary to reason. But from these *Reasons of State*, haue the *Romists* (whose *Religion* at *Rome* is little elsie but *Reason of State*, as appeared in their late erected *Pillar and ground of Truth*, which pilled and cast the *Truth* to the ground, their *c Council of Trent*) gathered a *Soueraigntie* ouer *Kings* and *Kingdomes*; and therefore whatsoever was done in this kind, whiles their *Houre* and the *Power of Darkenesse* lasted, is set vpon the *Last*, and stretched, to make it a fit *Slipper* for the *Popes* pride-swolne *Foot* to tread vpon the *Neckes* of *Kings* and *Emperors*, as *super Aspidem & Basilicum, with conculcabis Leonem & Draconem*. Thus *Alexander* serued *Frederike*, and thus of the second *Frederike*, said *Innocentius*, then angry with the *Kings* of *England* and *France*, *Expediit ut componamus cum Principe F. ut hos Regulos contemamus recalcitrantes: Contrito enim vel \* pacificato Dracone cito Serpentuli conculcabuntur*. These things he spake *voce susurra, oculos obliquando & naves corrugando*. Yea, now *Bellarmino* is much *i* amused and amazed, that his *Maiestie* should presume to compare himselfe with the *Pope*, being a *King* of two *Ilands* in a *Corner* of the *North*, forgetting that Great *Constantine*, the *Sunne* of the *Empire*, arose from this *Northerne Corner*, which first filled the *Hornes* of the *Popes Miter* with *secular Light*, and by removing the *Imperiall Seat*, made way for that *Starre* to become a full *Moone*: which though a long time (as the *Moone* whiles the *Sunne* shineth) made no great shew, the *Imperiall Greatnesse* continuing; yet in the *Eclipse* of the *Empire*, or that irrecoverable *Night* rather by *Barbarian Deluges* (these also *God* rayfed out of the contemned *North*, to tread vnder foot the *Roman Pride*) seemed to become, in that *Night* of *Darkenesse*, *Lady of the Light*, indeed a *light Lady*; which dazzled with selfe-reflecting her borrowed *Beames*, challenged to be the *Sunne*, and glories to haue procreated this later *Moone*, in translating and erecting the *Westerne Empire*; which, and all other *Christian Kingdomes* must no longer shine, then they admit the *light* of the *Papall Sunne*: otherwise their *Opposition* must be a *Coniunction*, and thence *Thunder-stricken*, like young *Phaetons*, they must loose their *Light*, and *Life*, and *Empire* together, becoming as opacous *Earth* (so some conceit the *Moone*) yea,

b Bar. Ius Regis, l. 1. c. 3. at possessio male fidei non procedit? berde non in primo possessore nec in herede proximo aut necessario, sed legitime in posteris & valide &c. licite suff. ad continuat. dominij non ad inchoationem.  
c Πίστις τῆς βασιλείας τῆς οὐρανίας. Lu. 17. 21. hoc ille titulo & iure Occumenicus Papa.  
d Taurum Neptuno taurum tibi pulcher Apollo. Virg.  
e 2. Sam. 6.

f Ter. beaut. g See the Hist. of that Council published in English, translated out of Italian by M. Brent, which discouers the particular workings of that *Mysterie*.  
h Mat. Paris in Hen. 3. An. 1245.  
\* Yet Michael the Archangel, when he stroue against the *Deuill*, durst not blame him with cursed speaking. Iude 9.  
i Mirum est quod is qui in angulo Septentrionis duas Insulas subiectas habet, ita de se presumat, ut dicat, nulla ex parte me Pontifice esse inferiore a credo. Apolog. p. 26. Vid. resp. E. El. pag. 78.



yea, as darke Hells of Heresies, for not acknowledging the Pope. Let this contemner of the North remember, that this Northerne Corner was once *their Paradise and Garden of Pleasure*, where the Pope himselfe would haue personally for a time resided, and was reiected, euen in his Sonnes dayes, who (*Bellarmino* sayth vnruly) *de consensu Barinum*, resigned his Crowne to the Pope. And let him remember, that of the *ten Hornes which shall hate the Whore*, and make her desolate and naked, and eat her flesh, and burne her with fire, some may come out of some corner of the North. The ancient Almes of *a Peter-pence* he calls Tribute, and alledgeth Ireland to be the Popes Gift. Sure we are, that the Popes haue done their best and worst against the English Right in Ireland, *Paul* the fourth itomacking the Title of King, without

- 10 Papall Licence, *Pius* the fifth impiouly deposing Queene *Elizabeth* by his Bull, and *Gregorie* the thirteenth intending it also to his Sonne, sending Forces with *Stukley* to that purpose, which (the Popes Blessing notwithstanding) perished before they came there. Neyther need we here or there feare *Balaam* or *Balaam* (their Curses are Blessings, though *Sanders* also play the *Shemei*. But for that of Ireland, one of his owne Religion hath answered the Cardinall (whom hee applaude in Diuinitie, but *in forensibus aut rebus seculi* esteemes *hand mediocriter peritum*) That if the Pope or his predecessors euer had right, yet by his Bull, Possession taken by the English, and Prescription, they are vtterly excluded. He alledgeth also, besides the succession of diuers Ages, that the Roman Court knowes well enough, that *a Ius socialis Belli*, and that voluntarie submission, yea supplication of the Irish to King *Henry* for that purpose, which hee accepted and performed, their Letters (as hee saith) still remayning in the Vatican. *Baronius* hath testified, *Hiberniam sponte deditam sibi consensu omnium vendicauit*, and mentions the transcript of those Letters to Pope *Alexander*. *Adrian* indeed writ to King *Henry*, who had before consulted with him, being an Englishman, about those Irish Affaires, asking his aduice and assistance (*Consilium exigit & fauorem Sedis Apost.* are *Adrians* words, and the whole Epistle is of aduice) but by that Epistle nothing was attempted. Fifteene yeeres after, King *Henry* offered aide to King *Dermotus* at his humble solicitation, and by his Sword, not the Popes Keyes (as the most learned Bishop hath answered the Cardinall) together with the submission of the Irish, obtayned that Soueraigntie.

- 30 The same challenge may they make to France, for consultation with Pope *Zacharie*, when *Hilderike* or *Childerike* was deposed by the French. Yea, what Kingdome doe they not finde some Window or Posterne to creepe into, and though these *unjust Stewards cannot digge, and so begge are ashamed*; yet herein, where they haue begged for *a Peter-pence* (as *Adrian* in that Letter of King *Henry*) euen of such Begging will make an Intrument to digge thorow and steale; as some Rogues, which by Begging obtayning an Almes, haue seized on the whole Purse, and robbed their Benefactor.

Thus he, which at first was a holy Bishop, after, by beneficence of Princes, became a Princely Prelate in the Church: next, by a Murtherer and Traytor was made Head and Prince of the Church, in Church-Affaires *a Occumenicall Pope*: after which, by Princes bountie made a Prince, but tributarie; by Treason against his Prince, made himselfe his Princes Peere, and exalting himselfe aboue all that is called God, from the time of *Gregorie* the seuenth hath bestirred him to make himselfe the Prince of all Princes *a Christian*, and now in this *Alexander*, a God of the World, the Stile (as is said) of the Deuill. For whereas *Adrian* had challenged *a omnes Insulas quibus Sol iustitia Christus illuxit & que documenta fidei Christiane susceperunt, ad ius B. Petri & SS. Rom. Ecclesie pertinere*, he doth it but of Christians, and for his *a Peter-pence*, as an argument to receiue Almes, not to giue Scepters: but this Bull hath a lower bellow, and opens his mouth wider, *Omnes Insulas & Terras firmas, inuentas & inueniendas, detectas & detegendas—versus Indiam aut aliam quamcunq. partem*—and that with an imagined Line from the Arctike to the Antartike Pole, by the imaginarie authoritie of Almighty God; with all their Cities, Castles, Dominions, Rights, Iurisdictions: inhibiting all others, under paine of Excommunication, to presume thither for Merchandise, or any other cause, &c. Doe they not challenge the

- 50 Kingdomes of Hungarie, of Arragon, of Spaine it selfe, of Denmarke, of Dalmatia and Croatia, of Portugall, of Naples, Sicilia, Ierusalem, Sardinia, Bohemia, Swethen, Norway, Poland, Scotland, and all the Kingdomes of Europe; as *a Stapleton*, *a Stenchus*, *Marta*, and others haue written. Wee read of a mad man at Athens, which esteemed euery Ship that came into the Hauen his owne, and therefore tooke Inuentories of the Goods. Such is the sobrietie of Rome, as if the World had bene created for the Papacie; whatsoever Promises are made to the Church in Scripture, is their Inheritance; the Pope is the Church, and *Peter*, and Bishop, and Apostle, and Prince: yea, Christ, and God, and Caesar, and all, and more then all; his Centre at Rome, his Circumference euery where and no where. Accordingly he giues, as if he had all things; he takes, scrapes, rakes, as if he had nothing. Wittily did *a Sanctius*, Brother of the King of Arragon, shew himselfe gratefull to his Holinesse for like bountie, whom when the Pope by Card

*a* *Stap. de Mag. R. E. l. 2. c. 1. cui tit. R. E. potestas in orbis Principes eum creatos*, and hauing named very many, hee concludes, *Et igitur huius S. Sedis eximia potestas in Princes Chilianis sua ubi ritate Reges instituit, creare, inaugurare, &c.* *2. Ex Reg. Greg. 7. ap. Stench. l. 2. cont. Vallan pro Dom. Const. Bodin. de Repub. l. 1. c. 9. vid. & Fort. Tort. p. 113. a Ep. Ebrissus ad pel. Apol. p. 2.*

*Ad An. 1245. k Matth. Paris. verè hortus noster deliciarum, est Anglia, verè iuteus inebriatus est, & ubi multa abundant, multa possunt extorqueri de multis.*

*l* *Idem A. 1245. m Vid. Resp. ad Apol. R. P. Epist. El. pag. 82. vid. & Tort. T. pag. 217.*

*n* *Constat ab Ad. Pont. datum fuisse Hib. Hen. 2. A. 1156. pag. 29.*

*o* *Hist. Con. Trent.*

*p* *Balaamis counsellor for Peor, his idolatrous Priests are more to be feared then his Bulls.*

*q* *G. Barret I. C. li. 3. c. 3. ad Lud. 13. Gal. R.*

*q* *Primus titulus ius est. socialis belli & c. tit. 2. deus profecto & Germanus est inuitatio ordinum regni & totius Cleri, 4. Archiep. 25. E. pif. & c.*

*r* *Baron. 10. 11. A. 1171.*

*s* *Vid. Ep. El. ad Card. Bel. Apol. resp. pag. 86. t Lu. 16.*

*u* *Matth. Paris ad A. 1155.*

*x* *Onuph. in vita Bonifac. 3. Nonne Rex Anglorum noster est vasallus & ut plus dicam mancipium, said the Pope, angred with a Letter of Rob.*

*y* *Grosted. A. 1253. ap. Mat. Par. toruo aspicit & supe. bo & c.*

*y* *Mat. Paris A. 1155.*

*z* *The very words before are B. Pet. in 16 denary de f. n. l. d. d. h. u. f. a. u. Sane omnes Insulas &c.*

*z* *Ex Reg. Greg. 7.*

*z* *Ex Reg. Greg. 7.*

*z* *Ex Reg. Greg. 7.*

*z* *Ex Reg. Greg. 7.*

*z* *Ex Reg. Greg. 7.*







So that of Cardinall Bellarmine, *Pasce Oves*, and of Baronius, *Occide & manduca*, and before them, of our Countreyman Cardinall & Poole, for the Popes Temporall Power, *Hac omnia adijciuntur vobis*, Mat. 6. & *Filij eorum qui te humiliaverunt curui ad te venient ut adorent vestigia pedum tuorum*, Ef. 60. for Princes submitting their Scepters to the Pope; and the Divine Providence, in giuing some Temporall peculiar for S. Peters Patrimonie, *In qua administranda exemplo suo Imperatores & Reges proprium eorum hoc est Regiam aitem & veram regendi populos rationem docerent*. And yet how many of them liued in France, and neuer saw S. Peters Patrimonie? And well had it beene, if this *Alexander* had liued in this new World, or quite out of the World: yea, in the rest, their owne Historians shew no man more transported either by

g Reg. Poli. de sum. P. c. 47.

- 10 faction or affection to their kindred, whom they seeke with publike losse to aduance: such examples they haue beene at home. And what good examples they haue beene abroad, appears in that <sup>h</sup> King, which denyed his owne and his progenitors Grants, pretending the example of the Pope his playing fast and loose with his *Non obstante*; and the Popes practise of dispensing with Oathes both of Princes and subiects, can testifie; yea, most Corruptions, which Histories obserue in secular Gouvernement, thence may deriue easie Originals. Hence did that Iustices complaint arise, *Hec, hec, hos ut quid dies expectauimus? Ecce iam civilis Curia exemplo Ecclesiastica coinquinatur & a sulfureo fonte riuulus intoxicatur*. The same Historian tels of Oathes that *multoties iurauerat obseruare, idem Rex contraire non formidauit, credens pro munere absolui*, which is now deuolued to the people, both prohibited and absolved from Oathes by the Pope,
- 20 now that Kings begin to discouer and to hate the Whore, and are not as hee then saith, *PP. & Rex in grauamen Ecclesie confederati*. And much lesse needs it, that the Pope should giue that which is out of the Church, and none of Christs Flocke: For what power haue the Keyes of the <sup>i</sup> Kingdome of Heauen to shut the Doores of Earthly, of meere Earthly Kingdomes? Or to shut out such as were neuer let into the Church? Yea, when Christ sayth, <sup>k</sup> *Let him be as an Ethnike unto thee*, expressing the vtmost extent of the Keyes, how can Ethnikes be included, who are not *sicut*, but *mere & verè Ethnici*, already? S. Paul sayth, <sup>l</sup> *Quid mihi de ijs qui foris sunt indicare? Nonne de ijs qui intus sunt, vos indicatis? Nam eos qui foris sunt Deus indicabit*. This is cited by <sup>m</sup> *Victoria*, a Spanish Diuine, to proue, that the Pope *non habet dominium in Terris Infidelium quia non habet potestatem nisi intra Ecclesiam*; adding, that Infidels are *verè Domini*, seeing the Apostle commands <sup>n</sup> *Tribute to be payd them*, and that the contrarie is *merum commentum in adulationem & assentationem Pontificum*: largely prouing these Propositions, That the Pope is not Lord of the World, That the Temporall Power depends not of him, That it is not subiect to his Temporall Power, and that he hath nothing to doe ordinarily to iudge of Princes Cases, Titles, Iuridictions, nor hath any Power meere Temporal; That the Temporall Power doth not at all depend of the Spirituall. And in his Relections of the <sup>o</sup> Indians he sayth, That it doth not appeare to him, that the Christian Faith hath so beene preached to them, that they are bound *sub nouo peccato* to beleue it, hauing had no probable perswasion, as Miracles and examples of Religious life, but the contrarie: yea, had the Faith beene neuer so probably propounded, and they reiected it, yet might they not therefore
- 40 be spoyled of their Goods, or pursued by Warre. And what right then had the Pope to propound that Method in his Bull, *Vobis subicere & ad fidem Catholicam reducere*? Is any thing more free, then to beleue? Else if <sup>p</sup> Ethnikes had beene to be compelled to enter into the Church (for it is otherwise with the Children of the Kingdome) hee would haue sent Captaines, Conquerors, *Alexanders* (as the Saracens did, and this *Alexander* imitates) not Fishermen, Tent-makers, Publicans, as Sheepe amongst Wolves, not Wolves amongst Sheepe. On whom did *Dauid*, or *Moses*, or any of the ancient Kings make Warre onely for Infidelitie? *Vnde grauissimè peccaremus* (sayth Cardinall <sup>q</sup> *Caietan*) *si fidem Christi Iesu per hanc viam ampliari contenderemus; nec essemus legitimi Domini illorum, sed magna latrocinia committeremus, & teneremur ad restitutionem, utpote iniusti debellatores aut occupatores*. Good men (sayth he) *should be sent, by their Preaching and liuing to conuert them to God; and not such as shall oppresse, spoyle, scandalize, subiect, and make them twice more the Children of Hell, like the Pharises*.

h Mat. Par. in H. 3. An. 1252. nonne dom. Papa multoties factum suum reuocat? Nonne opposito hoc repago? Non Obstante chartis. cassat pre-concessas? Sic & ego &c.

i Idem A. 1251. 1254. & 1256. &c.  
k Mat. 18.  
l 1. Cor. 5. 12, 13.

m Fr. à Viñ. Relec. de Pot. Eccles. n Rom. 13.

o Relec. de Ind. n. 38.

p Caiet. ad sum. 22. q. 66. ar. 8. Domini quamuis Infidels legitimi Domini sunt, nec sunt propter infid. a Domino suorum privati, cum Dominum sit ex iure iustitiae & i. fidelitas ex Domino iure &c.

q Caiet. ubi sup.

And this may be the cause of all those Misorders which happened in the Indies: the most by a blind zeale, thinking they did God seruice in punishing the Idolatries, Man-eating, and Sodomies, and other Vices of the Ethnikes, with Inuasion and Warre, especially where Terror might bring them, or, they being slaine, others by their example, to admit the Gospell; that had not the pietie and pittie of some eye-witnesses excited the Royall Prouision of the Catholike Kings in this case (which ouer so wide Seas and spacious Lands they could not discern) euen Hell it selfe had beene loosed on Earth, vnder the pretext of Heauen, and the Prince of Darkenesse had effected his blackest and cruellest Designes, in habite of an *Angell of Light*. *Tantum Religio poterat suadere malorum*, may we say of this Religious irreligious Bull. Thus Nunho di <sup>r</sup> *Gusman*, a Spanish Commander, relates in an Epistle to the Emperour, his manner of inuading: first, after his Martiall Prologue, preaching to the Indians, God, the Pope, and the King of Spaine, Minister of God on Earth, whom all men in the World ought to obey;

r Ad. T. 1. 1. 1. 1.



f Part. Cas. of  
the Spanish  
Cruelties.  
\* See P. Pilg.  
lib. 2. cap. 20.  
Of Egypt, their  
Mnevis, Apis,  
Bair, Onuphis,  
etc. l. 6. c. 4.  
t Cort. Narvaz.  
ad Imp. car.  
u Benzo l. 3. c. 3.  
See the whole  
Oration groun-  
ded on this  
Bull, the Pope  
thereby giving  
Terra incogni-  
tas, idq. vi co-  
astum &c.  
See Lop. Vaz,  
I. Gomera, G. re.  
de la Vega, &c.  
x Inter arma  
silat Leges.  
Non ex iure ma-  
nu confectum,  
sed magis ferro  
Rem repetent.  
I. Acosta de pro-  
curanda Indo-  
rum salute, l. 1.  
c. 13, 14. l. 2. c. 2,  
3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14,  
15. l. 3. c. 3, 4, 5.  
l. 4. c. 4, 5, &c.  
He also shewes  
how naturall  
Merchandise  
is, and how  
vniust it is to  
prohibite it:  
producing the  
example of the  
Chinois; he  
might, of this  
Bull.  
\* In the last  
Chapter of my  
Pilgrimage.

the silly Indians for feare acknowledging themselves ready to worship the King, till his better instruction. He also perswades the Emperour not to giue libertie to the Christian Indians, and to allow nothing but necessities, that by much subiection they might be made good Christians. Hee quarrels those Quarrellers, that hold this Warre vniust, and seeke to disturbe it, being the most holy and meritorious Worke that can be done in the seruice of God, for which himselfe hoped the diminution of his sinnes. And if I should shew out of *Casus*, a Spanish Bishop in those parts, the executions of this Bull, you would say, that the Brazen Bull of *Phalaris*, the Monster-Bull of *Minos*, the fire-breathing Bull subdued by *Hercules*, the Iewes \* *Behemoth*, and those of *Egypt*, were but Calues to this of Pope *Alexander*: *Hinc illa lachryma*. They had beene Heretikes, if they had not obeyed the Pope, *Subiyciendo & ad fidem Catholicam re-* 10  
*ducendo*. All that wee haue talked of Kings all this while, see effected in \* *Mutezuma* (no meane, though an Ethnike Prince) out of *Cortez* his owne Relations to the Emperour, and in *Atabaliba* or *Atahualpa*, the mightie *Inga*, related by \* *Benzo*, the Dominican *Vincentius de valle viridi* preaching the Popes Gift, to which if he did not willingly yeeld, he should be forced; which that Heathen disclaymed as vniust, saying, That the Pope was foolish and im-  
pudent, to giue so liberally another mans goods. Whereupon the Frier cruelly cryed to the Spaniards, to execute that which was in that manner easie to effect, saying, *agite Christiani, trucidate istos canes &c.* What should I speake of Millions perishing without the Faith by this new Article of Faith, *Subiycere & ad fidem Catholicam reducere*? Of Shambles of Mans flesh, and other Cruelties? I delight not in such Tragædies, I onely shew the *Choragus*, the 20  
Westerne *Alexander* his Bull, or *Bucephalus*, the very *Cerberus* which produced those Dogges which hunted and deuoured the Indians, and yet as *Casus* hath, were more milde then their Masters, Masters indeed of \* immanitie and inhumanitie, but proceeding in this Schoole, and writing Comments and a world of Glosses on this Bull-Text with the blood of a world of men in that New World. How doth *Acosta* and others deplore these bloudie and therefore slip-  
perie foundations of the Faith? That from these forced beginnings, *Nihil pium & salutare nisi per vim agant*? That they haue receiued but a shew of Christianitie, closely embracing their old Superstitions? As a Plant (sayth hee) growing crooked at first, must eyther be broken, or still suffered so to grow, *Ita prorsus cum indorum natio bellici apparatus potius autoritate quam ger-* 30  
*mana predicatione magna ex parte Christum acceperit &c.* So amongst these Indians, as the feare of Warre, not true Preaching, made way to Christianitie, so doe they still retaine feare and a seruite condition, not freely translated to be the Children of God by Regeneration. For nothing is so contrarie to Faith, as is all force and violence. But of their Christianitie I haue spoken  
\* elsewhere out of their owne Authors; I here shew the root of it, this Apostolike Bull. The Poets tell of *Europa* deflowred by *Iupiter*, hauing conueyed her thorow the Sea in forme of a Bull. The Roman *Iupiter* of the Vatican Capitoll, or *S. Angelo Veionis*, hath conueyed ouer this greater part of the World, this New World, America, to be both deflowred and deuoured by Catholike Souldiers, by his Catholike Bull, in faire shew of reducing to Faith, but first men-  
tioning *Fortis*, and *Subiection*. That Bull by the Poets was exalted to a Constellation in Hea-  
uen: This Bull hauing made such hauocke on Earth, rather deserues Hell, except some Poets 40  
which can make their Gods (as the Pope in Canonization, the Priest in Consecration) can deuise also to make new Antartike Heauens to place this Bull in: Our Artike is now too full of Constellations, to admit any such Monsters, lest hee should make terrible Tragedies there also, being since growne so huge, that he incompasseth the two Hemispheres with his hornie Hemi-  
circles.

And for his prohibition of all Christians else to attempt those parts for Merchandise or other cause; what is it, but with his *two Hornes* to push at, and out, both Nature and Grace? That in so large a Tract of the World it may neyther be lawfull to carrie Spirituall, nor recarrie Tem-  
porall Commodities, without leaue obtained, vnder paine of Excommunication? And is it not 50  
*Bulla*, a bubble and froth, the babbling or babelling of Babel, That a Bishop should countermand Merchandise, and the Seruant of Gods Seruants should make himselfe a Lord of Heathen Lords, to giue the Crownes of Kings by Apostolicall *Salutem & benedictionem*? What more Apostat-  
ticall or Apotactticall? What could *Alexanders* Malediction haue done more, or worse? Is *sub-  
iycere* the way to bring to the Catholike Faith? *Proh fidem istam Catholicam! Proh Deum atq;  
hominum fidem! Rara fides pietasq; viris qui castra sequuntur.*

And yet one clause of Baptisme is more Bullish or Hellish then the rest (*per sacri lauacri sus-  
ceptionem qua Mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis*) That Christians, that Kings are obliged, by their very Baptisme obliged to the Apostolicall, that is, in their sense, the Popes Commande-  
ments. \* *Dimisus est Christus? Nunquid PAVLVS crucifixus est pro vobis, aut in nomine* 60  
*PAVLI baptisati estis?* said that glorious Apostle of the Gentiles: but this gentle glorying Apostle will needs in a new Catholike Faith be eyther crucified for vs with Christ, or make a fourth Person in the Trinitie, vnto whose Mandates alone wee are baptized. But *Boniface* had answered this, \* *Vnum caput, non duo capita quasi monstrum, Christus & ipsi Vicarius*. This also fauours *Alexander*, which would needs be a God, the sonne of *Iupiter*, and was so by his  
Paralites

a 1. Co. 1. 13.

b Bon. 3. Extr. de  
maior. & ob.



Parasites acknowledged. And right so the Pope by his flatterers, who affirme, *c Reges cum hac conditione admitti ad Ecclesiam ut Christo Sceptra subijciant*, and consequently, to his Vicar the Pope. We poore men had thought, that in the Sacraments God had vouchsafed vs a great dignitie, that we are therein equall with Kings; that in *one Spirit we had been all baptized into one Body, whether Iewes or Gentiles, whether bond or free*; that *c whosoever were baptized in Christ, had put on Christ, and that there was neither Iew nor Greeke, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female: omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Iesu*. But see how this horned Beast, with his Scepter-pushing Bull blesteth and makes vs more happy then baptized Kings: for we may enioy our Possessions, our Professions as more free, at least not impaired by Baptisme; but Kings are admitted into the Church, with subiection of their Persons and Crownes to the Pope; their subiects also may disclaime, not sweare, forswear Allegiance; yea, it shall be tolerable, nay lawfull, nay commendable, yea, and meritorious for Heauen, to kill the Kings of the Earth, which shall be immorigerous to his Holinesse. Protestants are generally beholden to his Catholike Keyes, which open Rome, the Catholike Mother Citie, to Strumpets, to Iewes, but locke out our Generation to the consuming flames: but Protestant, yea, Catholike Kings, are lesse in fauour then other Catholikes, and in condition like the Iewes: for as they must, in conuerting to Christianitie, renounce their former Wealth (as *f Victor de Carben*, a Christened Iew, complaynes) together with the World and the Deuill, embracing beggerie with their Christianitie, which makes so few Conuerts; so Kings (which euen amongst Heathens knew no Superior but God) must in their Baptisme make a tacite renuntiation of their Kingdomes, when their holy Lord the Pope (*in ordine ad Deum*) shall so adiudge. And if he obey not, he loseth his Baptisme, becomes now an Heretike, and his subiects, by vertue of that his Baptisme also, which obliged him to the Pope, are at the Popes Bulls first lowing to depose him. *Iam sumus ergo pares*, Kings and Iewes may say: it is better (in secular respects) not to professe Christ, not to be baptized. The reason out of *Tortus* his new *Kabala* (as that learned & Bishop calls it) *ortus cuius duplex*, in our naturall birth we are borne subiects to our Prince, in our supernaturall (by Baptismall Regeneration) *congenitum aliud & tacitum iuramentum ad obediendum Principi spirituali, Christi Vicario, Papa*, we are therein sworne forsooth to the Pope. It is no maruell that this Bull hath begotten such brutish Christians in America, as the *h Iesuites* complayne; I hope in the East they teach otherwise.

That the Pope renounceth his Baptismall Name, I neuer knew the reason before, nor doe I now maruell; for then our *Roderigo Borgia* was sworne in Baptisme to Christ, and tacitely to the Pope: but now he is made Pope himselfe, a Name in opposition to all obedience, free from both, *i δ ἀντιθετός, exlex ille*; no more *Roderigo* the Christian, subiect (it is a terme of all others most odious to Popes) to Christ and the Pope, but *Alexander* the Great, the very Pope, emulous to Christ; his Vicar, which doth and receiueth all things, as one and the same Head with Christ (giuing a World, receiuing Kings in Baptisme, as here) and therefore very Antichrist, both as *ἀντιχριστός*, opposing, and as *ἐξουσιόλυτος* in the Name of Christs Vicar, with his two Hornes like the Lambe, extolling himselfe *\* above all that is called God, or that is worshipped*, *ita ut in Templo Dei sedeat ostendens se tanquam sit Deus*. And so I leaue him, and his *Apis*, his Egyptian Babylonicall Bull: In bayting whereof, if I haue playd the fierce English Mastiffe, no man that hath read the storie of the Spanish Dogges in the West Indies (which came out of this Kennell) can be iustly offended. And (besides that the place where I writ this, hath beene a place of argument to moue me to enter these Lists) the argument of this great Worke, Navigations, English Indian Navigations exacted some Apologie, to shrowd themselves from this Bulls pushing and lowd bellowing Thunders, *Nulli omnino hominum liceat hanc Paginam infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire: si quis autem hoc attentare presumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis DEI ac beatorum PETRI & PAULI Apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum*. The Curse that is causelesse, shall not come: God will doe good to *Dauid* for *Shimeis* cursing.

The Catholike Princes of those dayes did not beleue him, nor haue they since. The Portugals (as you shall presently heare) regarded it not; and not the Bull, but other compromise, stayed them from open Hostilitie. The peaceable and wise King of England, *Henry* the seventh, sent presently after, *Cabota* to discover: The French, in their France Antaretike, and new France, and other East and West Navigations, haue contradicted. These beleueed not, that the Sunne shined onely in one Kingdome, whatsoever Combustions this portentuous Comet diffused. And long, long may his Maiestie of Great Brittain spread his long and iust Armes to the furthest East and remotest West, in the gainefull Traffiques, in the painefull Discoueries, in the Glorious and Christian Plantations of his Subiects (maugre such Bug-beare, Bull-beare bellowings) *Salomon* and *Hiram*, Israelites and Tyrians, all Arts and Religions concurring into one Art of Arts, the Truth of Religion, and aduancing of the Faith, together with the glory of his Name, the splendour of his State, the loue of his People, the hopes of his Royall Posteritie to the last of Ages. Amen. Amen.

c Bellar. in his  
Mat. Tort. vid.  
Torturam T.

pag. 32.  
d 1. Cor. 12. 13.  
c Gal. 3. 27. 28.

f Viss. de carb.  
l. 1. c. 4. 5.

g Tort. Tert.  
pag. 201.

h Acofl. se. i. in  
lib. de proc. ind.  
fil.

i 2. Th. 2. vid.  
Down. de An-  
tich. l. 5. c. 6.

k 2. Th. 2. vid.  
Down l. 4. c. 2.

Ch. col.



## §. VII.

*Of the Portugals discontent and compromise with the Spaniard, and their first Discoverie of the East Indies.*

**H**He King of Portugall was much discontent, and sent his Embassadour to the King and Queene, who also sent vnto him in Embassage *Garcia de Herera*; and after that, seeing that the Portugall intended by force to defend his supposed Right to the Ocean, and by a strong Fleet to dispossesse the Castilians of their late Discoverie, sent *Don Pedro de Ayala*, and *Lopez de Caruaial*; the substance of whose Embassage, was to congratulate with King *Iohn* his desire of Peace to be conserued betwixt them, which was also the care of their Catholike Maiesties: And as for that difference touching Discoveries, which the King by Apostolicall Grant and by Possession and Prescription challenged, they would yeeld vnto any honest course, which might maintaine brotherly loue and amitie; themselues being perswaded, that their late Discoverie no way concerned him, nor disturbed their mutuall League, as not neere Guinea, or any of the Portugall Discoveries: That they were content to name fit persons, by way of Iustice to determine the Controuersie, or to put it to his Holinesse, to be heard in the Court at Rome. But secretly they gaue order, that the Businesse should at least be protracted, and continued on foot, till they might heare how their second Fleet succeeded: which the Embassadors performed cunningly, but not vnperceiued of King *Iohn*; who sayd, that Embassage of the Castilians had *neyther Head nor Feet*: smartly insinuating the lame Leg of the one, and the light and vain-glorious Braine of the other Embassador. The Portugall Embassadour had made ouerture of all the North Discoveries thorow the World, to belong to Castile, from the Canaries, and thence Southward to the Portugall. But this was not accepted. Afterwards, three Counsellors of State, on the behalfe of each Kingdome, were employed in this Discoverie of the right and iust Titles and Bounds of the Discoverers: which on the seuenth of Iune, 1493. agreed, That the Line of Partition, contained in the Bull of the Pope, should be extended 270. Leagues further to the West, all from thence Westward to remayne to the Castilian, and Eastward to the Portugall Nauigation and Conquest: That there should be free sayling on both parts, but neyther should send to trade without these Limits. This was put in Writing, and confirmed on the second of Iuly by the Castilian, on the seuen and twentieth of February by the Portugall, Kings; and Cosmographers also employed, which should designe the said Limitation. And now each partie intended to prosecute new Discoveries, King *Iohn* preparing a Fleet for search beyond the Cape of Good Hope, on the Coast of Africa, whereof *Conilian* had given him intelligence. But amidst these preparations, God calls him to the fatall and finall peregrination of all Flesh.

*Bar. in quo sup.*  
*Muff. hist. ind.*  
*l. 1.*  
*Herera, Dec. 1.*  
*l. 2. c. 8, 9, 10.*

The Popes authoritie infringed by a latter accord.

*Emanuel King*  
*of Portugall.*  
*\* Bar. Dec. 1. l. 4.*  
*c. 1.*

*Osor. de reb.*  
*Bras. l. 1.*  
Bay of Saint  
*Helena.*

The folly of a cowardly fellow.

Mutine the fore-runner of greatest Exploits.

*Don Emanuel* succeeded him in that Crowne the twentieth of October, 1495. And the yeere 1497. employed *Vasco di Gama* with three \* Ships, one Victualler with 160. men. This Voyage had beene the rather thus long deferred, because the Portugals in the former Discoverie hauing met with such stormes and tempests neere the Cape which therefore they called *Tormentoso*, a new Conceit possessed most of the Mariners, as had done before touching Cape *Bogiadore*, that there was no sayling any further. But *Gama* feared no such phantasies, and receiuing *Conilians* Map and Instruction, with Letters to the Indian Kings, hoysed sayle on the ninth of Iuly (a season vnfitting, as Experience after shewed) and passing by the Ile of Saint *Iames*, directed his course Eastwards. The first Land he saw, was that which he tearmed the Bay of S. *Helena* (for this was their Customes, to name Lands at their first discoverie, of that Saint on whose day they discovered the same) where, after three moneths ill weather, they went on Land. They tooke some Negros of curled haire, whose Language none of theirs could vnderstand; which receiuing Glasse-Beads, and Bells, with other trifling kindneses, procured their Countreymens familiaritie and traffique by signes for such Victuals as they had. But one Portugall desiring to goe with them to their houses, not liking their diet, and returning with much companie, when he came in sight of his owne, more for feare then any iust cause, cryed out for their helpe. This caused the Portugals to come in to succour, and the Negros to flye, which with their Poles sharpened at the end with Hornes, as with sharpe Darts, wounded the Christians, and amongst many others, *Gama* himselfe. By this fooles occasion they hastened thence, towards the Cape of Good Hope, and encountred such Winterly stormes in the way (the time of the yeere being then vnseasonable) that they were forced to strike sayle, and commit themselues to the Windes boysterous tuition; and the companie importuned *Gama* not to permit them to so terrible a death, but to hast his returne. Which when he constantly refused, they conspired his death: but by his brother *Pauls* relation fore-warned, he fore-armed himselfe with vigilant circumspection, and laying the Masters in the Bolts, became Master himselfe.

On the twentieth of Nouember hee doubled the Cape, and sayled continually neere the Land, which they saw full of Cattell, and People like those at S. *Helena*, naked, inclosing their priuities



privities in a receptacle of Wood, uttering their speech out of the Throat, as it were sobbing. Having refreshed themselves not farre from the Cape, they proceeded, and the eight of December a storme draue them out of sight of Land, whereto with faire Weather they presently returned: and hauing passed two hundred and thirtie miles from their last Watering place, seeing a pleasant Countrey, and the Sea deepe hard by the shore, and much people, on the tenth of Ianuarie he sent one on shore with a Present, who was kindly vsed, and with their Countrey Presents returned. Here *Gama* set two condemned persons on shore (ten of which he had with him, hauing pardon of their liues, with condition to be set on shore where the Gouvernour saw meet) there to obserue the Countrey and People. And proceeding, he came to a goodly Countrey, where the people coloured as the former, were more bold and familiar; and one with ill Arabike signified, that in a Countrey not farre thence, Ships like theirs vsed to come: whence he termed that the *Riuer of good signes*, hoping thence to find out India quickly; erecting also a Stone-Crosse, and naming the Countrey *S. Raphael*, leauing there likewise two other condemned persons.

Benefit of  
condemned  
persons.

After refreshing his sicke companie, he departed, and on the first of March they espyed seuen small Sayles, which made toward the Admirall, and comming neere, with a lowd crie saluted them in Arabike, and made them much Musike. The men had Garments of Silke, with Linnen Turbants wrought with Gold, and Falchions girded to their sides. They came aboard, were well entertained, and tell, that the name of the Iland was Mozambique, the people Ethnike, but a great part inhabited by Mores or Mahumetans. For some knowledge of Diuine Scripture hath in vsuall appellation caused a distinction of these from others which haue no knowledge of God but meere naturall, whom therefore Authors vsuallly call *Idolaters*, or Gentiles and Ethnikes. It was subiect to the King of Quiloa, and thence was ordinarie Trade into Arabia, India, and other parts of the World. They learned, that they had passed Zophala, where is much Gold.

Mozambique  
discouer. d.

\* The Compas,  
and Sea-Cards  
and Quadrants  
in vse with  
Mores in the  
Indian Seas,  
before the Por-  
tugals discou-  
ered them.

It is remarkable, that these Mores vsed both \* Compasse, and Sea-Cards or Plats; Quadrants also, wherewith they obserued the height of places, the Sunnes declinations and distance from the Line; and were furnished with diuers Maritime Mysteries, not much short of the Portugalls. They mistooke the Christians for Mahumetans of Barbary, and therefore vsed them so kindly. *Zacoeia*, the Gouvernour of the place, to whom they had sent Presents, visited them in great pompe, and was feasted on shipboord (the sicke being remoued out of sight, and the rest well armed, for feare of Trecherie) neyther did their superstition forbid them to drinke Wine, if it were not ignorance rather of that Liquor. He inquired of them (not doubting of their Mahumetisme) whether they were \* Mores or Turkes (vsuallly all Mahumetans of Africa, Arabia, and the Indian Coasts are called Mores, from which name, the Greatnesse of the Turke, Tartars, Persian, and Mogull, with I know not what differences of Sect, haue in ordinary appellation exempted them) he asked also of their Weapons and Mahumetan Bookes. *Gama* answered, That they came out of the remotest West; that they vsed such Armour as he saw, with such Ordinance able to ruine Castles; and for his Bookes, he would shew them when he had finished his Iourney: for hee was now in his way to India, and desired his helpe for Pilots to Calicut. This *Zacoeia* promised; and the next day brought him two, with whom hee agreed how much Gold he should giue to conduct him thither. But in the midst of all this kindnesse it being perceiued that they were Christians, they deuised all mischiefe against them, which was by one of those Pilots reuealed to *Gama*. They set vpon the Christians also as they were filling Water.

\* Mores, who  
are vsuallly cal-  
led: I thinke  
that they were  
first so called,  
because out of  
Mauritania,  
they passed first  
into Spain: and  
therefore all of  
that Religion,  
which the Spa-  
nish Nation  
found in their  
Discoueries of  
Africa and In-  
dia, they called  
Mores. But the  
other Nations  
Mahumetan,  
of which, the  
knowledge  
hath come to  
vs ouer land, &  
not by the Ca-  
stilian or Por-  
tugall, retayne  
their own titles,  
as Turkes, &c.

His question is,  
whether they  
came out of  
Barbary, which  
before called  
Mauritania,  
gaue them this  
name of Mores,  
or out of Tur-  
kie?

a Quiloa.

b Mombaza.

c Morish tre-  
cherie.

d Melinde.

e Christians  
of India.

Hereupon *Gama* with his three ships (for the fourth was set on fire before) went to \* Quiloa, but eyther by necessitie, or their Pilots trecherie, were hindered from shore: This Pilot perswaded them to goe to <sup>b</sup> Mombaza, dissembling, that a great part of that Citie were Christians, and that it was a fit place to refresh his sicke men, many of his companie being dead, and the rest feeble. The Land is there fertile, the Ayre wholesome, the People hee found trecherous. For the King sent a ship with a hundred men, armed <sup>c</sup> Turk-fashion, which would all haue entred; but *Gama* onely suffered foure of the principall, who related their Kings desire of his acquaintance, and proffered all kindnesse, if hee would bring his ships neerer the Citie. The King also by two condemned persons whom he put on shore, sent him Spices, and so wrought, that *Gama* intended to fulfill his mind: but in the way fearing a shelve, suddenly commanded to cast anchor. Whereupon his More-Pilots, by selfe-guiltinesse accused, leaped into the Sea, suspecting that their trecherie was reuealed, hauing before couenanted with the King of Mombaza, to set the ships eyther on ground, or in easie possibilitie of taking. The trecherous Pilots escaped in Boats: and in the Night the King sent others closely to cut their Cables, which by vigilant care they auoided.

They departed thence for <sup>d</sup> Melinde, and there arriued on Easter day. The Houses he found of hewen Stone, stately and vsfully built, the Countrey fruitfull, the People Idolaters, blacke, with curled haire, from the Nauell vpwards naked, thence clothed with Silkes to the middle Legge. Here he found <sup>e</sup> Christians of India, which much reioyced at the sight of the Portugals,



and admonished them of many things fitting to their Voyage. Hee was kindly vsed of the Prince (the King himselfe was decrepit) who gaue him a Matter, an Indian for his Nauigation. Hence they departed the two and twentieth of Aprill, and hauing passed the Line, with ioy re- couered sight of the Starres, which so long they had not seene.

§. VIII.

Of GAMA'S Acts at Calicut, and his returne.

**H**e nineteenth of May they had sight of Land, being the high Mountaines neere to Calicut, and came within two miles of the Citie the same day. He gaue thanks to God, and set one of his condemned persons on shore, who was almost oppressed with multitudes pressing to see a man of so vncouth habite, till at last two Merchants of Tunis easily knew him to be a Spaniard: and *Monzaida*, one of them, asked him in Spanish of what parts of Spaine he was; and being answered, of Portugall, invited him home: and hauing made him eat and drinke, went on boord with him to *Gama*, and profered him all kinde- nesse; telling him, that the King of Calecut (whose Customes were his chiefe Reuenues) would be glad of their comming. To him *Gama* sent two of his companie with *Monzaida*, which declared to him, that their King moued by his worthy fame, had sent one of his Cap- taines thither, to establish mutuall loue and amitie. The King gladly heard them, and willed them to bring their Fleet to Pandarane (where hee then was) because the road of Calecut was dangerous in that season of the yeere, and sent a Pilot to effect it. Soone after, the King sent an Officer or Magistrate, called *Catual*, honourably to conduct *Gama* vnto him: who ap- pointing *Paul Gama* his brother ouer the Fleet, bad him, if ought amisse happened to him, that hee should returne home, without further care of him. For neyther could hee effect his Kings desires otherwise, nor they resist that Kings power to relieue him.

*Nairos* are the Guard and Souldiours. Images at the first sight, &c.

\* How neere a consanguini- tie is in all kinds of Idolatry? How easie a passage from ye worship ye know not what, to the worship of the Deuill himselfe? Of these Deuori- ons, see my Pilgrimage, l. 5. The like hap- pened to the Iupon Christi- ans, which see- ing the Picture of *Venus* and *Adonis* in Cap- taine *Saris* his Ship, worship- ped the same, mistaking it for the Picture of the Virgin, &c.

They were no sooner landed, then a Litter receiued each of them (many *Nairos* attending on foot) and after that another, and were brought into a sumptuous Temple, esteemed of great sanctitie, which *Gama* supposed by the structure, and other signes, and because he had heard of many Christians in those parts, to be Christian. At the Temple doore foure men met them naked to the nauill, thence clothed with silke to the knees, hauing three threds from the right shoulder crossed to the left side (the habit of *Bramenes*) which sprinkled holy water on them, and gaue them sweet poulders. The walls of the Temples had many Images painted on them. In the midst was a round high Chappell, with a brazen narrow doore, hauing many steps to it, and within, an Image which the darkenesse would not suffer them to discern, neyther might any enter but the Priests, who approaching to the Image with their finger pointing to it, twice called \* *Maria*, whereat the *Catual* and his companie falling flat on the Earth, presently arose and sayd their prayers. The Portugals thinking it to be some Seruice of the Blessed Virgin, worshipped her after their wonted manner. Thence they passed to another Temple of like magnificence, and after that, to the Kings Palace, Trumpets and Pipes sounding all the while: and the people so thronged, that had not the *Nairos* made way with their Swords, they could not haue passed. At the Gate they were met by certaine Nobles, called *Caimaes*, and approaching to the roome where the King was, an aged man clothed in silke from the shoul- ders to the ankles, comming forth, embraced *Gama*. This was the chiefe of the *Bramenes*. The others being first permitted entrance, he last of all holding *Gama* by the hand, followed. It was a large Hall, with many Benches artificially wrought one aboue another, in forme of a Theatre. The Floore was couered with Silke, the Walls hanged with Curtaines of Silke, embroydered with Gold. The King lay in a rich Bed, with a Tyre on his head set with Stones and wrought with Gold, clothed with Silke, hauing many golden Claspes on the Brest. On his Eares hung Jewels of great value: his Toes and Fingers, with Rings and Gemmes made a glorious splendour: His personage was comely, tall, maiestically. *Gama* saluted him as the vse here is to the King, and was then placed in a Seat next him; the other Portugals also sat downe. Water was brought to wash and coole their hands, and diuers Fruits to refresh them. After this, he questioned *Gama* of his Embassage: who answered, that it was not the Portu- gall custome to declare Embassages in promiscuous and publike Assemblies, but to communicate the same onely with the King and his Councell, or Committees. Hereupon the King remooueth into a fairer Roome, and there heard *Gama* relating the worth of his Master King *Ema- nuel*; who in a magnanimous spirit, hauing heard of the renowned greatnesse of the King of Calicut, and of the rarities of India, had in desire of league and friendship, sent him thither, to begin it in his Name, whence might both Honor also and Profit arise to both parts; and signi- fied, that he had Letters of Credence vnto him. The King courteously receiued his words, and promised to acknowledge the King of Portugall as his Brother: giuing order to the *Catual* to conduct him to the House appointed for his Lodging. The Citie was large, the Houses



not being continued, but with Orchards and Gardens distinguished, meanly built, the Law so providing, onely the Kings House of Stone. This King at that time was chiefe of all the Princes adioyning both in wealth and power. *Of the L.*

After three dayes, *Gama* conducted by the *Catual*, deliuered the King his Letter, and withall a Present, which the King seemed to contemne, but was excused by the vncertaintie of the Nauigation: neyther was any Present so good, as the friendship of such a Prince; from whom also if he expected profit, it should be effected by ships of Merchandize yerely trading thither. He desired, that his Kings Letters might not be interpreted by Saracens, forasmuch as he perceived by *Monzaida*, that they sought him a mischief. *Monzaida* interpreted the Letter, and the King admonished him to be vigilant against Saracenicall fraudes: for which hee thanked him, and departed. These Mores consulted their ruine, and bribed the Courtiers to that end, traducing *Gama* also for a Pyrate and a Spie in shew of a Merchant, a sparke (if not timely quenched) likely soone to bring that whole State in combustion. This they did partly in hatred of the Christian Name, and partly in feare of decaying their Trade, communicated thus to Portugalls. The King wearied with their importunities, fearing to lose their Customes, and feared by the examples of the Mores and Negros in Africa, with some exploits in the way, whose beggerie also he saw in their Kings contemptible Present, and their poore Merchandize, as if he had sent to some wilde Negro Prince; threatned with their departure to some other Prince, and to remove their Staple thither with his manifest losse, perhaps their owne gayne; yeelded to them, and sent the *Catual* to perswade *Gama*, with promise of all kindnesse, if hee would bring his ships neerer, and for securitie deliuer vp his sayles. But he writ to his brother, That if he saw him long detayned, to set sayle homewards: and after much contention, agrees to send on shore his Merchandize, with men to sell them, whereupon he is dismissed to his ship. He complayned to the King of the *Catual*, who gaue him faire promises, but caused his Merchandize to be carryed to Calicut, where he said was better sale. *Malice of Mores.*

*Gama* was content, and euery day sent two or three together, to obserue the Citie, which yet receiued no offence. He desired of the King to leaue a Factor there: whereto the King making angry answer, made no reply, which caused further anger, and two of his men on thore to be committed to custodie, with their Wares. Which when he could not re-obtaine by intreatie, hee set vpon the next ship which came thither, and tooke thence six principall men, and then put off further into the Sea. The King sent to him, saying, hee wondered much hee would apprehend his seruants, seeing hee detayned the two Portugals only, till hee had written to King *Emanuel*, whom also the next day hee sent with Letters: but withheld the Wares for their Factor, if hee would send any, to dispose thereof. But *Gama* sayd hee would now leaue none, and would keepe the men till hee had his goods. The day after, *Monzaida* came to them, and told them, that hee had beene in danger of his life for their sakes, which hauing very hardly escaped, hee prayed to carry him with them to Portugall; which they did, and there hee became Christian. The King sent his Wares in seuen Boats; but *Gama* refused, and sayd hee would carry those Malabars into Portugall, to testifie how iniuriouly the King of Calicut had vsed him: and presently discharging his Ordenance, chased them away. 40 The King was enraged, but his Nauie was at that season vnrigged, and in harbour. Yet he sent out threescore Merchants against them, which were by sudden tempest disperied.

*Gama* from the next Port where hee could arriue, sent a Letter with good words to the King, by one of his Captiues seruants. There hee was assaulted by *Timoia*, a Pyrat, with eight ships, whereof hee tooke one well furnished, the rest fled. Hee went to Anchedita, to amend his ships, and there was saluted by a seruant of *Zabaius*, Lord of Goa, an Italian, who in the name of his Master offered him all kindnesse, if hee would goe thither. This man professed himselfe an Italian, captiued by Pyrates, and so brought to serue a Mahumetan in these parts. *Gama* perceiuing him wittie, but curious and busie, suspected and apprehended him, who being tortured, confessed himselfe a Tartarian Iew, sent by *Zabaius* for a Spie, whom he carryed with him into Portugall, where hee was baptized, and proued seruiceable in many things to the King. *Timoia a Pyrate. Anchedita. Goa, and their necherie.*

Thence hee now hasted his departure, and the time being vnseasonable, came slowly to Magadoxo, on the African shore: and because they were Mahumetans, funke and spoyled their ships, and ruined a great part of their Walls. At Melinde hee was kindly entertained, and his men well refreshed: and within fve dayes, for feare of Winter at the Cape, set sayle, with an Embassadour from Melinde to Portugall. Hee burnt, as vnfit for the Voyage, the ship of *Paul Gama*, hauing need of the Mariners to supply the other two. *Magadoxo. Melinde.*

On the seuen and twentieth of February hee came to an Island called Zanzibar, foure and twentie miles from the Continent, where hee was well entertayned and refreshed of the Prince, though a More. Hee refreshed himselfe againe at Saint *Blases* watering, and on the fve and twentieth of Aprill doubled the Cape. Thence to Saint *Iago*, where by tempest they were parted; *Celius* the other Captaine next way to Lisbone, *Gama* to the Tercera, where his brother *Paul* died; and soone after, to Lisbone, in the yeere 1499. *Zanzibar. Watering of S. Blas.*



where *Calus* had related all to the King before. Of an hundred fortie eight, or as others report, an hundred and threescore, there returned onely five and fiftie, and those very feeble.

§. IX.

*The second Fleet sent to the East Indies: Their discoverie of  
Brasill, and other Acts.*

**K**ing *Emmanuel* set forth a second Fleet of thirteene ships, well furnished, with fiftene hundred souldiors and munition, vnder *Peter Alvarez Capralis*, whom he commanded to hold peace and confirme amitie, if it might be, with the King of Calicut, and if it were possible, to get leaue of him to build a Fort neere the Citie, where they might be secure from Saracenicall Hostilitie. Hee sent also five *Franciscans* for holy Offices, both to the Portugals, and if meanes were offered, for conuersion of the Infidels. Hee departed from Lisbon the eight of March, in the secular yeere: and holding his course to *S. Iago*, there met with a storme which scattered the Fleet, and forced one ship to returne home. 10

1500. The rest of the Fleet hauing two dayes after the Tempest stayed in vaine for it, let sayle Westward, and on the three and twentieth of Aprill had sight of Land, with no lesse maruell 20

Land of Brasil first discovered then ioy. *Capralis* commanded the Master to goe neere, and take view of the shore, which returned newes of a fertile and well watered Soyle, the Natiues naked, with long hayre, and Bowes and Arrowes. But that night a storme tooke them, which much tormented them, till

Puerto Seguro at last he light into a safe Harbour, which thereupon he called *Puerto Seguro*. They tooke two Fishermen, which by no signes could or would vnderstand them, whom with Bells, Bracelets, and Glasses they restored on shore; which brought the rest with store of Meale and Fruits for like Traffique. Hee named this Land of the holy Crosse, since of store of that Wood, called Brasill; and hauing erected a Stone Pillar, sent one of his ships backe to Portugall with that newes. Hee had Masse and a Sermon on shore, to the great astonishment of the Sauages.

Difficulties in all great Attempts. On the fift of May hee departed, and on the three and twentieth a sudden violent storme 30

sunke foure of their ships, not one man escaping; and soone after, the remayning seuen with another tempest were leuered: and on the five and twentieth of Iuly six of them held their course together, one being separated, which pierced into the Arabian Gulfe, or Red Sea; and thence returned home with onely six men, the rest perishing by famine and diseases. The other six hauing doubled the Cape of good Hope, found Land pleasant and fertile, but the people would not trade with them, then destitute of prouision. At last they espyed two ships at anchor, which hauing sight of the Portugals, fled, but were pursued and taken: but learning that they belonged to *Forteima*, a Prince in amitie with the King of Melinde, he let them passe with great store of Gold which they had brought from Zofala, with other rich commodities. At Mozambique he watered without impediment, and bought Victuals, and hired a Pilot to *Quiloa*. 40

Zofala. The King of *Quiloa*'s Dominion extended nine hundred miles in length, his subjects being some blacke, some coloured, speake Arabike, besides other Languages, Merchants of diuers Countries trading amongst them. It is separate from Land with a narrow Sea, foure hundred miles from Mozambique, full of Springs, Trees, Cattell wilde and tame, rich in Soyle and Fishing. The Citie great and populous, with magnificent Houses, with store of furniture: Their ships, for want of Pitch, trimmed with a bastard Frankincense. *Capralis* sent to *Abraham* the King, who kindly entertayned the Messengers, and promised next day to come aboard: which hee did in Barges gallantly decked, his companie attyred in Gold, Purple, or Silke, with Swords and Daggers, hauing in the Hilts gemmes of great splendour; the Ayre filled with Trumpets and Pipes, confused with the Trumpets and Ordinance of the Portugals, who in 50

their best attyre went into their Boats to meet him. The King heard his Letters and Embassage with ioy, and promised to hold his Master for his brother, and the next day was designed for confirmation of the League. The Mores with wily arts interuert this amitie, vpbrayding to the King his simplicitie, that would giue such credit to Pyrats.

Mores trecherie. *Capralis* hearing this, holdeth on his way to Melinde, where with incredible gladnesse hee was welcommed, and the Embassador now returned to his Master with the King of Portugals Presents, namely, a faire Horse sumptuously trapped, with other gifts. Here *Capralis* would not stay, but left two exiles or condemned persons there, to enquire if any way were open to *Prester Iohn*, and to learne the Customes of the Countrey. On the two and twentieth of

Melinde. August he came to Anchedia, and there a while refreshed his companie; which hauing done, 60

Anchediua. he sayled to Calicut. The King sent two *Nairos* with a Guzarate Merchant to salute *Capralis*, who sent with them backe his Christened Iew, and foure of those *Nairos*, or Courtiers, which *Gama* had taken the yeere before. (two hee detayned as Pledges) with *Iohn Sa'a* a Portugall, all in Portugall habite, whereat the King reioyced. In a Palace neere the shore, the King entertayned



tertaind *Capralis*, who had left *Sancius Thoaxe* with command of the Fleet, and after much complement, promised him more then he asked: Gave them free libertie of Trade, and Houses fitting thereto, the Patent or Charter being a Table of Gold, with Letters engraved, for perpetuall memorie. He gaue them leaue to erect the Banner of King *Emanuel* on their Houle top, as a Monument of his loue to their Master. Hearing of a strong and well manned ship coming from Cochin to Cambaia, with a mightie and warly Elephant therein, he sent to entreat *Capralis* to take it, whereto he employed one of his smallest Vessels: whereat the King marvelled, hauing before set certaine Saracens or Mores of purpose to obserue their behavior in that Enterprise, especially seeing the great ship chased to Cananor, about fortie miles North from

Cananor.

10 Calicut, into which they compelled her the next day as Captiue to returne.

This did but kindle the enuy of the Mores, who to their wonted Arts added the fore-stalling the Market, and giuing greater prices: so, that whereas they had beene promised lading in twentie dayes, they had expected three moneths, when meane time the Saracenicall ships were laden and gone, contrarie to their late League, which concluded them the first to be serued. He sent notice to the King, who seemed to be offended with the Mores, giuing them leaue to lade themselves out of their ships, paying them their money layd out. *Capralis* fearing to execute this, by *Correa* the Cape Merchant was importuned; and one ship now setting sayle, was brought backe by them into the Hauen, whereupon grew great broyles, the King seeming contented they should try it out betwixt them. They therefore with a companie of *Nairos*,

Warre began  
twixt Mores  
and Portugals.

20 on the seuenteenth of December rush into the Portugall House, which *Correa* by a signe erected signifieth to the Fleet. He had with him seuentie men against foure thousand, so that he with fiftie others were slaine: the rest were by the assistance of their fellows in Boats conueyed aboard. *Capralis* then sick of a Quartane, and more of this disaster, perceiuing the King concious (a Fautor, if not Author) of this designe, assayed the next day ten great ships of the Mores, and slew six hundred of them, distributed the rest as slaues in their ships, and laded themselves with the goods, being forced for want of prouision to kill three Elephants, and salt them for food. Which done, hee set the ships on fire, and that in the night, for greater terror. The morrow next he assaulted the Towne with Ordenance from his ships, and slew many, one of which a Courtier, at the Kings feet.

30 After this, *Capralis* went to Cochin, a hundred and seuentie miles Southward, being a sure Hauen. The King was then poore, and tributarie to Calicut. To him he sent an Indian *Iogue*, a begging Frier of that *Bramene* Religion, which by the Portugall Friars had beene conuerted and baptized by the Name of *Michael*. The King promised all that they requested, and entertained them in a House fit for Trade. The Kings of Cananor and Coulam sent thither to them offer of League and Traffique. But *Capralis* fixed here his Staple: where two Christians of Cranganor, twentie miles distant, desired and obtayned of him to carry them into Portugall, that they might haue a sight of Rome and Ierusalem.

Cochin.

Coulam.

Staple erected  
at Cochin.

Not long after, hee had newes of the King of Calicuts Fleet, of twentie great ships, and many small, with fiftene hundred men therein, sent to be reuenged of the Portugals, which

40 he went forth to assaile, but was scant of Winde which they had, and willingly wanted, for feare of the Ordenance. So leauing two Factors at Cochin, and hauing taken in the rest of his freight at Cananor, he departed the sixteenth of Ianuary, and neere to Melinde tooke a ship, which perceiuing it belonged to a More of Cambaia, hee dismissed, professing no quarrell in India, but to Calicut alone, and the Mores of Mecca. One of their ships was here wracked, the remainders whereof he burned, to preuent the enemies spoyle. He employed one of his ships in the search of Zophala, and returned with the rest to Lisbone, where he arriued the last of Iuly, and was welcommed of the King, who had before sent three other ships on the same Voyage. And in the yeere following, 1502. hee sent *Vascul Gama* againe with ten ships, and *Soderius* with another Fleet, giuing him commission to make himselfe \* Lord of the Sea, and to doe his

The third, and  
fourth, and fift  
Voyages to  
India.\* Commission  
to make them-  
selves LL. of  
the Sea.

50 ytmost against the Mores. This consisted of fiftene ships. Fiue others he sent vnder *Stephen Gama*, and so proceeded in his fortunes, that in a few yeeres he made himselfe Lord of the Indian Trade and Nauigation, and subdued the Kingdomes of Ormus, Goa, and Malacca, with other parts of the East, to the Portugall Scepter, to the great enriching of that State, and the Indian partakers; whereof Cochin hath from a poore citate arisen to greatnesse, and Calicut beene eclipsed.

But as those Spanish Westerne Discoveries and Acts, so these Easterne of the Portugals I leaue to their owne Authors: such as for the former, are *P. Martyr*, *Cieça*, *Viega*, *Onedo*, *Herera*, *Gomara*, *Benzo*, and the rest; and for the later, *Barrins*, *Orosius*, *Maffaus*, *Castaneda*, and others. I intend in this place onely to shew the beginning of Trade, and Naui-  
60 gation in both parts: and the occasion hence arising, of the first sayling round about the Globe.



## d. X.

ALBUQUERQUES Exploits, and the first knowledge of  
the Molucca's.

Molucca's.



E haue heard of the Quarrell twixt Siuill and Lisbon, or the Castilian and Portugall compounded, each sharing a moitie of the World. Some question grew of the Molucca's, after the discouerie of them by the Portugals, whether they appertayned to the Castilian or Lusitanian share. It is to be considered, that ten yeeres after *Gama's* discouerie, and ill vsage at Calecut, the Portugalls sought all this time reuenge, and in great part effected it, notwithstanding the Indian Potentates, the Egyptian Sultans assistance (as long after the Turkes succeeding in that State and Quarrell) maintaining their Trade, and propagating their Sea and Land-Soueraigntie in those parts, although with some vicissitude of fortune, and with losse euen this Summer of some of their principall Commanders: *Almeida* the late Viceroy basely perishing neere the Cape of Good Hope, by the hands of wilde Negros; *Cotinus*, whiles hee enuyed any partner in the glory of taking the Kings Palace at Calecut, whiles *Albuquerque* set the Citie on fire, and permitting his souldiors to ouer-hastie pillage, losing his late-gotten purchase, and himselfe; and *Albuquerque* himselfe carryed away neere dead, with diuers wounds.

Maff. l. 4.  
Malacca.  
Cape Cory.  
G. of Bengala.  
Samotra.

Chryse, or Aurea  
Chersonesus.

Whiles these things were done at Calecut, *Didacus Lupius Sequeria* was sent out of Portugall, to begin amitie with Malacca: who was the first that hauing passed the Promontorie Cory, and sayling thorow the Bengalan or Gangetike Bay, touched on Sumatra, diuided by a narrow and dangerous Strait from the Continent of Malacca, eyther being or supposed to bee in old times a Chersonesus or *Pen-Insula* (euey where encompassed with Waues, but by one Neck of Land fastned to the Maine) and called as some will haue (though others ascribe it to Malacca and the Siam Kingdome) *Aurea*, or the Golden, being indeed rich in Gold, and other Metals, as this ensuing Historie will shew.

Mores treche-  
rie at Malacca.

Cheffe-play in  
India.

*Sequeria* hauing here made League with the Kings of Pedir and Achen, and erected such Stone Pillars as before are mentioned, in both places, as Monuments thereof, passed to Malacca, where hee receiued great kindnesse of *Mamudius* a Mahumetan, which had vsurped that State by force from the Siamite, who yet as the *Samorin*, or King of Calecut, by the Mores was altered, and sought by Treason to murder the Portugals, and seize on their ships. For pretending, after League confirmed, to entertayne him in a Feast, *Sequeria* hauing intelligence, excused himselfe by sicknesse: whereupon hee offered extraordinarie fauour to lade his ships (contrarie to the custome of that Port) before all those which had beene there before them, which must bee carried closely, for feare of disgust and mutinie of other Merchants, which *Sequeria* accepted thankfully, and sent his men to diuers places assigned. *Patiacus*, the sonne of *Vtimutis*, the next man in Malacca after the King, was sent aboard to complement with him, till a signe giuen by smoake from a certaine place, should at once arme the rest in other places, and him on ship-board to sudden and vnexpected slaughter. It happened, that *Sequeria*, at *Patiacus* his coming, was at Chesse; which hee dissemblingly willed him to continue, that he might obserue our difference from them in that Play. But whiles hee waited the smoake, others of Malacca had not that patience, but disorderly began their furie, which was espyed from the ship tops by a Mariner, who cryed *Treason*: whereupon they running to their Armes, the Malaccans leaped ouer board, and they sent some to helpe their fellowes, whiles the rest cut their Cables, to haue Sea-roome for their Ship-fights, and by terror of their Ordenance easily chaled the Nauie, set purposely to assaile them. But of those on shore, fortie were slaine, and more captiued, which ministred iust cause of quarrell to their Countreymen, whom *Sequeria* had sent notice hereof, himselfe passing directly to the Cape, and so to Lisbon.

Ormuz tribu-  
tarie to Portu-  
gall.

Bar. Dec. 2. l. 10.  
Maff. l. 4. in fine.  
See Bar. Dec. 2.  
l. 5, 6 & 7.  
Ofor. de reb.  
Em. 7, 8, 9, 10.

Goa wonne  
and lost, and  
recouered a-  
gaine.

*Albuquerque* had now recouered of his wounds, and minded to recouer Ormuz, the King whereof had before acknowledged Vassallage to King *Emanuel*, with fiftene thousand Serafines of Gold yeerely tribute, and leaue to the Portugals to erect there a Fort; which the slacknesse first, and after that, open mutinie of his owne men, had frustrated; *Zeisadin* the King hauing intelligence thereof, and thereby taking occasion to shake off the Portugall yoake. Hee pretended feare of *Ismael* the Persian *Xa*, or *Sophi*, whose tributarie he was, but was regayned afterwards (it was the last Act of *Albuquerque's* Life) and the Persian also not discontented, yea, sending an Embassadour to treat of Peace, as hauing their Actions in admiration. But at this time hauing collected a Fleet of one and twentie sayle, in his way thither was intercepted by the opportunitie of Goa, whose Prince *Zabains*, in the midst of his preparations against the Portugals, was lately dead, leauing his young sonne *Idalcan* as full of troubles, as empty of experience. *Timoia*, a famous Pyrate, and Lord of an Iland not farre off, gaue this intelligence, with proffer of his best assistance therein: Whereupon a suddaine Siege, and surprize thereof, was made, vpon Conditions; the Portugals wondering to see themselves so easily Lords of such Wealth. But *Idalcan* with force and famine soone expelled them; which



which yet, not long after, they recovered, to the great honour of that Nation in these parts.

Intending next to enter the Red Sea, the Northwest Windes repelled this victorious General or Vice-roy from that attempt, but offered faire oportunitie for Malacca, which he readily apprehended: and first demanded his Prisoners of *Mamudius*, which hee sayd were fled; but seeing his Towne on fire, was forced to present vnto him. And when his Conditions demanded seemed great, namely, the charges of both Fleets, and restitution of things lost; *Mamudius* was animated by some, rather to defend himselfe by Warre: the effect whereof, was the losse of that petty Kingdome, and of himselfe with griefe.

Red Sea.

Malacca won.

- 10 In the way thither, *Albuquerque* had met with some ships lately come from thence, which he assaulted and tooke: in which prelude of a greater Warre, this happened remarkable, That *Naodabegua*, one of those which had before conspired against *Sequeria*, receiued diuers wounds, by which at last hee fell, but neyther Bloud nor Soule issued, which both, as from a broken Vessell, suddenly fled, after a gold Chayne was taken from his arme. The cause, they learned to be a Bone of a Beast called Cabis, in the Countrey of Siam, which being included in that Chayne, included the bloud also, those open passages notwithstanding. This Jewell was sent into Portugall for a raritie, but perished by shipwracke in the way.

A Chayne of strange vertue. Cabis, a strange Beast.

- 20 The victorie at Malacca spread the Portugall fame, caused Leagues and Legates of diuers Nations; and occasioned their search and discouerie of the Ilands of Amboino, Banda, and the Molucca's. Yea, the *Samorin* of Calcut, and *Idalcan* himselfe sought their amitie, and the *Negus* of Abassia or *Prester Iohn* sent an Embassador into Portugall. The King of Maldiva became Vassall to King *Emanuel*. *Antonius Abreus* was employed for the Molucca's: which first came to Iava, then to Amboino, setting his Stone Pillars in both places: next to Banda, the name of diuers Ilands, where Nutmegs and Mace onely, for ought then knowne, in all the World, did grow. The fame of Malacca had pierced hither, and prepared eae Conditions to a League; as also to the Molucca's: where the two emulous Kings of Ternate and Tidore were ambitious which should first winne them to their side; their mutuall Quarrels opening a ready aduantage to the Portugals, by taking part with one to make his best of both.

Amboino, Banda, Molucca's.

Maldiva.

- 30 These Quarrels they haue transmitted to their Posteritie; and euen at this day the Hollander taking part with the one, and the Spaniard (who hath here succeeded the Portugall) with the other, out of their euils gather benefit to themselves. So foolish, and not impious alone, is Strife, that besides mutuall mischiefs to and by each other, they expose themselves to foraine both scorne and gayne.

## CHAP. II.

- 40 of FERNANDVS MAGALIANES: The occasion of his Voyage, and the particulars of the same, with the compassing of the World by the Ship called San Victoria; gathered out of \* ANTONIO PIGAFETTA, an Italian of Vicenza, who was one in the said Circum-Navigation, as also from diuers other Authors.

\* Pigafetta's Booke is extant in Ramusio's first Tome; and a great part thereof Englished by R. Eden, to which here is added other necessary parts thereof, out of Ramusio's Copy.



- 50 NE which serued vnder *Albuquerque* in these victorious Warres, was *Fernandus Magalians*, a Portugall, a Gentleman of great spirit: who hauing made good and manyfold prooffe of his valour and value both in Africa and India, and being reiected in a suit to the King, for augmenting his stipend halfe a Duckat a moneth; conceiuing deepe indignation hereat, he renounced his allegiance to his Master King *Emanuel*, and betooke himselfe to the Court of Castile, with *Ruy Falero*, a professed Astrologer (the Portugals say, a Coniurer) and acquainted the Emperour, that the Ilands of Banda and of the Molucca's (the one the onely Store-house of Nature for Nutmegs and Mace, the other for Cloues) appertained to him, by that Diuision which King *Iohn* the second and King *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* of Castile had agreed on, that is, to the Westerne moitie of the World, from the prescribed Limits before mentioned. And with a bold and admirable attempt, offered also by the West to discouer these rich Ilands of 60 Spicerie.

Of. l. 11. Mag. l. 8. Magal Voyage translated out of Portug. Ma. Transiluanus Epist. ad Ramus. Herrera Dec. 2. l. 3. c. 10. Lop. Vaz. &c.

The Portugall Authors speake here nothing but Treason, and cry out vpon him as a Traitor, for sowing Seeds likely to produce Warre twixt Castile and Portugall: Nor doe I, in those things, vndertake to iustifie him. But out of his whatsoeuer euill, God produced this good to the World, that it was first by his meanes sayled round: Nor was his neglect of his Countrey neglected,



neglected, or reuengefull mind vnreuenged, as the sequele manifesteth, by his vntimely and violent death.

Five ships were furnished at the Emperors command: the *Trinitie* Admirall, *Stephen Gomes* a Portugall, Pilot; of *San Victoria*, was *Luys de Mendoza* Captaine; *John de Cartagena* of the ship *S. Antonio*; *John Serran* of the ship *S. Iago*; and *Gaspar de Quesada* of the ship *Conception*: *Magalanes* himselfe being made Generall. The whole companie was two hundred thirtie seuen, or (as some say) two hundred and fiftie; of which, thirtie were Portugals. On the tenth of August, 1519. they departed from Siuill; the six and twentieth of September they arriued at Tenarife; the third of October they sayled betwixt the Ilands and Cape Verde. They sayled many dayes in the sight of the Coast of Guinea, and had a great calme seuentie 10 dayes, which they spent in attaining the Line.

They lost the  
sight of the  
North starre.  
The Iland of  
Brasile.  
The South  
Pole.  
Sugar.

When they had sayled past the Equinoctiall Line, they lost the sight of the North starre, and sayled by the South-west, vntill they came to a Land named *Brasilia*, being two and twentie degrees and a halfe toward the South Pole or Pole Antartike. This Land is continuate, and one firme Land with the Cape of Saint *Augustine*, which is eight degrees from the Equinoctiall. In this Land they were refreshed with many good Fruits of innumerable kindes, and found here also very good Sugar Canes, and diuers kindes of Beasts and other things, which I omit for breuitie.

Canibals.  
Giants.

*Insule Gemma-  
rum.*  
*Cap. S. Marie.*

They departed from this Land, and sayled to the foure and twentieth degree and a halfe, toward the Pole Antartike, where they found a great Riuer of fresh Water, and certaine Ca- 20 nibals. Of these, they saw one out of their ships, of stature as big as a Giant, hauing a voyce like a Bull. Our men pursued them, but they were so swift of foot, that they could not ouertake them. About the mouth of this Riuer are seuen Ilands, in the biggest whereof they found certaine precious Stones, and called it the Cape of Saint *Mary*. The Spaniards thought, that by this Riuer they might haue passed into the South Sea: But they were deceiued in their opinion; for there was none other passage then by the Riuer, which is seuentene Leagues large in the mouth.

The Pole An-  
tartike.  
Pengwins and  
Seales.

Thus following this Coast by the tract of the Land toward the Pole Antartike, they came to a place where were two Ilands replenished with Pengwins and Seales. These were in such number, that in an houre all the five ships might haue beene laden with Pengwins, being all 30 of blacke colour, and such as cannot flye. They liue of Fish, and are so fat, that they could scarcely slay them. They haue no Feathers, but a certaine Downe, and their bylls like Rauens bylls. Here were they in great danger by Tempest: But as soone as the three Fires, called Saint *Helen*, Saint *Nicholas*, and Saint *Clare*, appeared vpon the Cables of the ships, suddenly the tempest and furie of the Windes ceased.

The 49. degree  
of the South  
Pole.

Giants.

The bignesse  
of the Giants.

Departing from hence, they sayled to the nine and fortieth degree and a halfe, vnder the Pole Antartike: where being Wintered, they were inforced to remayne there for the space of two moneths, all which time they saw no man, except that one day by chance they espyed a man of the stature of a Giant, who came to the Hauen dancing and singing, and shortly after seemed to cast dust ouer his head. The Captaine sent one of his men to the shore with the ship Boat, who made the like signe of peace. The which thing the Giant seeing, was out of 40 feare, and came with the Captaines seruant to his presence into a little Iland. When hee saw the Captaine with certaine of his companie about him, hee was greatly amazed, and made signes, holding vp his hand to Heauen, signifying thereby, that our men came from thence. This Giant was so big, that the head of one of our men, of a meane stature, came but to his Waste. He was of good corporature, and well made in all parts of his body, with a large Vi- sage, painted with diuers colours, but for the most part yellow. Vpon his Cheekes were painted two Harts, and red Circles about his Eyes. The Hayre of his Head was coloured white, and his Apparrell was the Skinne of a Beast sowed together. This Beast (as seemed vnto vs) had a large head, and great eares like vnto a Mule, with the body of a Cammell, and tayle of a 50 Horse. The feet of the Giant were foulded in the said Skinne, after the manner of shooes. He had in his hand a big and short Bowe, the String whereof was made of a sinew of that Beast. He had also a Bundell of long Arrowes, made of Reedes, feathered after the manner of ours, typt with sharpe stones in the stead of Iron heads. The Captaine caused him to eat and drinke, and gaue him many things, and among other, a great Looking-Glasse: In the which, as soone as he saw his owne likenesse, hee was suddenly afraid, and started backe with such violence, that he ouerthrew two that stood neerest about him. When the Captaine had thus giuen him certaine Hawkes Bells, and other great Bells, with a Looking-Glasse, a Combe, and a payre of Beads of Glasse, he sent him to land with foure of his owne men well armed.

Another Gi-  
ant.

Shortly after, they saw another Giant, of somewhat greater stature, with his Bowe and Ar- 60 rowes in his hand. As hee drew neere vnto our men, he layd his hand on his head, and pointed vp toward Heauen, and our men did the like. The Captaine sent his ship Boat, to bring him to a little Iland, being in the Hauen. This Giant was very tractable, and pleasant. Hee sung and danced, and in his dancing, left the print of his feet on the ground. Hee remayned long with



with our men, who named him *Iohn*. Hee could well speake, and plainly pronounce these words, *Iesus, Au: Maria, Iohannes*, euen as wee doe, but with a bigger voyce. The Captaine gaue him a Shirt of Linnen Cloth, and a Coat of white Woollen Cloth; also a Cap, a Combe, a Looking-Glasse, with diuers such other things, and so sent him to his companie. The day following hee resorted againe to the shippes, and brought with him one of those great Beasts, which hee gaue the Captaine. But after that day they neuer saw him more, supposing him to be slaine of his owne company, for the conuersation he had with our men.

After other fifteene dayes were past, there came foure other Giants without any Weapons, but had hid their Bowes and Arrowes in certaine Bushes. The Captaine retayned two of these, which were youngest and best made. Hee tooke them by a deceit; giuing them Knyues, Sheeres, Looking-Glasses, Bells, Beades of Crystall, and such other Trifles, hee so filled their hands, that they could hold no more: then caused two payre of shackles of Iron to be put on their legges, making signes, that hee would also giue them those Chaynes; which they liked very well, because they were made of bright and shining metall. And whereas they could not carry them, because their hands were full, the other Giants would haue carryed them: but the Captaine would not suffer them. When they felt the shackles fast about their legges, they began to doubt: but the Captaine did put them in comfort, and bad them stand still. In fine, when they saw how they were deceiued, they roared like Bulls, and cryed vpon their great Deuill *Setebos*, to helpe them. Being thus taken, they were immediately seperate and put in sundry shippes. They could neuer binde the hands of the other two: yet was one of them with much difficultie ouerthrowne by nine of our men, and his hands bound; but he suddenly loosed himselfe, and fled, as did also the other that came with them. In their flying, they shot off their Arrowes, and slew one of our men. They say, that when any of them die, there appeare ten or twelue Deuils, leaping and dancing about the bodie of the dead, and seeme to haue their bodies painted with diuers colours, and that among other, there is one seene bigger then the residue, who maketh great mirth and reioycing. This great Deuill they call *Setebos*, and call the lesse *Chelente*. One of these Giants which they tooke, declared by signes, that hee had seene Deuils with two hornes about their heads, with long hayre downe to their feet; and that they cast forth fire at their throats both before and behind. The Captaine named these people *Patagoni*. The most part of them weare the Skinnies of such Beasts whereof I haue spoken before: and haue no Houses of continuance, but make certaine Cottages, which they couer with the said Skinnies, and carry them from place to place. They liue of raw Flesh, and a certaine sweet Root, which they call *Capar*. They are very iealous of their Women. When they are sicke at the stomacke, they put an Arrow halfe a yard or more downe the Throat, which makes them vomit greene choler and blood. For head-ach, they make a cut ouer the forehead, and let themselves blood. The like they doe on the arme, or legge, in any Aches. They cut their hayre like Friers, but a little longer, and binde it with a Cotton hayre-lace. By reason of Cold in thote parts, they trusse vp themselves so, as the genitall member is hidden within the body. One of these which they had in their shippes, did eate at one meale a Basket of Bisket, and drunke a Bowle of Water at a draught.

They remayned fve moneths in this Port of Saint *Iulian*; where certaine of the vnder Captaines conspiring the death of their Generall, were hanged and quartered: among whom, the Treasurer *Luigo* of *Mendoza* was one. Certaine of the other Conspirators he left in the said Land of *Patagoni*; namely, *Iohn de Cartagena*, and a Priest. They erected there a Crosse, in token of possession.

Departing from hence to the two and fiftieth degree, toward the Pole Antartike, lacking a third part, they found a Riuer of fresh Water and good Fish. Their shippes were here in great danger. They remayned two moneths in this Port, where they made new prouision of fresh Water, Fuell, and Fish. Here the Captaine caused all his men to be confessed. Approching to the two and fiftie degrees, they found the Strait now called the Strait of *Magellanus*, being in some place a hundred and ten Leagues in length, and in bredth somewhere very large, and in other places little more then halfe a League in bredth. On both the sides of this Strait, are great and high Mountaines couered with Snow, beyond the which, is the entrance into the Sea of *Sur*. This entrance the Captaine named *Mare Pacificum*. Here one of the ships, Saint *Antonio*, stole away priuily, and returned into Spaine: In this was one of the Giants, who died as soone as he felt the heat that is about the Equinoctiall Line.

When the Captaine *Magallanes* was past the Strait, and saw the way open to the other maine Sea, hee was so glad thereof, that for ioy the teares fell from his eyes, and named the point of the Land from whence hee first saw that Sea, *Capo Desiderato*. Supposing that the ship which stole away, had beene lost, they erected a Crosse vpon the top of a high Hill, to direct their course in the Strait, if it were their chance to come that way.

They found, that in this Strait, in the moneth of October, the Night was not past foure houres long. They found in this Strait, at euery three miles, a safe Hauen, and excellent Water to drinke; Wood also, and Fish, and great plentie of good Herbes. They thinke,

Foure other  
Giants.

Two Giants  
are taken by a  
policy.

The Deuill  
*Setebos*.

Deuils appeare  
to the Giants  
when they die.

*Patagoni*.

The Giants  
feeding.

They conspire  
against their  
Captaine.

Confession.

The Strait of  
*Magellanus*.

The South  
Sea.  
*Mare Pacificum*.

The Giants  
died for heat.

*Capo Desiderato*.

Short nights  
in the moneth  
of October.



- Flying Fishes. think, that there is not a fairer Strait in the World. Here also they saw certaine flying Fishes.
- The Giants Language. The other Giant which remayned with them in the ship, named Bread, *Capar*; Water, *Oli*; red Cloth, *Cherecui*; red Colour, *Cheiche*; blacke colour, *Amel*: And spoke all his words in the throat. On a time, as one made a Crosse before him, and kissed it, shewing it, vnto him, hee suddenly cryed *Setebos*, and declared by signes, that if they made any more Crosses, *Setebos* would enter into his body, and make him burst. But when in fine hee saw no hurt come thereof, hee tooke the Crosse, and embraced and kissed it oftentimes, desiring, that hee might bee a Christian before his death. Hee was therefore baptized, and named *Paul*.
- The Giant is baptized. Departing out of this Strait into the Sea called *Mare Pacificum*, the eight and twentieth day of November, in the yeere 1520. they sayled three moneths and twentie dayes before they saw any Land: and hauing in this time consumed all their Bisket and other Victuals, they fell into such necessitie, that they were enforced to eate the powder that remayned thereof, being now full of Wormes, and stinking like Pisse, by reason of the salt Water. Their fresh Water was also putrified, and become yellow. They did eate Skinnes and pieces of Leather, which were fouled about certaine great Ropes of the shippes: but these Skinnes being made very hard, by reason of the Sunne, Raine, and Winde, they hung them by a Cord in the Sea, for the space of foure or five dayes, to mollifie them, and sod them, and ate them. By reason of this
- Three moneths sayling without the sight of Land. Extreme Famine. Disease of Famine. Famine, and vndeane feeding, some of their gummes grew so ouer their teeth, that they died miserably for hunger. And by this occasion died nineteene men, and also the Giant, with an Indian of the Land of *Erassle*, otherwise called *Terra de Papagalli*, that is, the Land of Popin-gays. Beside these that died, five and twentie or thirtie were so sick, that they were not able to doe any seruice with their hands or armes for feebleness: so that there was in manner none without some Disease.
- Unfortunate Islands. In these three moneths and twentie dayes, they sayled foure thousand Leagues in one Gulfe, by the said Sea called *Pacificum*, that is, peaceable: which may well be so called, forasmuch as in all this time hauing no sight of any Land, they had no misfortune of Winde, or any other Tempest. During this time also, they discovered onely two little Ilands vnhabited, where they saw nothing but Birds and Trees, and therefore named them unfortunate Ilands, being one from the other about two hundred Leagues distant. The first of these Ilands, is from the Equinoctiall toward the Pole Antartike fifteene degrees, and the other five. Their sayling was
- What they sayled dayly. in such sort, that they sayled dayly betweene fiftie, threescore, to seuentie Leagues. So that in fine, if God of his mercie had not giuen them good Weather, it was necessarie, that in this so great a Sea they should all haue died for hunger.
- The starres about the South Pole. They considered in this Nauigation, that the Pole Antartike hath no notable starre, after the sort of the Pole Artike. But they saw many starres gathered together, which are like two Clouds, one separate a little from another, and somewhat darke in the midst. Betweene these, are two starres, not very big, nor much shining, which moue a little: and these two are the Pole Antartike.
- The Needle of the Compas. The Needle of their Compas varied somewhat, and turned euer toward the Pole Artike; neuertheless, had no such force, as when it is in these parts of the Pole Artike: Insomuch, that it was necessarie to helpe the Needle with the Lead-stone, before they could sayle there-with, because it moued not, as it doth when it is in these our parts. When they were in the midst of the Gulfe, they saw a Crosse of five cleare starres, directly toward the West, and of equall distance the one from the other.
- The Lead-stone. In these dayes they sayled betweene the West and South so farre, that they approached to the Equinoctiall Line, and were in longitude from the place from whence they first departed, a hundred and twentie degrees. In this course they sayled by two Ilands of exceeding height, whereof the one named *Cipanghu*, is twentie degrees from the Pole Antartike; and the other named *Sumbdit*, fifteene degrees. When they were past the Equinoctiall Line, they sayled betweene the West and Southwest, at the quarter of the West, toward the Southwest more then a hundred Leagues, changing their sayles to the quarter of the Southwest, vntill they came to the thirteene degrees about the Equinoctiall, toward the Pole Artike, intending as much as were possible, to approach to the Cape called of the old Writers *Cattigara*: the which is not found as the old Cosmographers haue described it, but it is toward the North about twelue degrees, as they afterward vnderstood.
- The Equinoctiall Line. When they had thus sayled seuentie Leagues of this Voyage, in the twelfth degree about the Equinoctiall, and a hundred fortie six degrees of Longitude (as I haue said) the sixt day of March they discovered a little Iland toward the Northwest, and two other toward the Southwest; but the one was higher and bigger then the other. In the biggest of these, the Generall would haue rested himselfe a while, but he could not, by reason the people of these Ilands resorted continually to the ships with their Canoas, and stole now one thing, and now another, in such sort, that our men could take no rest; and therefore demanded of the Captaine, that they might strike their sayles, to bring the shippes to Land. But the Generall being prouoked



to anger, went aland with fortie armed men, and burnt about fiftie of their Houses, with many of their Canoas, and slew also about seven men, and recovered a shippe-boat which the Barbarians had stolne; and so departed, following his Voyage. Hee named these Ilands, *Insule Latronum*, that is, the Ilands of Theeves. When our men had so wounded some of them with Arrowes, that they were stricken through both sides, they pulled forth the Arrowes, not ceasing to maruell at them, till they fell downe dead: And yet could not the other so depart, but still followed the shippes with more then two hundred of their Boats, approaching as neere to the shippes as they could, and proffering our men certaine Fishes. As the shippes passed with full sayle in the midst of their Boats, they saw in some of them certaine Women, lamenting

*Insule Latronum.*

- 10 and tearing their hayre, which our men thought they did for the death of their Husbands. As farre as they could perceiue, these people liue at their owne libertie, without any Ruler or Gouvernour. They goe naked, and some of them haue blacke Beards, and blacke hayre on their heads, which they weare long, downe to their Waistes. They are of the same stature that wee are, and well made, of colour like vnto an Oliue. Their Women are well-fauoured, with black and thicke hayre on their heads, reaching to the ground. They weare also, for a couering before their priuities, the inner barke of the Palme-tree; are whiter then the men, and seldome goe out of doores, but at home make Mats and Nets of the Palme-tree, and other House-hold necessities. Some of the men weare Bonnets on their heads of Palme-tree. They colour their teeth red and blacke, which they esteeme a comely thing. Their food, is *Cocos* and *Bastatas*, Birds, Figges a handfull long, Sugar-Canes, flying Fishes, and other things. They anoynt their bodies and head with the Oyle of *Cocus*. Their Boats are some all blacke, some white, and some red, and haue Sayles made of the broad Leaues of Date-trees, sowed together. In the stead of a Rudder, they vse a certaine broad Boord, with a staffe in the top, and may when they will, make the Sterne the Fore-Castle, or the Fore-Castle the Sterne. They sayle so swiftly, that they seeme a farre off like Dolphins swimming about the Water. Their Houses are made of Timber, couered with Boords, and Leaues of Figge-tree, a yard long: They haue a Hall, Windowes, and Chambers. They haue Palme-Mats for Bed-furniture, and sleepe on Palme Leaues, which are soft. Their Weapons are Clubs or Poles, with a Horne head.

People with long hayre.

- 20 The tenth day of March, in the yeere 1521. they went aland vpon a little Iland, named Zamal, thirtie Leagues distant from the Iland of Theeves. The next day hee went on shore on another Iland, not inhabited: they rested here a while, where the Captaine caused a Pavillion to be pitched for the sicke and crazed men, and a Hogge to be killed. The Iland was called *Humum*, and hath two cleare Springs, and Gold and white Corall, and many Fruit-trees. They gaue it the name of *Good Signes*.

The Iland of Zamal.

The eighteenth day of March, they saw a Boat with nine men comming toward them, shewing themselves ioyfull, and reioycing of their comming. They brought many presents with them, and seemed to be people of much humanitie. They gaue the Captaine a great Fish, and a great Vessell of the Wine of those Date-trees, which beare the Fruit *Cocus*. They made also signes, that within the space of foure dayes they would bring Rice, and diuers Fowles and

Wine of Date-trees.

- 40 Beasts, as they did indeed.

This *Cocus* is a Fruit of certaine Date-trees, whereof they make Bread, Wine, Oyle, and Vineger. They make Wine in this manner: They cut a bigge branch of the Tree, and hang thereat a Reede as bigge as a mans Legge, into the which droppeth a sweet Liquor from the Tree, like vnto white Wine, somewhat tart, and let the Reed continue there from Morning till Euening, and from Euening to Morning. The fruit of this Tree, called *Cocus*, is as bigge as the head of a man, or more. The first Rynde of this, is Greene, and of the thickeesse of two fingers, hauing in it certaine Threds, whereof they make Cords, with the which they tye their Boats. Vnder this Rynde there is a thicke shell, which they burne and make powder thereof, and vse it as a remedie for certaine Diseases. Vnder this shell, is a white substance, like the kernell of a Nut, being a finger in thickeesse, which they eate with Flesh and Fish, as wee doe Bread. It hath the taste of an Almond, and is vsed in the stead of Bread, when it is dried. In the midst of this kernell, is a cleare and sweet Water, being very holefome and cordiall. This Water sometime congealeth, and lyeth within the shell like an Egge. When they intend to make Oyle hereof, they lay it to putrifie in Water, and boyle it vntill it be like Oyle or liquid Butter. When they intend to make Vineger, they suffer onely the Water to putrifie, and then set it to the Sunne, where it becommeth Vineger, like vnto that which is made of white Wine. And when they mingle the kernell with the Water which is in the midst of the Fruit, and strayne it through a Cloth, they make a Milke thereof, like vnto Goates Milke. These Date-trees are like vnto them that beare Dates, but are not so full of knots.

The maruelous Fruit *Cocus*.

- 60 With the iuice of two of these Date-trees, a whole family of tenne persons may be maintayned with Wine, vsing one eight dayes, and the other, other eight dayes; for they should elie be dried and wythered. These Trees continue for the space of an hundred yeeres. This Iland, where they found this humane and gentle people, is called Zuluan, and is not very bigge.

The Iland of Zuluan.



They invited the Generall to their Boats, in which were their Merchandize, viz. Cloues, Cinnamon, Ginger, Pepper, Nutmegs, Mace, Gold made in diuers things, which they carry to and fro with their Barkes. Hee had them also aboard the ship, and caused a peece of Ordnance to be shot off; which terrified them so, that they were ready to leape ouer-board: but he appeased them, and gaue them gifts. The two and twentieth of March they brought Oranges, and a Cocke, and *Cocos*, with Palme-Wine, in two Barkes. The men were naked, had two Gold Rings at their eares, and many Jewels fastened with Gold to their armes. With these *Cocos* they refreshed their sicke men. They told of people in neere Ilands, with eares downe to their armes. They had Daggers, Kniues, and Lances garnished with Gold.

The Sea called  
*Archipelago di*  
*San Lazaro*: this  
name *Archipela-*  
*go*, is giuen to  
Seas full of  
Ilands.

Gentiles.

Four Ilands.

The Iland of  
Buthuan.

About this Iland they found many other Ilands, and therefore named this Sea *Archipelago di San Lazaro*, that is, the great Sea of Saint *Lazarus*, being tenne degrees about the Equinoctiall toward our Pole, and a hundred threescore and one from the place from whence they departed. The people of this Iland are Gentiles. They goe naked, sauing that they couer their priuie parts with a Cloth made of the rynde of a certaine Tree. The chiefeft men haue about their heads a silken Cloth of Needle-worke. They are grosse and broad set, and of the colour of an Oliue. They annoynt their bodies with the Oyle of *Cocus*, to defend them against the heat of the Sunne, and drynesse of the Winde. The five and twentieth day of March they departed from hence, and directed their course betweene the West and South-west, and sayled betweene foure Ilands, named Cenalo, Huinanghan, Hibussion, and Abarien, &c.

The eight and twentieth day of March they came to the Iland of Buthuan, where they were honourably entertayned of the King and the Prince his sonne, who gaue them much Gold and Spices. The Captaine gaue the King a Vesture of red Cloth, and another of yellow, made after the Turkish fasnion, and also a red Cap: and gaue likewise to other that came with him, certaine Knyues, Glasses, and Beades of Crystall. After that the Captaine had shewed the King the secrets of his ship, and such Merchandize as hee had therein, hee caused a peece of Ordnance suddenly to be shot off, whereat the King was greatly amazed, vntill the Captaine comforted him. Then the Captaine commanded one of his men to be armed from the head to the foot, and caused three other to strike him with their Swords: whereat the King maruelled greatly, and said to the Interpreter (who was a slaue borne in Malacca) that one of those armed men was able to encounter with a hundred of his men. But hee maruelled much more, when the Captaine told him by the Interpreter, how he found the Strait by the Compas and Load-stone, and how many dayes they were without sight of any Land. Then asking licence to depart, the Captaine sent two of his men with him, of the which, *Antonie Pigafetta* was one. When they came on Land, the King lifted his hands to the Skie, and after that, towards the two Christians: these did the like, and all the companie after them. The like ceremonie they vsed in drinking one to another. The Kings Pallace was like a Hay-house, couered with Palme and Fig-leaues, built on high Timbers aloft, that they mounted thereunto on Ladders. They sit at meat crosse-legged, like Taylors. They make Light in the Night with a gumme of a Tree, wrapped in leaues of Palme-tree. When the King saw *Antonie Pigafetta* write the names of many things, and afterward rehearsed them againe, he maruelled yet more, making signes, that such men descended from Heauen. The King brought them first to his Pallace, where he entertayned them honorably, and gaue them many gifts, as did also the Prince in his Pallace, being in another Iland named Caleghan.

The Iland of  
Caleghan.

Plentie of  
Gold.

The King of  
Buthuan.

As they sifted a certaine Myne of Earth in the Kings Iland, they found pieces of Gold, some as bigge as Nuts, and other as bigge as Egges. All the Kings Vessels were of Gold, and his Houle well furnished. In all the whole Nation there was no man of comelyer personage then the King: Hee had his hayre long, downe to his shoulders, and very blacke, with a vaine of Silke rouled about his head, and two great Rings of Gold hanging at his eares. He had about his middle a Cloth wrought of Cotton and Silke, impaled with Gold, and reaching downe to his knees. On his one side, hee had a long Dagger with a Haft of Gold, and the sheathe of a faire kinde of carued Wood. Hee had on euery finger three Rings of Gold, and had his body annoynted with Oyle of Storax and Benjamin. The naturall colour of his face was like vnto the colour of an Oliue; and all his body beside painted with diuers colours. The Kings name was *Rasa Colambu*, and the Prince was called *Raia Siaou*. They easily vnderstood each other, by meanes of a slaue which they carryed with them, taken before at Sumatra. One man offered for six threds of Crystall Beades a Crowne of masse Gold, with a Collar: but the Generall would not permit such bartering, that they should not perceiue more account to be made of their Gold by the one, then by the other of the Spanish Wares. The people are nimble, naked, painted. The Women goe clothed from the Waste downewards, with their long blacke hayre hanging to the ground. They weare eare-rings of Gold in diuers formes. They alway are chewing *Arecca*, a certaine Fruit like a Peare, cut in quarters, and rolled vp in leaues of a Tree called *Bestre* (or *Vetele*) like Bay leaues; which hauing chewed, they spit forth. It makes the mouth red. They say they doe it to comfort the heart, nor could liue without it.

The



The Captaine or Generall caused a Crosse to be brought forth, with Nayles, and a Crowne of Thornes, giuing commandement to all his men to giue reuerence thereunto, and signifying to the Kings, by the Interpreter, that that Banner was giuen him by the Emperour, his Lord and Master, with commandement to leaue the same in all places where hee came, to the great commoditie and profit of all such as would reuerendly receiue it, as an assured token of friendship: and that hee would therefore leaue it there, as well to accomplish his Lords commandement, as also, that if at any time any ships of Christians should chance to come that way, they might, by seeing that Crosse, perceiue that our men had bene well entertayned there, and would therefore not onely abstayne from doing them any hurt or displeasure, but also helpe to  
 10 ayde them against their enemies: And that therefore it should be requisite to erect that Crosse vpon the top of the highest Mountaine that might be seene from the Sea on euery side; also to pray vnto it reuerently: and that in so doing, they should not be hurt with Thunder, Lightning, and Tempests. When the Kings heard these words, they gaue the Captaine great thanks, promising gladly to obserue and fulfill all such things as he required. Then the Captaine demanded, whether they were Mores or Gentiles? They answered, that they had none  
 20 other kind of Religion, but that lifting vp their hands ioyned together, and their faces toward Heauen, they called vpon their God *Abba*. Which answer liked the Captaine very well, because the Gentiles are sooner perswaded to our Faith then the Mores. Mores and Gentiles.

Departing from hence, they came to the Ilands of Zeilon, Zubut, Messana, and Calaghan, Many Ilands.  
 20 by the conduct of certaine Pilots of the said Kings. Of these, Zubut is the best, and hath the Trade of best Traffique. In the Iland of Messana they found Dogges, Cats, Hogges, Hennes, Goates, Rysse, Gynger, *Cocus*, Myll, Panicke, Barly, Figges, Oranges, Waxe, and Gold, in The Iland of Messana.  
 great quantitie. This Iland is aboue the Equinoctiall toward our Pole nine degrees, and two third parts, and a hundred threescore and two degrees from the place from whence they departed. They remayned in this Iland for the space of eight dayes, and then directed their Voyage toward the Northwest, and passed betweene these five Ilands, Zeilon, Bohol, Canghu, Barbai, and Catighan. In this Iland of Catighan are certaine great Bats, as bigge as Eagles, of the Bats as big as Eagles.  
 30 which they tooke one: they are good to be eaten, and of taste much like a Henne. There are also Stock-doues, Turtle-doues, Poppingayes, and certaine Fowles as bigge as Hennes: these Fowles haue little hornes, and lay great egges, which they couer a cubit depth in the Sand, by Fowles with hornes. Egges hatched in Sand.  
 the heat whereof, and vertue of the Sunne, they are hatched, and the young Birds creepe out of the Sand by themselves. From the Iland of Messana to Catighan, are twentie Leagues, sayling toward the West. And because the King of Messana could not follow the ships, they tarried for him about the Ilands of Polo, Ticobon, and Fozon, where the Captaine tooke him into his ship, with certaine of his principall men, and so followed their Voyage toward the Iland of Zubut, which is about fiftie Leagues distant from Catighan.

The seuenth day of Aprill, about Noone, they entred into the Port of Zubut: and passing The Iland of Zubut.  
 40 by many Villages and Habitations in Trees, they came to the Citie, where the Captaine gaue commandement to the Mariners to strike their sayles, and to set themselves in order, in manner of Battell-ray, causing all the Ordenance to be shot off, wherewith all the people were put in great feare. After this, the Captaine sent an Embassadour with the Interpreter to the King of Zubut.

When they approched neere to the Citie, they found the King with a great companie of men sore astonyed at the noyse of the Gunnes. But the Interpreter aduertised them, that it was the custome of our men, in all such places where they come, to discharge their Ordenance in token of friendship, and to honour the Lord of the Citie. With which words the King and his companie were well quieted. After this, the Interpreter declared, that his Master was the Captaine of the shippes of the greatest Prince in the World, and that they went to discover the Ilands of Molucca: And further, that hearing of his good name and fame, by the report  
 50 of the King of Messana, they determined to visite him, and to haue Victuals for exchange of their Merchandize. The King answered, that he was well content therewith, and that they were heartily welcome: Neuerthelesse, that it was a custome in that place, that all such ships as entred into that Hauen, should pay tribute: And that there were not many dayes past, since a ship laden with Gold and Slaues, did so pay. In token whereof, hee caused to come before him certaine Merchants of that companie, which yet remayned with him. To this the Interpreter answered, That for as much as his Lord was the Captaine of so mightie a Prince, he neuer payd tribute to any King in the World, and would not now begin: Willing him to take this for a resolute answer, That if hee would accept the Peace that was proffered him, hee should enioy it; and if hee rather desired Warre, hee should haue his hands full. When the  
 60 Interpreter had said these words, one of the said Merchants (who was a More) spake to the King in this manner, *Catacaia Chita*; that is, Take heede Sir: For these men are they that haue conquered Calecut, Malacha, and all the greater India, and are of such power, that if you entreat them otherwise then well, you may too late know what they are able to doe, more then they haue done at Calecut and Malacca. When the Interpreter heard these words, hee said, A Shippe laden with Gold and Slaues.  
Calecut. Malacha.



That the King his Lord was of much greater puissance, and more Dominions, and Lord of more shippes then was the King of Portugall: declaring further, that hee was King of Spaine, and Emperour of all Christendome. Adding hereunto, that if hee would not be his friend, hee would hereafter send thither such a power of armed men as should destroy his Countrey. The More conferred all these words with the King, who said, That hee would further deliberate with his Councell, and giue them a full answer the day following. In the meane time he sent them certaine Victuals and Wine.

When all these things were declared to the King of Messana, who was the chiefeest thereabout next vnto him, and Lord of many Ilands, hee went a Land, and repayed to the King of Zubut, and declared vnto him the great humanitie and courtesie of the generall Captaine. Shortly after, the Captaine sent certaine of his men with the Interpreter, to the King of Zubut, to know his pleasure, and what answer hee would make them. As they went toward the Court, they met the King comming in the street, accompanied with many of his chiefe men. Hee caused our men to sit downe by him, and demanded of them, if there were any more then one Captaine in their companie; and whether it were their request, that hee should pay tribute to the Emperour. They answered, that they desired none other thing, but that they might exercise Merchandize with them, and to barter Ware for Ware. The King made answer, that he was well content therewith: willing the Captaine, in token of friendship, to lend him a little bloud of his right arme; affirming, that he would doe the like.

Shedding of  
blood is a to-  
ken of friend-  
ship.

After this, the King of Messana, with the King of Zubut his Nephew (who was the Prince) and certaine other of his Gentlemen, came to the ships, and brought the Captaine many goodly presents. They entred into great amitie, and had large communication of many things. The Captaine perswaded them to the Christian Faith: which they gladly embraced, and tooke such pleasure in hearing the Articles of our Beleefe, that the teares fell from their eyes for ioy. They were baptized: and shortly after, all the people of the Iland. They esteeme nothing more precious, then drinking Glasses of Venice worke.

The King of  
Zubut is bap-  
tized.

The King of  
Zubut his Ap-  
parrell.

When they came to the Citie, they found the King in his Pallace, sitting vpon a Floore or Storie made of the Leaues of Date trees, wrought after a curious Deuice, like a certaine kinde of Mats. Hee had vpon his body none other Apparrell, but onely a Cloth of Bombasine Cotton, hanging before his priuie parts. On his head hee had a Veyle of Needle-worke, and about his necke a Chayne of great price. At his eares hung two Rings of Gold, wherein were inclosed many precious Stones. Hee was but of small stature, but somewhat grosse, and had the residue of his body painted with diuers colours, whereof some were like vnto flaming fire. Before him, hee had two Vessels made of the fine Earth called *Porcellana*, with sodden Egges. Also foure Vessels of *Porcellana*, full of Wine made of Date trees, and couered with many odoriferous Herbes. The Prince brought them to his Houſe, where hee had foure Daughters, very well fauoured and white, like ours. Hee caused them to dance all naked, and therewith to sing, and play on certaine Tymbrels made of Metall. At this time it so chanced, that one of the Spaniards died in one of the shippes: and when certaine of their companie desired the King to giue them leaue to burie him on the Land; hee answered, That for as much as hee and all his were at the commandement of their King and Master, how much more ought the ground so to bee? They greatly maruelled at the Ceremonies pertayning to the manner of our Funerals, and honoured the Crosses which were set at both the ends of the Graue. They liue with Iustice, and vse Weights and Measures. Their Houses are made of Timber and sawne Boords, and are so builded about the ground vpon Props and Pyles, that they ascend to the same by certaine stayres. Vnder their Houses, they keepe their Hogges, and Goats, and Hennes. They told of certaine goodly Water-Fowle as bigge as Crowes, called *Laghan*, which the Whales of those parts sometimes swallow downe, but so are themselves deuoured, the Fowle gnawing the heart of the Whale, and killing him; by the people found in the dead body, floating to Land, still liuing in the same. The flesh of this Fowle is delicate, but the skin is blacke.

Well fauoured  
Women.

Bartering.

*Pesos* what it is.

They breake  
their Idols,  
and erect the  
Crosse.

Five hundred  
men baptized.

When they came to bartering, they gaue Gold, Ryce, Hogges, Hennes, and diuers other things, for some of our trifles of small value. They gaue tenne *Pesos* of Gold for foureteene pounds weight of Iron. One *Peso* is in value a Duckat and a halfe.

The Sunday following, the King was baptized with great solemnitie: at which time, the Captaine admonished him before, not to be afraid at the shooting off of the Ordenance, because it was their custome so to doe at such solempne Feasts. After this, the Captaine caused them to breake all their Idols, and to set vp the Crosse in diuers places, praying to the same both Morning and Euening, kneeling on their knees, and holding vp their hands ioyned together. The King in his Baptisme was named *Charles*, after the Emperours name, and the Prince *Ferdinando*, after the name of his Maiesties Brother. The King of Messana was named *John*, and the More *Christopher*. To all other they gaue such names as are commonly vsed in Christendome. And thus before Masse was begun, were five hundred men baptized. When Masse was finished, the Captaine inuited the King to dyne with him in his shippe, and at his com-



comming, caused the Ordenance to be discharged. The Queene was also baptized, with fortie of her Gentlewomen, and her Daughter the Princes Wife. The Queene was very young and faire, hauing her body couered with a white Cloth. Her Lippes were red, and shee had on her head a Hat, on the top whereof was a triple Crowne, much like the Popes: this Crowne and the Hat were made of the Leaues of Date trees. The Queene of Zubut.

Within the space of eight dayes, the Inhabitants of the Iland were baptized, except one Village of Idolaters, who would not herein obey the Kings commandement. Whereupon the Captaine sent certaine of his men thither, who burnt the Towne, and erected a Crosse in that place, because the people of the Village were Gentiles (that is) Idolaters. But if they had been  
10 Mores (that is, Machumetists) they would haue erected a Pillar of Stone, because the Mores are more stubborne and harder to be conuerted then are the Gentiles.

When the Queene came to the place where shee should heare Masse, shee came forth with great pompe and solemnitie, hauing going before her three young Damosels, and three men with their Cappes in their hands, whom shee followed apparrelled in white and blacke, with a great Veyle of Silke vpon her head, fringed about with Gold, which couered her Hat, and hung downe to her shoulders: shee had also a great trayne of Women following her, being all bare-footed and naked, except that vpon their heads and priuie parts, they wore certaine Veyles of Silke, and had their hayre spred. The Queenes Apparrell.

Before the King of Zubut was baptized, hee was named *Raia Humabron*. When the Cap-  
20 taine demanded of him, Why all the Idols in the Iland were not burnt, according to his promise? hee answered, That they esteemed them no more as Gods, but onely made sacrifice to them for the Princes Brother, who was very sicke, and as noble and wittie a man as was in the Iland. The Captaine answered, That if hee would burne all his Idols, and beleue faithfully in Christ, and be baptized, hee should be immediately restored to health, and that he would elsie giue them leaue to strike off his head. By these words and perswasions of the Captaine, he conceived such hope of health, that after he was baptized, he felt no more grieve of his disease. And this was a manifest Miracle wrought in our time, whereby diuers Infidels were conuerted to our Faith, and their Idols destroyed, and also their Altars ouerthrowne, on the which they were accustomed to eate the sacrificed flesh. The people of the Iland pay the King a portion of Vic-  
30 tuals for their tribute, by all their Cities and Villages.

Not farre from this Iland of Zubut, is the Iland of Mathan, whose Inhabitants vse marue-  
lous Ceremonies in their sacrifices to the Sunne, and in burying the dead. Before their Swine-  
sacrifice, they ring certaine Bells: then bring three Platters; in two of which, are Vyands of Rice and Honey boyled, rouled vp in Leaues, and roasted Fishes; in the other, is a Linnen Cloth, with two Fillets or strings, which is spred on the Earth. Then come two old Women, each with a Reed-Trumpet in hand. These mount vpon the Cloth, and hauing worshipped the Sunne, couer themselues with the Cloth. One of them applyes one of the strings or Fillets with two hornes, to her for-head, holding the other in her hand, and thus sounding and dan-  
40 cing, calleth on the Sunne. The other followeth: both praying, sounding, and dancing round about the Hogge, tyed in the midst. The horned Beldame mumbleth to the Sunne, the other answering: Then a Cup of Wine is brought, and making semblance to drinke, after diuers mutuall mumblings, shee powreth it on the Hogge. After which, this horned Mother hath a Lance brought her: with which, after a deale of masking and mumming Ceremonie, shee kills him. All this while a Light is burning, and now is put into the mouth of the Swine. The other Beldam washeth the Head of the Trumpe in the bloud, and with her finger imbrued with bloud, first signeth her Husbands for-head, and after, other mens. Which done, they both dis-robe themselues, and eate the Vyands in the other Dishes, onely Women communicating with them. They finde the Hogge: the flesh they may not eate, till it be thus consecrated by those  
50 Witches. They goe naked, except a little Cloth before their priuities. The Males, great and small, make a hole thorow the skin, neere the head of the Yard, and therein a Gold Ring is put, as bigge as a Goose-quill. They take as many Wiues as they will, but one is principall. When a man of fert dyes, the principall Women goe to his House, and let Boughes in Cords, fastned about the Corps, in euery Bough a piece of Cotton, so that the place is like a Tent. Herein they sit, arrayed in white Cotton, each hauing a Girdle, with a Fanne of Palme tree, to cause winde. One comes after with a Knife, which cuts off by little and little the hayre of the deceased. After which, his principall Wife lyeth vpon him, applying her Lippes to his, her Hands to his Hands, and her Feet to his. When the one cutteth, this other laments; when shee ceaseth to cut, this sings. About the Chamber, are Porcellane Dishes with fire, on which they burne Myrrhe, Storax, and other Sweets. This Ceremonie lasts five dayes. All which time, at Mid-  
60 night (they say) there comes as it were a Rauens crying, a lacke *Sanctus* for five houres each Night. After all this, they enclose the Corps in a House closed round with Wood.

The Iland is gouerned by two Princes, whereof the one is named *Zula*, and the other *Cilapulapu*. And whereas this *Cilapulapu* refused to pay tribute to the King of Spaine, the



The Captaine  
Magellanus is  
slaine.

Captaine went against him in his owne person with threecore of his men, armed with Coats of Mayle and Helmets. *Cilapulapu* diuided his Army into three Battels, hauing in euery Battell two thousand and fiftie men, with armed Bowes, Arrowes, Darts, and Iauelins, hardened at the points with fire. This continued long, and sharpe. But the Captaine being a valiant man, and preasing himselfe in the brunt of the Battell, was sore wounded with a venomed Arrow, and after, with a Lance of Cane thrust in his face, slaine, for as much as the most of the Barbarians directed all their force against him. Beside the Captaine, were slaine of our men about eight or nine: Of the Barbarians, were fiftene slaine, and many sore wounded. After the death of the Captaine, they chose two other in his place; of the which, one was *Odoardo Barbosa*, a Portugall, and the other, *John Serrano*, who was shortly after betrayed by the Interpreter, and taken prisoner with diuers other. The Enemies would not permit *Magalians* Body to be ransomed at any price. 10

The Iland of  
Bohol.  
They burnt  
one of their  
ships.  
Black men.

Certaine dayes before the Captaines death, they had knowledge of the Ilands of Molucca, which they chiefly sought. Departing therefore from the Iland of Mathan, they sayled farre, and came to the Cape of another Iland, named Bohol. In the midst of this maine Sea (which they named *Archipelagus*) they consulted to burne the ship named *Conception*, because they were now few in number, and to furnish the other two ships with the Artillerie thereof. Thus directing their course toward Southwest, they came to another Iland named Pauloghon, where they found blacke men.

The Iland of  
Chippit.

Shortly after, they arriued at another great Iland, whose King, named *Raia Calanar*, entertained them very friendly in all things, as did the King of Mellana. This Iland is rich in Gold, and hath plentie of Rice, Ginger, Hogges, Goats, Hennes, and diuers other things. It is named Chippit, and is eight degrees aboue the Equinoctiall Line toward our Pole, and in longitude from the place from whence they first departed, an hundred and seuentie degrees, and about fiftie Leagues from Zubut. 20

The King, in token of peace, drew bloud of his left hand, and therewith anoynted his body, face, and the top of his tongue. The like was done by the Spaniards. *Pigafetta* was entertayned by the King and his two Wiues with deepe Carowles; which hee refused to pledge, excusing, that hee had supped. Here hee saw much Gold, but small prouision of Victuall. 30

The Iland of  
Caghian.

Departing from hence, they came to another Iland, named Caghian, being fortie Leagues from Chippit, as they sayled betweene the West and Southwest. This Iland is very great, and in manner vnhabited. The people are Mores, and were banished out of the Iland of Burnei, which some call Porne. They vse poysoned Arrowes, and haue store of Gold.

The Iland of  
Pulaoan.

From this Iland, about fise and twentie Leagues betweene the West and Northwest, they found a maruellous fruitfull Iland, named Pulaoan, being toward our Pole aboue the Equinoctiall nine degrees, and a third part, and an hundred seuentie and nine degrees, and a third part, in longitude from the place of their departing. In it is store of Rice, Ginger, Hogges and Goats, Hennes, Figges halfe a yard long, as bigge as a mans arme, very good, and others of lesser kindes; Cocos, Battatos, Sugar Canes, and a kind of pleasant Rootes. The King in token of friendship wounded his Brest with a Knife, touching with the bloud his Tongue and Forehead; and the Spaniards did likewise. The people goe naked, vse poysoned Arrowes, haue great Cocks, which they vse in Cock-fightings, but not for food, by reason of a reasonlesse superstition. They haue Wine of Rice, better then that of the Palme-tree, easily causing Drunkenesse. 40

The Iland of  
Burnei, or  
Porne.

From this Iland, ten Leagues toward the Southwest, they saw another Iland, which seemed to them sometimes to mount, as they sayled by the Coasts thereof. As they were entring into the Port, there arose a boystrous and darke Tempest, which ceased as soone as the Fires of the three Saints (whereof we haue spoken before) appeared vpon the Cables. From the beginning of this Iland to the Port, are fise Leagues. This Iland is great and rich, and the chiefe 50

A great Citie.  
Elephants.

Citie thereof contayneth fise and twentie thousand Houses. The King entertayned our men very friendly, and sent them, beside many other presents, two Elephants, trapped with Silke, to bring them to his Pallace, that brought the presents which the Captaines sent him. Hee hath a magnificent Court, and a great Guard; also, a multitude of Concubines. Hee is a More, and is named *Raia Siripada*. Hee is a King of great power, and hath vnder him many other Kings, Ilands, and Cities. This Iland of Burnei is aboue the Equinoctiall, toward our Pole, fise degrees and a quarter, and in longitude from the place of their departing, an hundred seuentie six degrees, and two third parts. They vse here Betele and Arecca, and Rice-Wine, called *Arach*. Their reuerence to the King, is three times to hold the hands closed ouer the head, then to lift vp the feet one after the other, and lastly, to kisse their hands. The King hath ten 60 Scribes, or Secretaries, which write his affaires in Barks of Trees. His household was all ordered by Women, and the chiefe mens Daughters.

On the nine and twentieth of Iuly they were assaulted by an hundred Prawes and Iunkes, of which, they tooke foure; in one of which, was the sonne of the King of Lozon, Captaine generall



generall to the King of Borneo, who now was returned from the sacke of Lao, a great Citie in the Iland towards Iava : For the Ethnikes, or Natiues, and the Mores of this Iland are in fierce Warres against each other. And had not the Pilot for a bribe let this man escape closely, hee had bene worth much to them in ransome. This King of Borneo had two Pearles, as it were Henne Egges, and so round, that on a plaine Table they would not stand firmly. In this Iland growes Camphir, which is the gumme of the Tree Capar, and Cinnamon, Ginger, Mirabolans, Oranges, Limons, Sugar, Cucumers, Melons, Swine, Goates, Hennes, Deere, Elephants, Horfe, &c.

Departing from Burnei, they came to an Iland called Cimbubon, being eight degrees seven  
 10 minutes about the Equinoctiall Line. Here they remayned fortie dayes, to calke their shippes, and furnish them with fresh Water and Fuell, which was to them great paine and trauell, because they were in manner all bare-footed, their shooes (and in manner their other Apparrell) being worne, by reason of the long Voyage. In the Woods of this Iland they found a Tree, whole Leaues as soone as they fall on the ground, doe stirre and remoue from place to place, as though they were aliue : they are much like the Leaues of a Mulberry Tree, and haue on euery side as it were two short and blunt feet. When they are cut or broken, there is no blood seene come forth of them : Yet when any of them are touched, they suddenly moue, and start away. *Antonie Pigafetta* kept one of them in a Platter for the space of eight dayes, and euer when he touched it, it ranne round about the Platter. Hee supposeth, that they liue onely by  
 20 ayre. Here were Crocodiles, and wild Hogges, and Ostriches. They tooke also a Fish, headed like a Swine, with two hornes, the rest of the body all of one bone, and as it were a saddle on the backe.

The Iland of Cimbubon.

Leaues of trees which seeme to liue.

Departing from hence, they directed their course by the West quarter toward the South-east, to find the Ilands of Molucca, and sayled not farre from certaine Mountaines, where they found the Sea full of great Weedes and Herbes.

A Sea full of Weedes, Pearles.

From hence, they came to the Ilands of Zolo and Taghima, in the which are found Pearles of exceeding bignesse. The King of Borneo had his two Pearles from hence, captiuing the King his father in Law, and making him pay them for ransome.

Following their course toward the North-east, they came to a great Citie named Mangdando, lying about the Ilands of Buthuan and Calaghan, where they tooke a Canoa of certaine  
 30 of the Inhabitants : by whom being informed of the Ilands of Molucca, they left their course toward the North-east, and followed the South-east, neere vnto a Cape of the Iland of Buthuan. They were aduertised for certaintie, that on the bankes of a certaine Riuer, there dwelt men, called Benaian, ouer-growne with hayre, which killed men, and did eat their hearts raw, with the iuice of Oranges and Limons. They are tall and strong, vse Bowes and Swords of Wood. In these Ilands growes the best Cinnamon, whereof they had seven and twentie pound in exchange for two Kniues. Here is the great Citie Mangdando. Being in six degrees, seven minutes, they made their way South-east, and encountred foure Ilands, Ciboco, Biramboia, Sarangani, Candingar.

Men ouer-growne with hayre.

40 A great Tempest here assailed them the foure and twentieth of October : but after their prayers, the three Lights appeared on their shrowds, whereupon the darknesse ceased, if a worke did not remayne. For they hereupon vowed to set free a slaue in honour of the three Saints, *S. Helena*, *S. Nicholas*, and *S. Clare*. How much more tolerable is that Ethnike adoration of the Sunne and Starres, then this of inferior Meteors, if it may any way be tolerable to giue the glory of God to a Creature ?

After the Tempest, they came to harbour in the Ile Sarangani, where they heard was Gold and Pearles. Here they tooke by force two Pilots for the Molucca's. They passed eight Ilands, some inhabited, some not ; their names were Ceana, Canida, Cabiaio, Camuca, Cabalu, Chiai, Lipan, Nuzza ; and then came to a faire Iland, called Sanghir, in three degrees and a halfe,  
 50 where were foure Gentile Kings. They passed fise other Ilands, and then espyed foure others, which their Pilot said were the Molucca's. This was the sixt day of Nouember, and the seven and twentieth moneth after their departure out of Spaine. Being therefore ioyfull, and giuing thanks vnto God, they discharged all their Ordenance. In the Coast of all these Ilands, euen vnto the Ilands of Molucca, sounding with their Plummet, they found the depth of the Sea to be no lesse then a hundred and two yards, which is contrary to the saying of the Portugals ; who affirme, That no ship can passe that way without great danger, by reason of the shallownesse, and Rockes or Shelues, and for the darkenesse which the Clouds cause in the Heauen. All which things they fayned, to the intent that none other should haue knowledge of their Voyages.

The Ilands of Molucca. The Portugals are reproved.

60 The eight day of Nouember, in the yeere 1521. before the rising of the Sunne, they entred into the Port of the Iland of Tidore, being one of the chiefe Ilands of Molucca, where they were honourably entertayned of the King : who declared, that hee had long before dreamed, that certaine ships should come from a faire Countrey, to the Ilands of Molucca : And that whereas, for the better certificate thereof, hee considered the stations of the Moone, hee saw therein

Tidore one of the Ilands of Molucca.

A Vision in the Planets.



therein the comming of our ships, and that wee were the men whom hee seemed to see in the same. Whereupon hee proffered himselfe to enter into league of friendship with the King of Spaine, and to accept our men as his Brethren and Children, willing them to come aland, as into their owne Houses. Also, that for their comming, that Iland should no more be called Tidore, but Castile, for the great loue which he bore to their King, whom he reputed as his Lord and Master. This King is a More, and is named *Raia Sultan Manzor*. He sware vpon the Alcoran (laying it three or foure times on his head, and saying certaine words) to be friend to the King of Spaine.

The five Ilands  
of Molucca.  
Tarenate.

The Ilands of Molucca are five in number, and are thus named: Tarenate, Tidore, Mutir, Macchian, and Bacchian. Of these, Tarenate is the chiefe; and the King thereof, was sometime Lord of them all. Mutir and Macchian were now gouerned of the people. Bacchian had a King. The Cloue-trees are as bigge as a man about, tall; the Boughes large in the midst, and pointed at the top; the Leaues, as of Bay-trees; the Barke, of Oliue colour. The Cloues grow ten and twentie together, in the tops of the Boughes; first white, red at ripenesse, black by the drying. They gather them twice a yeere, in Iune and December. The Leafe, Barke, and Wood being greene, is as strong as the Cloue. If they take them not in their time, they grow great and hard. Euery man hath his owne Trees, and bestowes little Husbandry on them. The Women are brutish, and goe naked, saue that before their priuities they haue a couering made of a Tree, which being steeped in water, is beaten into as large a forme as they will, euen to the thinnesse of Silke.

The Iland of  
Gilolo.  
Mores and  
Gentiles.

Directly against the Iland of Tidore, there is another great Iland, named Gilolo, inhabited of Mores and Gentiles. The Mores haue two Kings; of the which, one hath six hundred children, and the other six hundred and fiftie. The Gentiles keepe not so many Women as doe the Mores, nor yet liue in such superstitions. They pray to the first thing that they meete in the Morning, when they goe forth of their Houses, and honour that as their God for that day. The King of the Gentiles is very rich in Gold. In the said Iland of Gilolo are Reedes as bigge as a mans legge, and full of cleare water, hole some to be drunke.

Gold.  
Water in  
Reedes.

Their manner  
of bartering.

The twelfth day of Nouember, the King of Tidore appointed our men a Ware-house in the Citie, where they might sell their Marchandise. Their manner of exchange was in this sort: For ten yards of good red Cloth, they had one *Babar* of Cloues, which amounteth to foure *Cantari*, and six pound weight; and one *Cantar* is a hundred pound weight. For fiftene yards of Cloth, somewhat worse then the other, they receiued in *Cambie*, one *Babar*. For five and thirtie drinking Cuppes of Glasse, they had one *Babar*. For seuentene *Cathyls* of Quick-siluer, one *Babar*. They came dayly to the shippes, with many of their Barkes full of Goats, Hennes, Figges of a span long, also the Fruit called *Cocus*, with diuers other kindes of Victuals, in such quantitie, that it was a marvellous thing to behold. They furnished also their ships with fresh Water, which is hot as it issueth out of the Spring, but is very cold when it hath stood a while in another place. It springeth from the Mountaines, on the which the Cloue-trees grow. They saw a Cloud rise in manner daily, which compasseth about the said Mountaines of Cloue-trees. There were some Nutmeg-trees also.

Water of a  
strange qua-  
lity.

Birds of a  
strange forme.

The King of the Iland of Bacchian sent the King of Spaine two dead Birds, of strange forme: They were of the bignesse of Turtle-Doues, with little heads and long bylls; also long and small legges, and no wings, but in the stead thereof, certaine long feathers of diuers colours, and tayles like Turtle-Doues; all the other feathers are of one colour, much like vnto Tawny, except those of the wings: they flye not, but when the winde bloweth. These Mores are of opinion, that these Birds come from the heauenly Paradise, and therefore call them *Manucco-diata*, that is, the Birds of God.

When they were determined to depart from the Ilands of Molucca, certaine Kings of the Ilands accompanied them with their Canoas, and conducted them to an Iland called Mare, where they refreshed their shippes with fresh Water and Fuell. The Kings sent the Emperors Maiestie many presents; and embracing our men, departed with the teares in their eyes: and our men, for their last farewell, shot off all their Ordenance.

They leaue  
one of their  
shippes behind  
them.

In the Iland of Mare they perceiued, that one of their shippes leaked and tooke water very sore, whereby they were enforced to tarry there three dayes: but seeing that they could finde no remedie for the same, but in long time, they determined to leaue it; giuing order, that if afterward it could bee repayred, they should returne into Spaine as well as they could.

The Ilands of  
Molucca.

Hony of Flyes.

Popingayes.

In all the Ilands of Molucca, is found Cloues, Ginger, Bread of the branches or inner parts of *Sagu*, Rice, Goats, Sheepe, Hennes, Figges, Almonds, sweet Pomegranats and sowre, Oranges, Limons, and Honey, which is made of certaine Flyes lesse then Ants: Also Canes of Sugar, Oyle of *Cocus*, Melons, Gourds, and a marvellous cold Fruit, which they name *Camulicai*, and diuers other Fruits. Furthermore, white and red Popingayes, and other of variable colours. It is not past fiftie yeeres since the Mores first inhabited any of these Ilands, which were before inhabited onely with Gentiles.

The



The Iland of Tidore is about the Equinoctiall Line toward our Pole, about seven and twenty minutes, and in longitude from the place from whence they departed, a hundred seventie one degrees, and from the *Archipelagus*, in the which is the Iland of Zamal, which our men named the Iland of Theeues, nine degrees and a halfe, and runneth to the quarter of South South-west, and North North-east. Terenate is vnder the Equinoctiall Line foure minutes, vnder the Pole Antartike. Mutir is directly vnder the Equinoctiall Line. Macchian is fifteen minutes toward the Pole Antartike: and Bacchian, one degree. These Ilands are like foure sharpe Mountaines, except Macchian, which is not sharpe. The biggest of all these, is Bacchian.

The Iland of  
Tidore.

Terenate:  
Mutir.  
Macchian.  
Bacchian.

- 10 Departing from the Iland of Mare, and directing their course toward the South-west, with onely six and fortie men in their ship, and thirteene Indians, they passed by the Ilands of Chacouan, Lagoma, Sico, Gioghi, Caphi, Sulacho, Lumatola, Tenetum, Buru, Ambon, Budia, Celaruri, Benaia, Ambalao, Bandon, Zorobua, Zolot, Noceumamor, Galian, and Mallua, with diuers other Ilands both great and small, of Mores, Gentiles, and Canibals. Our men remayned fifteen dayes in the Iland of Mallua, to repayre their shippe in certaine places where it tooke water. All the fields of this Iland are full of long and round Pepper, and is situate toward the Pole Antartike, vnder the Equinoctiall Line, eight degrees and a halfe, and is in the longitude of a hundred sixtie nine degrees, and fortie minutes. The people are Men-eaters. The Women vse Bowes and Arrowes. The Men weare their Hayre and Beards in Canes. There growes much Pepper, both long and round, with Leaues like Mulberry, and climbing, like to Iuie.
- 20

Many Ilands.

The Iland of  
Mallua.

Pepper.

The Pilot which our men brought out of the Ilands of Molucca, told them, That not farre from thence was an Iland named Arucetto, in the which are Men and Women not past a Cubit in height, hauing eares of such bignesse, that they lye vpon one, and couer them with the other. But our men would not sayle thither, both because the Winde and course of the Sea was against them, and also for that they gaue no credit to his report.

Little men  
with long  
eares; a fa-  
bulous report.  
Such hath bin  
the ground of  
fabulous Mon-  
sters in *Pliny*,  
&c.  
The Iland of  
Timor.  
White Saun-  
ders and Gin-  
ger.  
The Deuill ap-  
peareth.  
Saint Iob his  
disease.

- The five and twentieth day of Ianuary, in the yeere 1522. they departed from Mallua, and the day following arriued at a great Iland named Timor, being five Leagues distant from Mallua, betweene the South and South-west. In this Iland is found the Wood of white Saunders, and Ginger, and diuers kindes of Fruits. Also sundry kindes of Beasts, and plentie of Viſtuall and Gold. They of the Ilands of Giaua, Molucca, and Lozon, resort to this Iland for Saunders. The Inhabitants are Gentiles. They say, that when they goe to cut the Wood of Saunders, the Deuill appeareth to them in diuers formes, and asketh them what they haue neede of: And that after this Vision, many of them are long sicke. In all the Ilands of this *Archipelagus*, reigneth the Disease of Saint Iob (which we call the French Poxe) more then in any other place in the World. This Iland stands in ten degrees Antartike, and a hundred seventie foure in longitude.
- 30

Farre from this Iland, betweene the West and North-west, they came to an Iland named Ende, in the which groweth great plentie of Cinnamome. In this Tract are found many Ilands, lying in order (as it were) one directly behinde another, euen vnto the Iland of the greater Giaua, named *Giaua maior*, and vnto the Cape of Malacha, being in East India. *Giaua* the lesse is as bigge as the Iland of Madera, and is but halfe a League distant from *Giaua maior*.

Cinnamome.  
The Ilands of  
Giaua.  
Malacha.

The eleuenth day of February, in the yeere 1522. they departed from the Iland of Timor, and were ingulſed by chance in the great Sea called *Lantchidol*, and tooke their course betweene the West and South-west, leauing the North Coasts on their right hand, fearing lest if they should sayle toward the firme Land, they might be seene of the Portugals, who are of great power in Malacha: and therefore directed their course without the Iland of Sumatra, called in old time Taprobana. And more safely to passe the Cape of *Buona Speranza*, being about Africke, they sayled about two and fortie degrees toward the Pole Antartike, and remayned seven weekes about that Cape, with many fetches compassing the Winde, with their sayles continually aloft, because they had a West and North-west Winde in the prow of their shippe, which would not suffer them to passe. The Cape of *Buona Speranza* is toward the Pole Antartike, beneath the Equinoctiall Line, foure and thirtie degrees and a halfe, and a thousand six hundred Leagues from the Cape of Malacha, and is the greatest and most dangerous Cape that is found at this day in all the World.

50

The Sea of  
*Lantchidol*.

Malacha.  
The Iland of  
Sumatra.  
Cap. de *Buona  
Speranza*.

- When they had by these perils ouer-passed this Cape, certaine of them, as well for lacke of Viſtuall, as also by reason of Sicknesse, were minded to sayle to a Hauen of the Portugals, named Mozambique, about Africke: But the other answered, That they would rather die, then goe to any other place then directly to Spaine. They followed their course therefore, sayling toward the South-west two moneths continually, without touching at any Port, in which time there died about one and twentie of their companie, whom they cast into the Sea. And surely, if God of his infinite mercie had not preferred the residue in time, they had all died of famine.
- 60

The Port of  
Mozambique.



The Port of  
S. Lucas, neere  
vnto Siuile.

What became  
of the other  
shippe.  
Darien.

\* This Voyage  
is in Ramusio  
his first Tome.

In fine, being enforced of necessitie, and halfe of their companie dead, they sayled to one of the Ilands of *Capo Verde*, called *Insula Sancti Iacobi*, that is, Saint *James* Iland, pertayning to the King of Portugall. Where, as soone as they arriued, they sent certaine a-land in the ship-boat for Victuals, declaring to the Portugals with all loue and fauour, what necessitie they were driuen to, and what miseries and trauailes they had sustayned: informing them furthermore of their maruellous Voyage, and such things as they had seene in both the East and West India, with such other gentle words, whereby they obtayned certaine Measures of Rice. But when afterward thirteene of them returned for more Rice, they were detayned. Whereupon the rest which remayned in the shippe, fearing the like chance, departed with full sayles, and the seuenth day of September, with the helpe of God, entred into the Hauen of *San Lucas*, 10  
neere vnto Siuile: where discharging all their Ordenance for ioy, they went immediately to the great Church, in their shirts, and bare-footed, with a Torch before them, to giue thanks to Almighty God, who had brought them safe to their owne Countrey, and restored them to their Wiues and Children.

Of this shippe *San Victoria*, which returned, and had first discovered the Straits, they were called the Straits of *Victoria*, which name passed after to *Magalanes* himselfe.

The other shippe, which they left behind them to be repayred, returned afterward by the *Archipelagus* aforesaid, and by the great Sea, to the Coasts of the firme of the West India, and arriued at a Region of the same, being against *Dariena*, where the South Sea of *Sur* is separate but by a little space of Land from the West Ocean, in the which are the Ilands of *Hispaniola* 20  
and *Cuba*, and other Ilands of the Spaniards.

The Portugals tooke the *Trinitie*, and the Castilians in *Tidore*, and ouerthrew their Factorie. They built also, by leaue, a Fort in *Ternate*, and established a Factorie for themselves, indenting, that they alone should haue the Cloues sold to them. *John Sebastian Cano*, which brought home the shippe *Victoria* into Spaine, was well rewarded by the Emperour. But much strife hereby grew betwixt Spaine and Portugall, each challenging the *Molucca's* to his owne diuision. Cosmographers were in fine appointed to define the Controuersie, with Pilots and Iudges on both sides deputed: and after much menaces, and brabbles, and delays, the Portugals Trade being great, and loth to lose such a merzell, tooke the aduantage of the Emperours marriage to the Lady *Isabel*, sister to King *John* of Portugall: which hauing vie of money, 30  
empawned the Ilands and Trade of Spicerie (going then into Italy to be crowned, Anno 1529.) to the said King for three hundred and fiftie thousand Duckats, without terme limited. In the yeere 1548. *Cortes* offered to repay that money for six yeeres profits of that Trade, and to leaue the same after that to the Crowne: But the Emperour would not admit it. And so it continued, till the Crowne of Portugall it selfe was annexed to the Castilian.

Before also, some had attempted this discouerie out of New Spaine by the South Sea: but unluckily, as by the relation of *Iuan Gaetan*, a Castilian Pilot, \* appeareth: Who set sayle from the Port of *Natiuitie*, in twentie degrees, 1542. and came to the *Molucca's*, where the King of *Tidore* gaue them kinde entertainment, but their weake shippe forced them to agree with the Spaniards. This Sea is yeerely navigated by the Spaniards to the *Philippina's*, which 40  
now also concur with the *Molucca's*.

### CHAP. III.

*The second Circum-Navigation of the Earth: Or the renowned Voyage of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, the first Generall which euer sayled about the whole Globe, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.*

*heretofore published by M. R. HACKLVT,*  
*and now reuiued and corrected.*



THE fifteenth day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. *M. Francis Drake* with a Fleet of five Ships and Barkes, and to the number of a hundred sixtie foure men, Gentlemen and Saylers, departed from *Plimmouth*, giuing out his pretended Voyage for *Alexandria*: but the Wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into *Falmouth* Hauen in *Cornewall*, where such and so terrible a Tempest tooke vs, as few men haue seene the like, and was indeed so vehement, that all our ships were like to haue gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserue vs from that extremitie, and to afflict vs onely for that present with these two particulars; The Mast of our Admirall, which was the *Pellican*, was cut ouer-board, for the safegard of the ship, 60  
and the *Marigold* was driuen ashore, and somewhat bruised. For the repaying of which damages, wee returned againe to *Plimmouth*: and hauing recouered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, wee set forth the second time from *Plimmouth*, and set sayle the thirteenth day of December following.

The



The five and twentieth day of the same moneth, wee fell with the Cape *Cantin*, vpon the Coast of *Barbarie*: and coasting along, the seven and twentieth day wee found an Iland called *Mogador*, lying one mile distant from the maine; betweene which Iland and the maine, wee found a very good and safe harbour for our shippes to ride in, as also very good entrance, and void of any danger. On this Iland our Generall erected a Pinnace, whereof he brought out of *England* with him foure ready framed.

The Isle of  
*Mogador* on  
the Coast of  
*Barbarie*.

While these things were in doing, there came to the Waters side some of the inhabitants of the Countrey, shewing forth their Flags of Truce: which being seene of our Generall, hee sent his shippe-boat to the shore, to know what they would. They being willing to come aboard, 10 our men left there one man of our companie for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboard our shippe, which by signes shewed our Generall, that the next day they would bring some prouision, as Sheepe, Capons, and Hennes, and such like: whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some Linnen Cloth, and Shooes, and a Iauelin, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time. The next morning they fayled not to come againe to the Waters side, and our Generall againe setting out our Boat, one of our men leaping ouer-rashly ashore, and offering friendly to embrace them, they layd violent hands on him, offering a Dagger to his Throat, if he had made any resistance, and so laying him on a Horse, carryed him away: So that a man cannot be too circumspect and warie of himselfe, amongst such Miscreants.

Our Pinnace being finished, wee departed from this place the thirtieth and last day of December: and coasting along the shore, wee did descrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine 20 *Canters*, which were Spanish Fisher-men; to whom wee gaue chase, and tooke three of them: and proceeding further, we met with three Carauels, and tooke them also.

The seuenteenth day of Ianuary we arrived at Cape *Blanco*, where we found a shippe riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her: which shippe we tooke, and carryed her further into the Harbour, where we remayned foure dayes; and in that space our Generall mustered, and trayned his men on Land, in warlike manner, to make them fit for all occasions. In this place we tooke of the Fisher-men such necessities as we wanted, and they could yeeld vs; and leauing here one of our little Barkes, called the *Benedict*, wee tooke with vs one of theirs, which they called *Canters*, being of the Burthen of fortie Tunnes, or there- 30 abouts.

All these things being finished, wee departed this Harbour the two and twentieth of Ianuary, carrying along with vs one of the Portugall Carauels, which was bound to the Ilands of Cape *Verde* for Salt, whereof good store is made in one of those Ilands.

The Master or Pilot of that Carauell did aduertise our Generall, That vpon one of those Ilands, called *Mayo*, there was great store of dried *Cabritos*, which a few Inhabitants, there dwelling, did yeerely make ready for such of the Kings ships as did there touch, being bound for his Countrey of *Brasile*, or elsewhere. Wee fell with this Iland the seven and twentieth of Ianuary: but the Inhabitants would in no case traffique with vs, being thereof forbidden by the Kings Edict. Yet the next day our Generall sent to view the Iland, and the likelyhoods 40 that might be there of prouision of Victuals, about threescore and two men, vnder the conduct and gouernment of Master *Winter* and Master *Doughtie*: and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Iland (as by the Portugall wee were informed) hauing trauelled to the Mountaines the space of three miles, and arriuing there somewhat before the day breake, we rested our selues, to see day before vs; which appearing, wee found the Inhabitants to be fied: but the place, by reason that it was manured, we found to be more fruitfull then the other part, especially the Valleys among the Hills.

The Isle of  
*Mayo*.

Here we gaue our selues a little refreshing, as by very ripe and sweet Grapes, which the fruitfulness of the Earth at that season of the yeere yeelded vs: and that season being with vs the depth of Winter, it may seeme strange that those Fruits were then there growing: but the 50 reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropique and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twice in the yeere through their Zenith, ouer their heads, by meanes whereof, they haue two Summers; and being so neere the heat of the Line, they neuer lose the heat of the Sunne so much, but the Fruits haue their encrease and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Iland is wonderfully stored with Goats and wild Hennes, and it hath Salt also without labour, saue onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is encreased vpon the Sands, by the flowing of the Sea, and the heat of the Sunne kerning the same; so that of the encrease thereof, they keepe a continuall Traffique with their Neighbours.

Ripe Grapes  
in Winter.

Amongst other things, we found here a kind of Fruit called *Cocos*; which, because it is not commonly knowne with vs in *England*, I thought good to make some description of it. The 60 Tree beareth no Leaues nor Branches, but at the very top the Fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the Tree, as big euery leuerall Fruit as a mans head: but hauing taken off the vttermost Barke, which you shall find to be very full of strings or sinewes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell, which may hold of quantitie in Liquor a Pint commonly,

The description  
of the Tree  
that beareth  
*Cocos*.



monly, or some a Quart, and some lesse : within that shell, of the thicknesse of halfe an ynch good, you shall haue a kind of hard substance, and very white, no lesse good and sweet then Almonds ; within that againe a certaine cleare Liquor, which being drunke, you shall not onely find it very delicate and sweet, but most comfortable and cordiall.

After wee had satisfied our selues with some of these Fruits, wee marched further into the Island, and saw great store of *Cabritos* aliue, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our prouision : but they had layd out (as it were) to stop our mouthes withall, certaine old dryed *Cabritos*, which being but ill, and small, and few, wee made no account of.

The Isle of  
S. Iago.

Being returned to our shippes, our Generall departed hence the one and thirtieth of this moneth, and sayled by the Island of Saint Iago, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at vs three Peeeces, but they all fell short of vs, and did vs no harme. The Island is faire and large, and as it seemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugals : but the Mountaines and high places of the Island are said to bee possessed by the Meres ; who hauing beene slaues to the Portugals, to ease themselves, made escape to the desert places of the Island, where they abide with great strength.

A Prize, and  
Nuno da Silva,  
a Portugall  
Pilot, taken.

Being before this Island, wee espyed two shippes vnder sayle, to the one of which wee gaue chase, and in the end boarded her with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good Prize, and she yeelded vnto vs good store of Wine : which Prize our Generall committed to the custodie of Master Doughtie ; and retayning the Pilot, sent the rest away with his Pinace, giuing them a But of Wine, and some Victuals, and their wearing Clothes, and so they departed.

The Isle of  
Fogo.

The same Night wee came with the Island called by the Portugals, *Ilha del fogo*, that is, the burning Island : in the North side whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is said to be of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to be a commodious Island, because the Portugals haue built, and doe inhabite there. Vpon the South side thereof lyeth a most pleasant and sweet Island, the Trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke vpon, in respect whereof, they call it *Ilha Braua*, that is, the braue Island. From the bankes thereof, into the Sea, doe runne in many places reasonable streames of fresh Waters, ealie to be come by, but there was no conuenient Roade for our shippes : for such was the depth, that no ground could bee had for anchoring ; and it is reported, that Ground was neuer found in that place : so that the tops of *Fogo* burne not so high in the Ayre, but the rootes of *Braua* are drenched as low in the Sea.

Being departed from these Islands, wee drew towards the Line, where wee were becalmed the space of three weekes, but yet subiect to diuers great Stormes, terrible Lightnings, and much Thunder : but with this miserie, wee had the commoditie of great store of Fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying Fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, where-hence they could not rise againe, for want of moysture ; for when their Wings are drie, they cannot flye.

Aprill.  
33. Degrees.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled foure and fiftie dayes without sight of Land, and the first Land that wee fell wirth, was the Coast of *Brasil*, which wee saw the fift of April, in the height of three and thirtie degrees towards the Pole Antartike : and being discouraged at Sea by the inhabitants of the Countrey, they made vpon the Coast great fires for a Sacrifice (as wee learned) to the Devils ; about which, they vse Coniurations, making heapes of Sand, and other Ceremonies, that when any shippe shall goe about to stay vpon their Coast, not onely Sands may be gathered together in Shoalds in euery place, but also that Stormes and Tempests may arise, to the casting away of shippes and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue beene diuers experiments.

The Cape of  
Ioy.

The seuenth day, in a mightie great Storme both of Lightning, Raine, and Thunder, wee lost the *Canter*, which wee called the *Christopher* : but the eleuenth day after, by our Generalls great care in dispersing his shippes, wee found her againe ; and the place where wee met, our Generall called the Cape of Ioy, where euery shippe tooke in some Water. Here wee found a good Temperature, and sweet Ayre, a very faire and pleasant Countrey, with an exceeding fruitfull Soyle, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but wee came not to the sight of any people : but traueilling further into the Countrey, wee perceiued the footing of people in the Clay-ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our shippes, wee weighed anchor, and ranne somewhat further, and harboured our selues betweene a Rocke and the Main, where, by meanes of the Rocke that brake the force of the Sea, wee rid very safe : and vpon this Rocke wee killed, for our prouision, certaine Sea-Wolues, commonly called with vs Seales.

The Entrance  
into the Riuer  
of Plate.

From hence wee went our course to six and thirtie degrees, and entred the great Riuer of *Plate*, and ranne into foure and fiftie and three and fiftie fadomes and a halfe of fresh Water, where wee filled our Water by the shippes side : but our Generall finding here no good Harbough, as hee thought hee should, bare out againe to Sea the seuen and twentieth of Aprill, and



in bearing out, wee lost sight of our Flie-boat wherein Master *Doughtie* was : but wee sayling along, found a faire and reasonable good Bay, wherein were many, and the same profitable Ilands, one whereof had so many Seales, as would at the least haue laden all our shippes ; and the rest of the Ilands are as it were laden with Fowles, which is wonderfull to see, and they of diuers sorts. It is a place very plentifull of Victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh Water. Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Iland, the people of the Countrey shewed themselves vnto him, leaping and dancing, and entred into traffique with him, but they would not receiue any thing at any mans hands, but the same must be cast vpon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foot, and seeme to be very actiue.

Abundance  
of Seales.

10 The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needfull to haue a care of such ships as were absent, and therefore indeuouring to seeke the Flie-boat wherein Master *Doughtie* was, wee espyed her againe the next day : and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discouer the Coast, and to search an Harbour, the *Marygold* and the *Canter* being employed in that businesse, came vnto vs, and gaue vs vnderstanding of a safe Harbour that they had found, where-with all our ships bare, and entred it, where wee watred, and made new prouision of Victuals, as by Seales, whereof wee slew to the number of two hundred or three hundred in the space of an houre.

The Flie-boat  
cast off and  
burnt.

20 Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboard the Flie-boat, and tooke out of her all the prouision of Victuals and what else was in her, and haling her to the Land, set fire to her, and so burnt her, to saue the Iron worke : Which being a doing, there came downe of the Countrey certaine of the people naked, sauing onely about their Waite the Skinne of some Beast, with the furre or hayre on, and something also wreathed on their heads : their faces were painted with diuers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, euery man his Bow, which was an Ell in length, and a couple of Arrowes. They were very agill people, and quicke to deliuer, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of Warres, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appeare. These people would not of a long time receiue any thing at our hands : yet at length our Generall being ashore, and they dancing after their accustomed manner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and tooke his Cap with his Gold Band off his head, and ranne a little distance from him, and shared it with his fellow, the Cap to the one, and the Band to the other. Hauing dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediately vpon our setting forth, wee lost our *Canter*, which was absent three or foure dayes : but when our Generall had her againe, hee tooke out the necessaries, and so gaue her ouer, neere to the Cape of Good Hope.

The people of  
the Countrey.

The Cape of  
Good Hope.

30 The next day after, being the twentieth of Iune, wee harboured our selues againe in a very good Harborough, called by *Magellan*, Port S. *Iulian*, where wee found a Gibbet standing vpon the Maine, which wee supposed to be the place where *Magellan* did execution vpon some of his disobedient and rebellious company. And here M. *Thomas Doughty* was tried, and re-  
40 ceiued sentence of death, which was also here executed. Here also some of our men going ashore, were by the Sauages forced to retire.

Iune.

Port S. *Iulian*.

M. *Thomas*  
*Doughty* exe-  
cuted.

The seuenteenth day of August wee departed the Port of S. *Iulian*, and the twentieth day wee fell with the Strait or Freat of *Magellan*, going into the South Sea, at the Cape or Head-land whereof, wee found the bodie of a dead Man, whose flesh was cleane consumed.

August.

The Strait of  
*Magellan*.

The one and twentieth day wee entred the Strait, which wee found to haue many turnings, and as it were shuttings vp, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof, wee had the Winde often against vs, so that some of the Fleet recouering a Cape or Point of Land, others should be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an Anchor where they could. In this Strait there be many faire Harbours, with store of fresh Water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie : for the Water is there of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anchor in, except it be in some narrow Riuer or Corner, or betweene some Rockes ; so that if any extreme Blasts or contrary Winds doe come (whereunto the place is much subiect) it carrieth with it no small danger.

50 The Land on both sides is very huge and mountainous ; the lower Mountaines whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderfull to looke vpon, for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a strange manner, reaching themselves about their fellowes so high, that betweene them did appeare three Regions of Clouds : These Mountaines are couered with Snow : At both the Southerly and Easterly parts of the Strait  
60 there are Ilands, among which the Sea hath his indraught into the Straits, euen as it hath in the maine entrance of the Freat. This Strait is extreme cold, with Frost and Snow continually : The Trees seeme to stoope with the burthen of the Weather, and yet are Greene continually ; and many good and sweet Herbes doe very plentifully grow and increafe vnder them.



The bredth of  
the Straits of  
*Magellan*.

Abundance of  
Penguins in  
the Strait.

September.

The bredth of the Strait is in some place a League, in some other places two Leagues, and three Leagues, and in some other, foure Leagues: but the narrowest place hath a League ouer.

The foure and twentieth of August wee arriued at an Iland in the Straits, where wee found great store of Fowle which could not flye, of the bignesse of Geese, whereof wee killed in lesse then one day three thousand, and victualled our felues throughly therewith.

The sixt day of September wee entred the South Sea at the Cape or Head shore.

The seuenth day wee were driuen by a great storme from the entring into the South Sea, two hundred Leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Strait: in which height, and so many Leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moone, at the houre of sixe of the Clocke at Night: but neyther did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impayre our state, nor her clearing againe amend vs a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seuen-fold.

57. Degrees  
and a terce of  
Southerly la-  
titude.

*Botero* writeth,  
that another  
hath found  
this place all  
Ilands.

*M. Winter* sepa-  
rated and re-  
turned.

From the Bay (which wee called, The Bay of seuering of Friends) wee were driuen backe to the Southward of the Straits, in seuen and fiftie degrees and a terce: in which height, wee came to an anchor among the Ilands, hauing there fresh and very good Water, with Herbes of singular vertue. Not farre from hence, wee entred another Bay, where wee found people, both Men and Women, in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Iland to another, to seeke their Meat; who entred traffique with vs, for such things as they had.

Wee returning hence Northward againe, found the third of October three Ilands, in one of which was such plentie of Birds, as is scant credible to report.

The eight day of October wee lost sight of one of our Consorts, wherein *M. Winter* was, who, as then wee supposed, was put by a storme into the Straits againe: which, at our returne home, wee found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our companie feared.

[He still (I think) is alieue. I conferred with him of this Voyage at *Batbe*, in Septemb. 1618. He told me, and desired that it should be published, That formall Possession was then and there taken of the said Straits and Territories, with Turfe and Twigge, after the *English* manner; Captaine *Drake* deliuering him the said Possession, in the name and to the vse of Queene *Elizabeth*, and her Successors.]

The trending  
of the Coast  
of *Chili*.

The Ile *la*  
*Mocha*, in 38.  
degrees and  
30. minutes.

Thus being come into the height of the Straits againe, wee ranne, supposing the Coast of *Chili* to lye as the generall Maps haue described it, namely, North-west, which wee found to lye and trend to the North-east, and Eastwards: whereby it appeareth, that this part of *Chili* hath not bene truely hitherto discouered, or at the least not truely reported, for the space of twelue degrees at the least, being set downe eyther of purpose to deceiue, or of ignorant coniecture.

Wee continuing our course, fell the nine and twentieth of Nouember with an Iland called *la Mocha*, where wee cast anchor, and our Generall hoysing out our Boat, went with tenne of our companie to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced, for their owne safetie and libertie, to flye from the Mainie, and to fortifie themselves in this Iland. Wee being on land, the people came downe to vs to the Water side, with shew of great courtesie, bringing to vs Potatoes, Rootes, and two very fat Sheepe, which our Generall receiued, and gaue them other things for them, and had promise to haue Water there: But the next day repaying againe to the shore, and sending two men aland with Barrells to fill Water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vse to shew no fauour, if they take them) layd violent hands on them, and as we thinke, slew them.

Our Generall seeing this, stayed here no longer, but weighed anchor, and set sayle towards the Coast of *Chili*, and drawing towards it, wee met neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards, came to vs and told vs, That at a place called *S. Iago*, there was a great Spanish shippe laden from the Kingdome of *Pern*: for which good newes, our Generall gaue him diuers Trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with vs, and brought vs to the place, which is called the Port of *Valparizo*.

The Port of  
*Valparizo*, in  
33. degrees,  
40. minutes.

Wine of *Chili*.

When wee came thither, wee found indeede the shippe riding at anchor, hauing in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards, and their friends, welcommed vs with a Drumme, and made ready a *Bottija*, of Wine of *Chili*, to drinke to vs: but as soone as wee were entred, one of our company, called *Thomas Moone*, began to lay about him, and stricke one of the Spaniards, and said vnto him, *Abaxo Perro*, that is in English, Goe downe Dogge. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that qualitie in those Seas, all to crossed and blessed himselfe: but to be short, wee stowed them vnder Hatches, all saue one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt ouer-board into the Sea, and swam ashore to the

The Towne of  
*S. Iago* taken.

Towne of *S. Iago*, to giue them warning of our arriuall. They of the Towne being not aboue nine Households, presently fled away, and abandoned the Towne. Our Generall manned his Boat, and the Spanish shippes Boat, and went to the Towne: and being come to it, wee rifled it, and came to a small Chappell, which wee entred, and found therein a Siluer Challice, two Cruets,



Cruets, and one Altar-Cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gaue to M. Fletcher, his Minister. Wee found also in this Towne a Ware-house, stored with Wine of *Chili*, and many boords of Cedar-Wood; all which Wine wee brought away with vs, and certaine of the boords, to burne for fire-wood: and so being come aboard, wee departed the Hauen, hauing first set all the Spaniards on land, sauing one *Iohn Griego*, a Greeke borne, whom our Generall carryed with him for his Pilot, to bring him into the Hauen of *Lima*.

Wine of *Chili*.*Iohn Griego*, a Pilot, taken.

When wee were at Sea, our Generall rifled the shippe, and found in her good store of the Wine of *Chili*, and fve and twentie thousand Pezoes of very pure and fine Gold of *Baldinia*, amounting in value to seuen and thirtie thousand Duckats of Spanish Money, and aboue. So  
10 going on our course, wee arriued next at a place called *Coquimbo*, where our Generall sent foure-  
teene of his men on land to fetch Water: but they were espyed by the Spaniards, who came with three hundred horsemen and two hundred footmen, and slew one of our men with a Peece; the rest came aboard in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a Flag of Truce; but wee set sayle, and would not trust them.

Gold of *Baldinia*.*Coquimbo* in 29. degrees, 30. minutes.

From hence wee went to a certaine Port, called *Tarapaca*: where being landed, wee found by the Sea side a Spaniard lying asleepe, who had lying by him thirteene Barres of Siluer, which weighed foure thousand Duckats Spanish; wee tooke the Siluer, and left the man.

*Tarapaca*.

Not farre from hence, going on land for fresh Water, wee met with a Spaniard and an Indian  
20 Boy driuing eight *Llamas* or Sheepe of *Pern*, which are as bigge as Asles; euery of which Sheepe had on his backe two Bagges of Leather, each Bagge containing fiftie pound weight of fine Siluer: so that bringing both the Sheepe and their Burthen to the shippes, wee found in all the Bagges eight hundred weight of Siluer.

Hence wee sayled to a place called *Arica*: and being entred the Port, wee found there three small Barks, which wee rifled, and found in one of them seuen and fiftie Wedges of Siluer, each of them weighing about twentie pound weight, and euery of these Wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a Brick-bat. In all these three Barks wee found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the Towne, which consisteth of about  
30 twentie Houses, which we would haue ransacked, if our companie had beene better, and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoyle of the shippes, left the Towne, and put off againe to Sea, and set sayle for *Lima*, and by the way met with a small Barke, which hee boarded, and found in her good store of Linnen Cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, hee let her goe.

*Arica* in 18. degrees, 30. minutes.

To *Lima* wee came the thirteenth day of February: and being entred the Hauen, wee found there about twelue sayle of shippes, lying fast moored at an anchor, hauing all their sayles carryed on shore: for the Masters and Marchants were here most secure, hauing neuer beene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as wee were. Our Generall rifled these shippes, and found in one of them a Chest full of Ryals of Plate, and good store of Silkes and Linnen Cloth, and tooke the Chest into his owne shippe, and good store of  
40 the Silkes and Linnen. In which shippe hee had newes of another shippe, called the *Cacafuego*, which was gone towards *Paita*, and that the same shippe was laden with Treasure: whereupon wee stayed no longer here, but cutting all the Cables of the shippes in the Hauen, wee let them driue whither they would, eyther to Sea, or to the shore, and with all speede wee followed the *Cacafuego* toward *Paita*, thinking there to haue found her; but before wee arriued there, shee was gone from thence towards *Panama*: whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a Barke laden with Ropes and Tackle for shippes, which hee boarded and searched, and found in her fourescore pound weight of Gold, and a Crucifixe of Gold, with goodly great Emeraulds set in it, which hee tooke, and some of the Cordage also for his owne shippe.

*Lima* in 11. degrees, 50. minutes.

From hence wee departed, still following the *Cacafuego*, and our Generall promised our companie, that whosoeuer could first descry her, should haue his Chayne of Gold for his good newes. It fortunied, that *Iohn Drake* going vp into the top, descryed her about three of the clocke, and about fixe of the clocke wee came to her and boarded her, and shot at her three  
50 Peeces of Ordenance, and stricke downe her Milne: and being entred, wee found in her great Riches, as Jewels and precious Stones, thirteene Chests full of Ryals of Plate, fourescore pound weight of Gold, and six and twentie Tunne of Siluer. The place where wee tooke this Prize, was called *Cape de San Francisco*, about an hundred and fiftie Leagues from *Panama*.

The rich ship called the *Cacafuego*, taken.

The Pilots name of this shippe, was *Francisco*: and amongst other Plate that our Generall  
60 found in this shippe, hee found two very faire gilt Bolles of Siluer, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall said: Senior Pilot, you haue here two Siluer Cups, but I must needes haue one of them; which the Pilot, because hee could not otherwile chuse, yeelded vnto, and gaue the other to the Steward of our Generals shippes.

*Cape de San Francisco*, in 1. degree to the North.

When this Pilot departed from vs, his Boy said thus vnto our Generall: Captaine, our  
E c 2 shippe



shippe shall be called no more the *Cacafuego*, but the *Cacaplata*, and your shippe shall be called the *Cacafuego*: Which prettie speech of the Pilots Boy ministred matter of Laughter to vs, both then and long after.

China silkes,  
and Porcellan.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this *Cacafuego*, hee cast her off, and wee went on our curle still towards the West: and not long after, met with a shippe laden with Linnen Cloth, and fine *China* Dishes, of white Earth, and great store of *China* Silkes; of all which things, wee tooke as wee listed. The Owner himselfe of this shippe was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman: from whom, our Generall tooke a Fawlcen of Gold, with a great Emerauld in the brest thereof; and the Pilot of the shippe hee tooke also with him, and so cast the shippe off.

Guatulco.

This Pilot brought vs to the Hauen of *Guatulco*: the Towne whereof, as hee told vs, had but seuentene Spaniards in it. As soone as wee were entred this Hauen, wee landed, and went presently to the Towne, and to the Towne-house, where wee found a Iudge sitting in Iudgement, being associate with three other Officers, vpon three Negros that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Iudges and Prisoners wee tooke, and brought them a ship-board, and caused the chiefe Iudge to write his Letter to the Towne, to command all the Townes-men to auoid, that wee might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ransacked the Towne, and in one house wee found a Pot, of the quantitie of a Bushell, full of Ryals of Plate, which wee brought to our shippe. And here one *Thomas Moone*, one of our companie, tooke a Spanish Gentleman, as hee was flying out of the Towne; and searching him, hee found a Chayne of Gold about him, and other Iewels, which hee tooke, and so let him goe.

The Portugall  
Pilot set on  
land: his name  
was *Nunoda*  
*Sylla*.  
The Iland of  
*Canno*.  
A ship with a  
Gouernour for  
the Ilands of  
*Philippina's*.

At this place our Generall, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilot, which hee tooke at the Ilands of *Cape Verde*, out of a shippe of *S. Mary* Port of Portugall: And hauing set them ashore, wee departed hence, and sayled to the Iland of *Canno*; where our Generall landed, and brought to shore his owne shippe, and discharged her, mended, and graued her, and furnished our shippe with Water and Wood sufficiently. And while wee were here, wee espyed a shippe, and set sayle after her, and tooke her, and found in her two Pilots and a Spanish Gouernour, going for the Ilands of the *Philippina's*: Wee searched the shippe, and tooke some of her Merchandizes, and so let her goe.

It was the  
more stormie  
at his being  
there, because  
it was then the  
Winter sea on  
in those parts.

Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himselfe, both in respect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and reuenged: and supposing, that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer vpon the Spanish Coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey. Hee thought it not good to returne by the Straits, for two speciall causes: The one, lest the Spaniards should there wait and attend for him in great number and strength; whose hands, he being left but one shippe, could not possibly escape: The other cause, was the dangerous situation of the Mouth of the Straits in the South Sea, where continuall stormes reigning and blustering, as hee found by experience, besides the Shoalds and Sands vpon the Coast, hee thought it not a good course to aduenture that way. Hee resolved therefore, to auoid these hazards, to goe forward to the Ilands of the *Molucca's*; and thence, to sayle the course of the Portugals, by the Cape of *Buena Esperança*.

Vpon this resolution, hee began to thinke of his best way to the *Molucca's*; and finding himselfe where hee now was becalmed, hee saw that of necessitie hee must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely, to sayle somewhat Northerly, to get a Winde. Wee therefore set sayle, and sayled six hundred Leagues at the least for a good Winde; and thus much wee sayled from the sixteenth of Aprill, till the third of Iune.

Iune.  
Sir Francis  
Drake sayled  
on the back-  
side of America  
to 43. degrees  
of Northerly  
latitude,  
38. degrees.

The fift day of Iune, being in three and fortie degrees towards the Pole Artike, wee found the Ayre so cold, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof; and the further wee went, the more the Cold encreased vpon vs. Whereupon wee thought it best for that time to seeke the Land, and did so, finding it not Mountaynous, but lowe plaine Land, till wee came within eight and thirtie degrees towards the Line. In which height, it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Bay, with a good Winde to enter the same.

A description  
of the People  
and Countrey  
of *Nova Albion*.

In this Bay wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey hauing their Houses close by the Waters side, shewed themselves vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall. When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondered at the things that wee brought: but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednesse; whereupon they supposed vs to be Gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrarie. The Presents which they sent to our Generall, were Feathers, and Kawles of Net-worke. Their Houses are digged round about with Earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the Circle, Clifts of Wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the top like a Spire-Steeple, which by reason of that closenesse, are very warme.



warme. Their Bed is the Ground, with Rushes strowed on it: and lying about the Houle, haue the fire in the midst. The Men goe naked: the Women take Bull-rushes, and kembe them after the manner of Hempe, and thereof make their loose Garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a Skinne of Deere, with the hayre vpon it. These Women are very obedient and seruiceable to their Husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them Feathers and Bagges of *Tabacco* for Presents: And when they came to the top of the Hill (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our Tents) they stayed themselves; where  
 10 one appointed for Speaker, wearyed himselfe with making a long Oration: which done, they left their Bowes vpon the Hill, and came downe with their Presents. In the meane time, the Women remayning on the Hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes; whereby wee perceiued, that they were about a Sacrifice. In the meane time, our Generall, with his companie, went to Prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures; at which Exercise they were attentiu, and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they restored againe vnto vs those things which before wee bestowed vpon them.

A long Oration.

The newes of our being there, being spred through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them, the King himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, and  
 20 comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming, were sent two Embassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming; in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their King, as a token, that his comming might be in peace: Wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King; who marched to vs with a Princely Maiestie, the people crying continually after their manner: and as they drew neere vnto vs, so did they strue to behaue themselves in their actions with comelineesse. In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the Scepter or Mace before the King, whereupon hanged two Crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with  
 30 three Chaynes of a maruellous length: the Crownes were made of knit worke, wrought artificially, with Feathers of diuers colours; the Chaynes were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them; and of that number also, the persons are stinted, as some tenne, some twelue, &c. Next vnto him which bare the Scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Guard about his person, clad with Cony-skins, and other Skins: after them, followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, and hauing in their hands one thing or another for a Present; not so much as their children, but they also brought their Presents.

Chaynes like those of Canada

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching, a very Warlike shew. They being trouped together  
 40 in their order, and a generall salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the Scepter before the King, being informed by another, (whom they assigned to that Office, with a manly and loftie voyce proclaymed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: and a generall *Amen* as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men and women (the Children excepted) came downe without any Weapon, who descending to the foot of the Hill, set themselves in order. In comming towards our Bulwarkes and Tents, the Scepter-bearer began a Song, obseruing his Measures in a Dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Guard, and euery degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and dance, sauing onely the women, which danced and kept silence. The Generall permitted them to enter within our Bulwarke, where they continued  
 50 their Song and Dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made seuerall Orations, or rather Supplications, that he would take their Prouince and Kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole Land, and become his Subiects. In which, to perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a Song, did set the Crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their Chaynes, and offered vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of *Hiob*, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of Triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because hee knew not what honour and profit it might be to oure Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her  
 60 Maiestie, he tooke the Scepter, Crowne, and Dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the Riches and Treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported, to the enriching of her Kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The King resignes his Crowne and Kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

The common sort of people leauing the King and his Guard with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their Sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent view of euery person.



- person : and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about, offered their Sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee vsed signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them vpwards to the liuing God, whom onely they ought to worship. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon we gaue them Lotions, Playsters, and Oyntments, agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their Diseases. Euery third day they brought their Sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them : yet they could not being absent from vs, but daily frequented our Companie to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated vs, that Being absent we would remember them, and by stealth prouided a Sacrifice, which we milliked. 10
- Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his Companie traualled vp into the Country to their Villages, where wee found Herdes of Deere by a thousand in a companie, being most large, and fat of bodie. Wee found the whole Country to be a Warren of a strange kind of Conies, their bodies in bignesse as be the *Barbary* Conies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a Want, and the tayle of a Rat being of great length : vnder her chinne is on eyther side a bag, into the which shee gathereth her meate, when shee hath filled her belly abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great account of their Skinnies, for their Kings Coat was made of them. Our Generall called this Country *Noua Albion*, and that for two 20 causes : the one in respect of the white Bankes and Cliffes, which lye towards the Sea : and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Country in name, which sometime was so called. There is no part of Earth here to be taken vp, wherein there is not some probable shew of Gold or Siluer.
- At our departure hence, our Generall set vp a Monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties Right and Title to the same, namely, a Plate, nayled vpon a faire great Poste, wherevpon was engrauen her Maiesties Name, the day and yeere of our arrivall there, with the free giuing vp of the Prouince and People into her Maiesties hands, together with her Highnesse Picture and Armes, in a piece of six pence of currant English Money, vnder the Plate, wherevnder was also written the Name of our Generall. It seemeth, that the Spaniards hitherto 30 had neuer bene in this part of the Country ; neyther did euer discover the Land, by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.
- After wee had set sayle from hence, wee continued without sight of Land till the thirteenth day of October following ; which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Ilands, eight degrees to the Northward of the Line : from which, came a great number of Canoas, hauing in some of them foure, in some six, and in some also foureteene men, bringing with them *Cocos*, and other Fruits. Their Canoas were hollow within, and cut with great art and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glosse, as if it were a Horne daintily burnished, hauing a Prowe and a Sterne of one sort, yeelding inward Circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certaine white shells, for a brauerie, and on each side of them lye out two 40 pieces of Timber, about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnesse or bignesse of the Boat. This people haue the nether part of their Eares cut into a round Circle, hanging downe very lowe vpon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The Nayles of their Hands are an ynce long, their Teeth are as blacke as Pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an Herbe with a kind of powder, which they alwayes carry about them in a Cane for the same purpose.
- Leauing this Iland the Night after wee fell with it, the eighteenth of October wee lighted vpon diuers others, some whereof made a great shew of Inhabitants. Wee continued our course by the Ilands of *Tagulada*, *Zelon*, and *Zewarra*, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Cinnamome. 50
- The foureteenth of Nouember wee fell with the Ilands of *Molucca* : Which day at night (hauing directed our course to runne with *Tydore*) in coasting along the Iland of *Mintyr*, belonging to the King of *Ternate*, his Deputie or Vice-King seeing vs at Sea, came with his Canoa to vs, without all feare, and came aboard, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with *Ternate*, and not with *Tydore*, assuring him, that the King would be glad of his comming, and would be readie to doe what hee would require ; for which purpose, he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes : with whom if hee once dealt, hee should find, that as hee was a King, so his word should stand. Adding further, that if hee went to *Tydore* before hee came to *Ternate*, the King would haue nothing to doe with vs, because hee held the Portugall as hisemie. Whereupon our Generall 60 resolved to runne with *Ternate*, where the next morning early wee came to anchor ; at which time our Generall sent a Messenger to the King with a Veluet Cloke for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that hee required nothing but Traffique and exchange of Marchandize, whereof hee had good store, in such things as hee wanted.



In the meane time, the Vice-King had beene with the King, according to his promise, signifying vnto him what good things hee might receiue from vs by Traffique: Whereby the King was moued with great liking towards vs, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that hee should haue what things hee needed, and would require with peace and friendship: and moreouer, that hee would yeeld himselfe, and the right of his Iland, to be at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as wee serued. In token whereof, hee sent to our Generall a Signet, and within short time after, came in his owne person, with Boats and Canoas, to our shippe, to bring her into a better and safer Road then shee was in at that present. Our Generals Messenger being come to the Court, was met by certaine Noble Personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose hands hee was most friendly and graciously entertained.

The King of Ternate offereth himselfe and his Kingdom to the service of the Queene of England.

The King purposing to come to our shippe, sent before foure great and large Canoas, in euery one whereof, were certaine of his greatest States that were about him, attyred in white Lawne, of Cloth of Calicut, hauing ouer their heads, from the one end of the Canoa to the other, a Couering of thinne perfumed Mats, borne vp with a Frame made of Reedes for the same vse, vnder which, euery one did sit in his order, according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heat of the Sunne, diuers of whom being of good age and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were also diuers young and comely men, attyred in white, as were the others: the rest were Souldiers, which stood in comely order, round about on both sides; without whom, sate the Rowers in certaine Galleries, which being three on a side, all along the Canoas, did lye off from the side thereof three or foure yards, one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which Galleries were the number of fourescore Rowers. These Canoas were furnished with warlike Munition, euery man for the most part hauing his Sword and Targuet, with his Dagger, beside other Weapons, as Launces, Caluers, Darts, Bowes and Arrowes: also, euery Canoa had a small cast Base, mounted at the least one full Yard vpon a stocke set vp-right. Thus comming neere our ship, in order they rowed about vs, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great Personages beginning with great grauitie and fatherly countenances, signifying, that the King had sent them to conduct our shippe into a better Roade.

The great and strange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

Soone after, the King himselfe repayred, accompanied with six graue and ancient persons, who did their obeyfance with maruelous humilitie. The King was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our Musike; to whom, as also to his Nobilitie, our Generall gaue presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

The King of Ternate came to visite Sir Francis Drake.

At length, the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboard, and in the meane time to send vs such Victuals as were necessarie for our prouision: So that the same Night wee receiued of them Meale, which they call *Sagu*, made of the tops of certaine Trees, taltling in the mouth like sowre Curds, but melteth like Sugar, whereof they make certaine Cakes, which may be kept the space of tenne yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. Wee had of them store of Rice, Hennes, vnperfect and liquid Sugar, Sugar Canes, and a

*Sagu*, a kind of Meale.

Fruit which they call *Figo*, with store of Cloues.

The King hauing promised to come aboard, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to entreat our Generall to come on shore, offering himselfe pawne aboard for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, vpon millike conceiued of the breach of his promise, the whole company also vtterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our Generall sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the Kings brother, reseruing the Vice-King for their safe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the Kings, and other States, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought vnto, was a large and faire House, where were at the least a thousand persons assembled.

A Castle in Ternate.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places threescore graue Personages, all which were said to be of the Kings Councell. There were besides foure graue persons, apparrelled all in Red, downe to the ground, and attyred on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romans, and Liegers there, to keepe continuall Traffique with the people of Ternate. There were also two Turkes Liegers in this place, and one Italian.

\* The Turkes sent from Constantinople, which is called New Rome.

The King at last came in, guarded with twelue Launces, couered ouer with a rich Canopie, embossed with Gold. Our men, accompanied with one of their Captaines, called *Moro*, rising to meet him, hee graciously did welcome, and entertaine them. Hee was attyred after the manner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his Wasse downe to the ground, was all Cloth of Gold, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feet were a payre of shooes, made of Cordouant skinne. In the attyre of his head were finely wreathed hooped Rings of Gold, and about his necke hee had a Chayne of perfect Gold, the Links whereof were great, and one-fold double. On his fingers hee had six very faire Iewels: and sitting in his Chayre of Estate, at his right hand stood a Page with a Fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the King. The Fanne was in length two foot, and in bredth one

The Maiestie of the King.

foot,



foot, set with eight Saphyres, richly embroydered, and knit to a staffe three foot in length, by the which the Page did hold, and mooue it. Our Gentlemen hauing deliuered their Message, and receiued order accordingly, were licenced to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the Kings Councell.

*Ternate the  
chiefest of the  
Moluccalles.*

This Iland is the chiefest of all the Ilands of *Molucca*, and the King hereof is King of seuentie Ilands besides. The King with his people are Mores in Religion, obseruing certaine new Moones, with fastings; during which Fasts, they neyther eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

*A little Iland  
to the South-  
ward of Celebes.*

*Fierie Worms.*

*Bats.  
Cray-fishes.*

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that wee had here, by the fauour of the King, receiued all necessarie things that the place could yeeld vs: our Generall considering the great distance, and how farre hee was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer; but weighing his anchors, set out of the Iland, and sayled to a certaine little Iland, to the Southwards of *Celebes*, where wee graued our shippe, and continued there, in that and other businesse, six and twentie dayes. This Iland is throughly growne with Wood, of a large and high growth, very straight, and without Boughes, saue onely in the head or top, whose Leaues are not much differing from our Broome in *England*. Amongst these Trees, night by night, through the whole Land, did shew themselues an infinite swarme of fierie Wormes flying in the Ayre, whose bodies being no bigger then our common English Flyes, make such a shew and light, as if euery Twigge or Tree had beene a burning Candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large Hennes. Of Cray-fishes also here wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one whereof was sufficient for foure hungry stomackes at a Dinner, being also very good, and restoring meat, whereof wee had experience: and they digge themselues holes in the Earth like Conies.

*Ianuarie, in  
Anno 1579.*

*Their danger  
vpon a Rocke.*

*Cloues.*

*The helpe of a  
Current in the  
deliuerie.*

*February.  
Baratene Iland.*

When wee had ended our businesse here, wee weighed, and set sayle to runne for the *Moluccas*: but hauing at that time a bad Winde, and being amongst the Ilands, with much difficultie wee recovered to the Northward of the Iland of *Celebes*; where, by reason of contrarie Windes, not able to continue our course, to runne Westwards, wee were inferced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for vs, by reason of infinite shoalds, which lye off and among the Ilands: whereof wee had too much tryall, to the hazard and danger of our shippe and liues. For vpon the ninth of Ianuary, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne suddenly vpon a Rocke, where wee sticke fast from eight of the clocke at night, till foure of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeed out of all hope to escape the danger. But our Generall, as hee had alwayes hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God; so now hee continued in the same: and lest hee should seeme to perish wilfully, both hee and wee did our best endeouour to saue our selues, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the end wee cleared our selues most happily of the danger. Wee lighted our shippe vpon the Rockes, of three Tunne of Cloues, eight Peeces of Ordenance, and certaine Meale and Beanes: And then the Winde (as it were in a moment, by the speciall grace of God) changing from the Starboord to the Larboord of the shippe, wee hoyled our sayles, and the happie gale droue our shippe off the Rocke into the Sea againe, to the no little comfort of all our hearts: for which wee gaue God such prayse and thanks, as so great a benefit required.

The eight of February following, wee fell with the fruitfull Iland of *Baratene*, hauing in the meane time suffered many dangers by Windes and Shoalds. The people of this Iland are comely in body and stature, and of a ciuill behauiour, iust in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof wee had the experience sundry wayes; they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to relieue our wants, in those things which their Countrey did yeeld. The Men goe naked, sauing their heads and priuities, euery man hauing something or other hanging at their eares. Their Women are couered from the middle downe to the foot, wearing a great number of Bracelets vpon their armes, for some had eight vpon each arme, being made some of Bone, some of Horne, and some of Brasle, the lightest whereof, by our estimation, weighed two ounces apeece.

*Linnen Cloth  
good Mar-  
chandize.*

*Nutmegs and  
long Pepper  
growing in  
Baratene.*

*Commendati-  
on of the Iland  
of Baratene.*

With this people, Linnen Cloth is good Marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make Rolls for their heads, and Girdles to weare about them. Their Iland is both rich, and fruitfull: rich in Gold, Siluer, Copper, and Sulphur; wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them. Their Fruits be diuers, and plentifull, as Nutmegs, Ginger, long Pepper, Limons, Cucumbers, *Cocos*, *Figu*, *Sagu*, with diuers other sorts: and among all the rest, wee had one Fruit, in bignesse, forme, and huske, like a Bay-berry, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and holesome Victuall, whereof wee tooke reasonable store, as wee did also of the other Fruits and Spices. So that to confesse a truth, since the time that wee first set out of our owne Countrey of *England*, wee happened vpon no place (*Ternate* onely excepted) wherein wee found more comforts and better meanes of refreshing.



At our departure from *Baratene*, we set our course for *Iana maior*, where arriving, wee found great courtesie, and honourable entertainment. This Island is gouerned by five Kings, whom they call *Raiab*: as *Raiab Donaw*, and *Raiab Mang Bange*, and *Raiab Cabuocapello*, which liue as hauing one Spirit, and one Minde. Of these five we had foure a ship-boord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as Red and Greene: the ypper parts of their bodies are naked, saue their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as doe the *Maluccians*: from the middle downward they weare a Pintado of silke, trailing vpon the ground, in colour as they best like. The *Maluccians* hate that their Women should bee seene of Strangers: but these offer them of high courtesie, yea the Kings themselues. The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well prouided of Swords and Targets, with Daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their metall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store. They haue an house in euery Village for their common assembly: euery day they meete twise, Men, Women, and Children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some Fruits, some Rice boiled, some Hens roasted, some *Sagu*, hauing a Table made three foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that euery person sitting at the Table may eate, one reioycing in the company of another. They boile their Rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a Sugar loafe, being full of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great end, wherein they put their Rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they haue readie another great earthen pot, set fast in a furnace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with Rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the end they are a firme and good bread, of the which with Oyle, Butter, Sugar, and other Spices, they make diuers sorts of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature. The *French* pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselves, sitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawne out. Not long before our departure, they told vs, that not farre off there were such great Ships as ours, wishing vs to beware: vpon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

*Iana Maior.*

Red &amp; Greene clothes much esteemed.

The manners of the people of *Iana*.

A strange fashion of boiling Rice.

The French pocks.

This rather is to be imputed to varietie of weather.

*Sierra Leona.*

Oyster-trees.

From *Iana Maior* we sailed for the Cape of *Good Hope*, which was the first Land wee fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other Land, vntill we came to *Sierra Leona*, vpon the coast of *Guinea*: notwithstanding wee ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the *Portugals* to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the World, neuer without intolerable stormes and present danger to Trauailers, which come neere the same. This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape wee saw in the whole Circumference of the Earth, and we passed by it the 18. of Iune. From thence we continued our course to *Sierra Leona*, on the coast of *Guinea*, where we arrived the 22. of Iuly, and found necessarie prouisions, great store of Elephants, Oysters vpon trees of one kinde, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Oyster suffering no bud to grow. We departed thence the 24. day.

Wee arrived in *England* the third of Nouember 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

## CHAP. IIII.

*The third Circum-Navigation of the Globe: Or the admirable and prosperous voyage of Master THOMAS CANDISH of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, into the South Sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole Earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1586. and finished 1588.*

*Written by Master FRANCIS PRETTY lately of Ey in Suffolke, a Gentleman employed in the same action, published by Master HAKLVYT, and now corrected and abbreviated.*



We departed out of *Plimmouth* on Thursday the 21. of Iuly 1586. with three saile, to wit, *The Desire*, a ship of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, *The Content* of threescore Tunnes, and the *Hugh Gallant*, a Barke of fortie Tunnes: in which small Fleete were one hundred and twentie three persons of all sorts, with all kinde of furniture and victuals sufficient, for the space of two yeeres, at the charges of the worshipfull Master *Thomas Candish* of *Trimley* in the Countie of *Suffolke* Esquire, being our Generall.

The three and twentieth of August, we put roome for *Sierra Leona*, and the five and twentieth day we fell with the Point on the South side of *Sierra Leona*, which Master *Brexer* knew very well, and went in before with the *Content*, which was Vice-admirall: and we had no lesse then

*Sierra Leona.*



then five fathoms water when wee had least, and had for forteene leagues in Southwest all the way running into the Harbour of *Sierra Leona*, sixteene, fourteene, twelue, ten, and eight fathoms of water. We spoiled here a Towne of the Negro's, which killed one of our men with a poysoned Arrow.

Two Buffes.  
Their departure from *Sierra Leona*.

The Iles of *Madrabumba* inhabited by Negroes.

A Towne.

Fresh water.

October.  
Cape Frio in *Brasil*.

November.  
S. Sebastian's Iland.

December.

48. Degrees.

Port Desire.

Scales and Pengwins.

They graue and trim their Ships.

A kinde of Giants.

Their departure from *Port Desire*.

Ianuary 1587.

The third day of September, diuers of our Fleete went vp foure miles within the Harbour with our Boate, and caught great store of fish, and went on shore and tooke Limmons from the Trees, and comming aboard againe, saw two Buffes. The sixt day wee departed from *Sierra Leona*, and went out of the Harbour, and stayed one Tyde three leagues from the Point of the mouth of the Harbour in sixe fathoms, and it floweth South Southwest. On Wednesday, being the seuenth of the same moneth, we departed from one of the Iles of *Cape Verde*, alias, the Iles of *Madrabumba*, which is ten leagues distant from the Point of *Sierra Leona*: and about five of the clocke the same night we anchored two miles off the Iland in sixe fathoms water, and landed the same night, and found Plantans onely vpon the Iland.

The eight day one of our Boats went out and sounded round about the Iland, and they passed through a sound at the West end of the Iland, where they found five fathoms round about the Iland, vntill they came vnto the very gut of the sound, and then for a cast or two they had but two fathoms, and presently after sixe fathoms, and so deeper and deeper. And at the East end of the Iland there was a Towne, where Negro's doe vse at sometimes, as we perceiued by their prouision.

There is no fresh water on all the South side, as we could perceiue, but on the North side three or foure very good places of fresh water: and all the whole Iland is a Wood, saue certaine little places where their houses stand, which are inuironed round about with Plantan-trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meate. This place is subiect maruailous much to Thunder, Raine, and Lightning in this moneth. I thinke the reason is, because the Sunne is so neere the line Equinoctiall. On Saturday the tenth, we departed from the said Iland about three of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde being at the Southwest. The last of October running West Southwest about foure and twentie leagues from *Cape Frio* in *Brasil*, wee fell with a great Mountayne which had an high round knop on the top of it, standing from it like a Towne, with two little Ilands from it.

The first of Nouember we went in betweene the Iland of *Saint Sebastian* and the mayne Land, and had our things on shore, and set vp a Forge, and had our Caske on shore: our Coopers made Hoopes, and so wee remayned there vntill the three and twentieth day of the same moneth: in which time we fitted our things, built our Pinnace, and filled our fresh water.

The sixteenth day of December we fell with the Coast of *America* in 47. degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ . the Land bearing West from vs about sixe leagues off: from which place wee ranne along the shore, vntill we came into fortie and eight degrees. It is a steepe beach all along. The seuenteenth in the afternoone we entred into an Harbour, where our Admirall went in first: wherefore our Generall named the said Harbour, *Port Desire*: in which Harbour is an Iland or two, where there is wonderfull great store of Seales, and another Iland of Birds which are gray Guls. This Harbour is a very good place to trim ships in, and to bring them on ground, and graue them in: for there ebbeth and floweth much water: therefore wee graued and trimmed all our ships there. Here a Man and a Boy in washing their clothes at a Pit, were hurt by the Sauages arrowes, which are made of Canes, headed with flints. They are very wilde. We tooke the measure of one of their feete, and it was eightene inches long. Their vse is vwhen any of them die, to bring him or them to the Clifles by the Sea-side, and vpon the top of them they burie them, and in their graues are buried with them their Bowes and Arrowes, and all their Iewels which they haue in their life time, which are fine shells vvhich they finde by the Sea side, which they cut and square after an artificiall manner; and all is laid vnder their heads. The graue is made all with great stones of great length and bignesse, being set all along full of the dead mans Darts which he vsed when he was liuing. And they colour both their Darts and their Graues with a red colour vvhich they vse in colouring of themselues. The eight and twentieth of December vve departed out of the Port of *Desire*, and went to an Iland vvhich lyeth three leagues to the Southward of it; vvhether vve trimmed our saued *Pengwins* vwith salt for victuall all that and the next day, and departed along the Coast Southwest and by South.

The thirtieth day vvee fell vwith a Rocke vvhich lyeth about five leagues from the Land, much like vnto *Ediestone*, which lyeth off the sound of *Plimouth*, and vve sounded, and had eight fathoms rockie ground, within a mile thereof: the Rocke bearing West Southwest. Wee vvent coasting along South Southwest, and found great store of Seales all along the Coast. This Rocke standeth in 48. degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ . to the Southward of the Line. The second day of Ianuarie we fell vwith a very faire vvhite Cape, vvhich standeth in 52. degrees, and had seven fathoms vwater a league of the Land. The third day of the foresaid moneth vvee fell vwith another great vvhite Cape, vvhich standeth in 52. degrees and 45. minutes: from vvhich Cape there runneth a low beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of *Magellan*, vvhich is in diuers places five or sixe leagues vvide, and in two feuerall



seuerall places more narrow. Vnder this Cape wee anchored, and lost an anchor, for it was a great storme of foule Weather, and lasted three dayes very dangerous.

The sixt day wee put in for the Straits. The seuenth day, betweene the mouth of the Straits and the narrowest place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whose name was *Hernando*, who was there with three and twentie Spaniards more, which were all that remained of foure hundred, which were left there three yeeres before in these Straits of *Magellan*, all the rest being dead with famine. And the same day wee passed through the narrowest of the Straits, where the afore said Spaniard shewed vs the Hull of a small Barke, which wee iudged to be a Barke called *The John Thomas*. It is from the mouth of the Straits vnto the narrowest of the Straits, 10 foureteene leagues, and the course lyeth West and by North. The mouth of the Straits standeth in two and fiftie degrees. From the narrowest of the Straits vnto *Penguin* Iland, is tenne leagues, and lyeth West Southwest somewhat to the Southward, where wee anchored the eight day, and killed and salted great store of *Penguins* for Victuals.

The ninth day wee departed from *Penguin* Iland, and ranne South Southwest to King *Philips* Citie, which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or Citie had foure Forts, and euery Fort had in it one cast Peece, which Peeces were buryed in the ground; the Carriages were standing in their places vnburyed: wee digged for them, and had them all. They had contriued their Citie very well, and seated it in the best place of the Straits for Wood and Water: They had builded vp their Churches by themselves: They had Lawes very seuer among themselves, for they had erected a Gibbet, whereon they had done execution vpon some of their companie. It seemed vnto vs, that their whole liuing for a great space was altogether vpon Muskles and Lympts; for there was not any thing else to be had, except some Deere which came out of the Mountaines downe to the fresh Riuer to drinke. These Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Straits, to the end that no other Nation should haue passage through into the South Sea, sauing onely their owne: but as it appeared, it was not Gods will so to haue it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres at the least, they could neuer haue any thing to growe, or in any wise prosper. And on the other side, the Indians oftentimes preyed vpon them, vntill their Victuals grew so short, (their store being spent which they had brought with them out of *Spaine*, and hauing no meanes to renew the same) that they died like Dogges in their Houses, and in their Clothes, wherein we found them still at our comming, vntill that in the end the Towne being wonderfully taynted with the smell and the fauour of the dead people, the rest which remayned aliue were driuen to burie such things as they had there in their Towne either for prouision or for furniture, and so to forsake the Towne, and to goe along the Sea-side, and seeke their Victuals, to preserue them from steruing, taking nothing with them, but euery man his Harquebuze and his furniture that was able to carry it (for some were not able to carry them for weakenesse) and so liued for the space of a yeere and more, with Rootes, Leaues, and sometimes a Fowle, which they might kill with their Peece. To conclude, they were determined to haue trauelled towards the Riuer of *Plate*, onely three and twentie persons being left aliue, whereof two were Women, which 40 were the remainder of foure hundred. In this place wee watred and wooded well and quietly. Our Generall named this Towne, *Port Famine*: It standeth in 53. degrees by obseruation to the Southward.

The foureteenth day wee departed from this place, and ranne South Southwest, and from thence Southwest vnto Cape *Froward*, fise Leagues West Southwest: Which Cape is the Southermost part of all the Straits, and standeth in the latitude of 54. degrees. From which Cape wee ranne West and by North fise Leagues, and put into a Bay or Coue on the South side, which wee called *Muske-Coue*, because there were great store of them: wee ridde therein fixe dayes, the Wind being still Westerly.

The one and twentieth day wee departed from *Muske-Coue*, and went Northwest and by 50 West tenne Leagues, to a very faire sandie Bay on the North side, which our Generall called *Elizabeth Bay*.

The two and twentieth wee departed from *Elizabeth Bay* in the afternoone, and went about two Leagues from that place, where there was a fresh Water Riuer, where our Generall went vp with the shippe-boat about three miles: Which Riuer hath very good and pleafant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion Soyle, and so wee saw none other ground else in all the Straits, but that was craggie Rockes and monstrous high Hills and Mountaines. In this Riuer are great store of Sauages, which wee saw, and had conference with them: They were Men-eaters, and fedde altogether vpon rawe flesh, and other filthie foode: Which people had preyed vpon some of the Spaniards before spoken of; for they had gotten Kniues and pieces of Rapiers to make Darts of. They vsed all the meanes they could possibly to haue allured vs vp farther into the Riuer, of purpoe to haue betrayed vs: Which being espyed by our Generall, hee caused vs to shoote at them with our Harquebuzes, whereby wee killed many of them. So wee sayled from this Riuer to the Channell of Saint *Ierome*, which is two Leagues off.

They enter the Straits the 6. of Ianuary. A Spaniard taken in the Straits of *Magellan*.

The Barke *John Thomas*, one of Sir Francis *Drakes* Consorts.

King *Philips* Citie left desolate in the Straits of *Magellan*, which our Generall called, *Port Famine*.

God enemy to the Spaniards Auarice, which would entayle the wide world in the East and West, to Spain.

*Port Famine* in 53. degrees.

Cape *Froward* in 54. degrees.

*Muske-Coue*.

*Elizabeth Bay*.

The most brutish Sauages that euer were seene.

The Channell of Saint *Ierome*.

From



February,  
1587.

The Straits of  
Magellan are a-  
bout 90. leagues  
long.

The Westerne  
mouth of the  
Straits is in 52.  
degrees and 2.  
terces.

Their entrance  
into the South  
Sea the 24. of  
February.

Ilands in the  
South Sea, cal-  
led *Las Anga-  
das*.

March 1.  
Extreme dan-  
ger of the *Hugh  
Gallant*, by a  
great Leake.

The Ile of *Ma-  
chi* in 38. de-  
grees, not sub-  
iect to the Spa-  
niards.

*Arauco* is the  
richest place in  
the South Sea  
for Gold, and  
is not subdued  
by the Spani-  
ards as yet.

*S. Mary* Iland  
in 37. degrees  
and 1. terce,  
which is sub-  
dued to the  
Spaniards.

A Church,  
with Crosses  
and Altars.

The Indians of  
*S. Mary* Iland  
made all Chri-  
stians.

*Arauco* rich in  
Gold.

From the Riuer of Saint *Jerome* about three or foure Leagues, wee ranne West vnto a Cape which is on the North side: and from that Cape vnto the mouth of the Straits the course lyeth Northwest and by West, and Northwest. Betweene which place and the mouth of the Straits to the Southward, wee lay in Harbrough vntill the three and twentieth of February, by reason of contrary Windes and most vile and filthie foule Weather, with such Raine and vehement stormie Windes which came downe from the Mountaines and high Hills, that they hazarded the best Cables and Anchors that wee had for to hold, which if they had fayled, wee had beene in great danger to haue beene cast away, or at the least famished. For during this time, which was a full moneth, wee fedde almost altogether vpon Muskles, and Limpits, and Birds, or such as wee could get on shore, seeking euery day for them, as the Fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode, in continuall raynie Weather. There is at euery mile or two miles end an Harbrough on both sides of the Land. And there are betweene the Riuer of Saint *Jerome* and the mouth of the Straits, going into the South Sea, about foure and thirtie Leagues by estimation. So that the length of the whole Straits is about ninetie Leagues. And the laid mouth of the Straits standeth in the same height that the entrance standeth in when wee passe out of the North Sea, which is about two and fiftie degrees and two terces to the Southward of the Line.

The foure and twentieth day of February wee entred into the South Sea: and on the South side of the going out of the Straits, is a faire high Cape, with a lowe Point adioyning vnto it. And on the North side are foure or fve Ilands, which lye sixe Leagues off the Mayne, and much broken and sunken ground about them: by Noone the same day, wee had brought these Ilands East of vs, fve Leagues off; the Winde being then Southerly.

The first of March a storme tooke vs at North: which Night the shippes lost the companie of the *Hugh Gallant*, being in nine and fortie degrees, and one second, and fve and fortie Leagues from the Land. This storme continued three or foure dayes: and for that time wee in the *Hugh Gallant* being separated from the other two shippes, looked euery houre to sinke, our Barke was so leake, and our selues so diluered and weakened with freeing it of Water, that wee slept not in three Dayes and three Nights.

The fifteenth day, in the Morning, the *Hugh Gallant* came in betweene the Iland of Saint *Mary* and the Mayne, where shee met with the Admirall and the *Content*, which had rid at the Iland called *La Mucha* two dayes, which standeth in the Southerly latitude of eight and thirtie degrees: At which place, some of our men went on shore with the Vice-Admirals Boat, where the Indians fought with them with their Bowes and Arrowes, and were marueilous warie of their Caliuers. These Indians were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called *Arauco*, and tooke vs for Spaniards, as afterward wee learned. This place which is called *Arauco*, is wonderfull rich, and full of Gold Mynes: and yet could it not be subdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they alwayes returned with the greatest losse of men. For these Indians are desperate and carelesse of their liues, to liue at their owne libertie and freedome.

In the after-noon we weighed anchor, and ranne vnder the West side of Saint *Mary* Iland, where wee ridde very well in sixe fathomes Water, and very faire ground all that Night.

The sixteenth day our Generall went on shore himselfe with seuentie or eightie men, euery one with his furniture: There came downe to vs certaine Indians, with two which were the Principals of the Iland, to welcome vs on shore, thinking wee had beene Spaniards, for it is subdued by them; who brought vs vp to a place where the Spaniards had erected a Church, with Crosses and Altars in it. And there were about this Church two or three Store-houses, which were full of Wheat and Barley, ready threshed and made vp in Cades of Strawe, to the quantitie of a Bushell of Corne in euery Cade. The Wheat and Barley was as faire, as cleane, and euery way as good as any wee haue in *England*. There were also the like Cades full of Potato Rootes, which were very good to eate, ready made vp in the Store-houses for the Spaniards, against they should come for their tribute. This Iland also yeeldeth many sorts of Fruits, Hogges, and Hennes. These Indians are held in such slauerie by them, that they dare not eate a Henne or an Hogge themselves. But the Spaniards haue made them all in that Iland Christians. Thus wee fitted our selues here with Corne as much as wee would haue, and as many Hogges as wee had Salt to powder them withall, and great store of Hennes, with a number of Bagges of Potato Rootes, and about fve hundred dryed Dogge-fishes, and *Guinie* Wheat, which is called *Maiz*. And having taken as much as wee would haue, yet wee left great store behind vs. Our Generall had the two Principals of the Iland aboard our shippe, and prouided great cheare for them, and made them merry with Wine: and they in the end perceiuing vs to be no Spaniards, made signes, as neere as our Generall could perceiue, that if wee would goe ouer vnto the maine Land, vnto *Arauco*, that there was much Gold, making vs signes, that wee should haue great store of Riches. But because wee could not vnder-



understand them, our Generall made some haste, and within two or three dayes wee furnished our selues.

The eighteenth day in the morning we departed from this place, and ran all that day North-northeast, about tenne leagues, and at night lay with a short sayle off and on the coast. The nineteenth we ranne in East Northeast with the land, and bare in with a place called *The Conception*, where we anchored vnder an Iland, and departed the next morning without going on land. The twentieth, wee departed from *The Conception*, and went into a little Baye which was sandie, where we saw fresh water and cattell, but we stayed not there. The thirtieth day, we came into the Baye of *Quintero*, which standeth in thirty three degrees, and fiftie minutes. Here *Fernando* the Spaniard, contrary to his oath, forsooke vs.

*The Conception.*

*Quintero* standeth in 33. degrees 50. minutes.

Our men marche 7. or 8. miles into their enemies land.

The last of March, Captaine *Hawes* went vp into the Country, with fiftie or sixtie men with their shot and furniture with them, and we trauelled seuen or eight miles into the land: and as we were marching along, we espied a number of herds of cattell, of kine and bullockes, which were wonderfull wilde: we saw great store of horses, mares, and coltes which were very wilde and vnhandled: there is also great store of hares and conies, and plenty of partridges and other wild-fowles. The countrey is very fruitfull with faire fresh riuers, all along full of wild-fowle of all sorts. Hauing traualled so farre that we could go no further for the monstrous high mountaines, we rested our selues at a very faire fresh Riuer, running in and alongst faire low medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where euery man drunke of the Riuer, and refreshed themselves. Hauing so done, we returned to our Ships the likest way that we thought their Towne should be: so we traualled all the day long, not seeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges: yet there were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day, by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from vs, who had told them that our force was but small, and that we were wonderfull weake: who though they did espie vs that day, yet durst they not giue the on-set vpon vs. For we marched along in array, and obserued good order, whereby we seemed a great number more then we were, vntill we came vnto our ships that night againe.

The next day being the first of April, 1587. our men went on shoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the water side: and being early hard at their businesse, were in no readinesse. In which meane while, there came powring downe from the hilles almost two hundred horsemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelue of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken prisoners, the rest were rescued by our souldiers which came from the rockes to meete with them, who being but fifteen of vs that had any weapons on shoare, yet we made the enemy retire in the ende with losse of some foure and twentie of their men, after we had skirmished with them an houre. After the losse of these men, we rid in the roade, and watered in despite of them, with good watch and ward, vntill the fift of the said moneth.

24. Spaniards slaine.

The fift day we departed out of this bay of *Quintero*: and off from the bay there lieth a little Iland about a league distant, whereon there are great store of *Penguins*, and other fowles; whereof we tooke to serue our turnes, and sayled away North, and North and by West: for so lieth the coast along in this place.

A little Iland full of *Penguins*.

The fifteenth we came thwart of a place which is called *Morro moreno*, which standeth in 23. degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and is an excellent good harborough: and there is an Iland which maketh it an harborough: and a ship may goe in at either end of the Iland: here we went with our Generall on shore to the number of thirty men: and at our going on shore vpon our landing, the Indians of the place came downe from the rockes to meete with vs, with fresh water and wood on their backs. They are in marvellous awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and liue sauagely: For they brought vs to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where we saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skinne of some beast laid vpon the ground: and ouer them in stead of houses, is nothing but fue or sixe sticks laid acrosse, which stand vpon two forkes with stikes on the ground, and a fewe boughes laid on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their *Canoes*, and all that they haue: for we opened one of their graues, and saw the order of them. Their *Canoes* or boates are marvellous artificially made of two skinnies like vnto bladders, and are blowne full at one ende with quilles: they haue two of these bladders blowne full, which are sown together, and made fast with the sinew of some wild beast; which when they are in the water, swell, so that they are as tight as may be. They goe to sea in these boates, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute vnto the Spaniards: but they vse it beastly.

*Morro moreno* in 23. degrees and a halfe.

Most artificiall boates.

Tribute payd in fish.

The three and twentieth in the morning we tooke a small barke which came out of *Arica* road, which we kept and called *The George*: the men forsooke it, and went away with their boate. Our Admirals pinnesse followed the boate, and the *Hugh Gallants* boate tooke the barke: our Admirals pinnesse could not recouer the boat before it got on shoare, but went along into the road of *Arica*, and laid aboard a great ship of an hundred tunnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare shippe was left alone.

A barke taken, which they called *The George*. *Arica* standeth in 18. degrees 31. minutes. A ship taken.



- The first barke of aduise taken
- The bay of Pisco in 13. degr.
- An Island of Seales.
- A ship of 300. tunnes taken after halfe an houres fight. Seuen degrees of Southerly latitude.
- They met their fleet againe.
- Two rich ships taken.
- One shippe worth 20000. pounds.
- The bay of Paia in 5. degrees 4. min.
- A new fort in building.
- The towne of Paia taken and burnt.
25. pounds weight in siluer
- The towne of Paia had 200. houses in it. A barke set on fire.
- The Island of Puna within 1. degree the Equinoctiall to the South.
- A great Ship burnt.
- Great store of cables made in Puna.
- A little Island neere vnto Puna.
- The twentieth day, after two other Barkes taken, wee departed. The twentieth day wee tooke a small Barke, which came from Saint Iago, neere vnto *Quintero*, where we lost our men first. In this Barke was one *George* a Greeke, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of *Chili*.
- The third of May we came into a bay where are three little townes, which are called *Paracca*, *Chincha*, and *Pisca*, where some of vs landed and tooke certain houses, wherein was bread, wine, figs, and hennies: but the sea went so high, that we could not land at the best of the townes without sinking of our boats, and great hazard of vs all. This place standeth in thirteene degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , to the Southward of the line.
- The fifth of May we departed from this harbour, leauing the *Content* our Vice-admirall with- in at an Island of Seales, by which meanes at that time we lost her companie.
- The sixteenth we tooke with the *Hugh Gallant*, beeing but sixteene men of vs in it, a great shippe which came from *Guaianil*, which was called The *Lewis*, and was of the burthen of three hundred tunnes, hauing fowre and twentieth men in it, wherein was pilot one *Gonsaluo de Ribas*, whom we carried along with vs, and a *Negro* called *Emmanuel*. The shippe was laden with nothing but timber and victualls: wherefore we left her seauen leagues from the land, very leake, and ready to sinke in seuen degrees to the Southward of the line: we sunke her boate and tooke away her forefaile and certaine victualls.
- The seuenteenth, we met with our Admirall againe, and all the rest of our fleet. They had taken two ships, the one laden with sugar, *Molasses*, *Maiz*, *Cordonan-skinnes*, *Montego de Porco*, many packes of *Pintados*, many Indian coates, and some marmalade, and a thousand hennies: and the other shippe was laden with wheat-meale, and boxes of marmalade. One of these shippes which had the cheife marchandize in it, was worth twenty thousand pounds, if it had beene in *England*, or in any other place of *Christendome*, where we might haue sold it. We filled all our ships with as much as we could bestow of these goods: the rest we burnt, and the ships also; and set the men and women that were not killed on shoare.
- The twentieth day in the morning, we came into the road of *Paia*, and beeing at an anchor, our Generall landed with sixtie or seuentie men, skirmished with them of the towne, and draue them all to flight to the top of the hill which is ouer the towne, except a few slaues and some other which were of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the gouernours to stay belowe in the towne, at a place which is in building for a fort, hauing with them a bloody ensigne, beeing in number about one hundred men. Now as we were rouing betweene the ships and the shore, our gunner shot off a great peice out of one of the barkes, and the shot fell among them, and draue them to flie from the fort as fast as they might runne, vvhich got them vp vpon an hill, and from thence shot among vs vwith their small shot. After vve were landed, and had taken the towne, vve ran vpon them, and chased them so fiercely vp the hilles for the space of an houre, that vve draue them in the ende avay perforce, and beeing got vp the hilles, vve found vvhich they had laid all their stuffe vvhich they had brought out of the towne, and had hidden it there vpon the mountaines. We also found the quantitie of fise and twenty pounds vweight in siluer, in peices of eight ryals, and abundance of household-stuffe, and store-houses full of all kind of wares: but our Generall vwould not suffer any man to carry much cloth or apparell avay, because they should not cloy themselves vwith burthens: for he knew not vvhether our enemies were prouided vwith furniture according to the number of their men: for they were fise men to one of vs: and vve had an English mile and an halfe to our ships. Thus we came dovvne in safetie to the towne, vvhich was very vwell builded, and marvellous cleane kept in euery streete, vwith a towne-house or Guild-hall in the midst, and had to the number of two hundred houses at the least in it. We set it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of fise or sixe thousand pounds: there was also a Barke riding in the roade, which we set on fire, and departed, directing our course to the Island of *Puna*.
- The twentieth five day of May, we arriued at the Island of *Puna*, where is a very good harbour, where we found a great ship of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tunnes, riding at an anchor with all her furniture, which was readie to bee haled on ground: for there is a speciall good place for that purpose. We sunke it, and went on shore where the Lord of the Island dwelt, which was by the waters side, who had a sumptuous house wel contriued, with many very singular good roomes and chambers in it: and out of euery chamber was framed a gallerie, with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the Island on the other side, with a great hall belowe, and a very great storehouse at the one ende of the hal, which was filled with *Botyas* of pitch and balt to make cables withall: for the most part of the cables in the South-sea, are made vpon that Island. This great *Casique* doth make all the Indians vpon the Island to worke and to drudge for him: and he himselfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a faire woman a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation, and great wealth.
- The twentieth ninth day of May, our Generall went in the ship-boate into a little Island thereby, whereas the said *Casique* which was the Lord of *Puna*, had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of *Cordonan* leather all gilded ouer, and painted very faire and rich, with



with all his household-stuffe, and all the ships tackling which was riding in the road at our coming in, with great store of nailes, spikes of yron, and very many other things to be conveyed: all which wee found, and brought away what our Generall thought requisite for the shippes businesse.

This Iland is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitfull: but there are no mines of gold nor silver in it. There are at the least two hundred houses in the towne about the *Casiques* palace, and as many in one or two townes more vpon the Iland, which is almost as bigge as the Ile of *Wight*, in England. There is planted on the one side of the *Casiques* house, a faire garden, with all herbes growing in it, and at the lower ende a Well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this manner: The tops of the trees growe full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seede of the bignesse of a pease, and in euery codde there are seuen or eight of these seedes: and if the cotton be not gathered when it is ripe, then these seedes fall from it, and spring againe. There are also in this garden fig-trees which beare continually, also pompions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemarie and thyme, with many other herbes and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another Orchard, where grow oranges swete and sower, limmons, pomegranates and lymes, with diuerse other fruits. There is very good pasture ground in this Iland; and withall many horses, oxen, bullocks, sheepe very fat and faire, great store of goates which be very tame, and are vsed continually to be milked. They haue moreouer abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a maruellous bignesse.

There was also a very large and great Church hard by the *Casiques* house, whither hee caused all the Indians in the Iland to come and heare masse: for he himselfe was made a Christian when he was married to the Spanish woman before spoken of, and vpon his conuersion, hee caused the rest of his subiects to be Christened. In this Church was an high Altar with a Crucifixe, and five belles hanging in the nether ende thereof. We burnt the Church, and brought the bells away. By this time we had haled on ground our Admirall, and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on flote againe. And in the meane while continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

The second of Iune, an hundred Spaniards assailed vs, whereby of our men were slaine, drowned, and taken twelue, of theirs wee slewe fortie sixe. The selfe same day we went on shore againe with seuentie men, and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and draue them to retyre, being an hundred Spaniards seruing with muskets, and two hundred Indians with bowes, arrowes, and darts. This done, we set fire on the Towne, and burnt it to the ground, hauing in it to the number of three hundred houses: and shortly after made hauocke of their fields, orchards, and gardens, and burnt foure great shippes more which were in building on the stocks. The third, the *Content* which was our Vice-admirall was haled on ground, to graue at the same place in despite of the Spaniards: and also our Pinnesse which the Spaniards had burned, was newe trimmed.

The fift day of Iune we departed out of the roade of *Puna*, where wee had remained eleuen dayes, and turned vp for a place which is called *Rio dulce*, where we watered: at which place also we sunke our Rere-admirall, called The *Hugh Gallant* for want of men, being a barke of fortie tonnes. The tenth day of the same moneth, we set the Indians on shore, which wee had taken before in a *Balsa*, as we were comming into the road of *Puna*. The eleuenth day we departed from the said *Rio dulce*. The twelfth we doubled the *Equinoctiall* line, and continued our course Northward all that moneth.

The first of Iuly we had sight of the coast of *Nuena Espanna*, being foure leagues distant from land, in the latitude of tenne degrees to the Northward of the line. The ninth, vve tooke a new ship of the burthen of an hundred and twentie tonnes, vvhetherin vvas one *Michael Sancius*, vvhom our Generall tooke to serue his turne to vvater along the coast: for he vvas one of the best coasters in the South Sea. This *Michael Sancius* vvas a Prouensall, borne in *Marseils*, and vvas the first man that told vs newes of the great shippe called The *Santa Anna*, vvhich vve aftervvard tooke comming from the *Philippinas*.

There were six men more in this nevv shippe: vve tooke her sailes, her ropes, and fire-vvood to serue our turnes, set her on fire and kept the men.

The tenth vve tooke another barke vvhich vvas going vvith aduise of vs, and our ships all along the coast, as *Michael Sancius* told vs: but all the company that vv ere in the barke vv ere fled on shore. The sixe and twentieth day of Iuly, vve came to an anchor at tenne fathomes in the riuer of *Copolita*, vvhere vve made account to vvater. And the same night vve departed vvith thirty men in the Pinnesse, and roved to *Aguatulco*, vv which is but two leagues from the afore-said riuer; and standeth in fiftene degrees fortie minutes to the Northward of the *Equinoctiall* line. The seuen and twentieth in the morning by the breake of day, vve came into the roade of *Aguatulco*, vv where vve found a barke of fiftie tonnes, vv which vvas come from *Sonsonate*, laden vvith *Cacaos* and *Anile*, vv which they had there landed: and the men vv ere all fled on shoare. Wee landed there, and burnt their tovvne, vvith the Church and Custome-house, vv which vvas very faire and large: in vv which house vv ere sixe hundred bags of *Anile* to die cloth; euery bagge vv where-

The Ile of *Puna* is almost as big as the Ile of *Wight*. Cotton trees.

An excellent Orchard.

The second grauing of their ships.

The second skirmish with the Spaniards. The chiefe towne in *Puna* burnt.

They arrived at *Puna* the 25. of May. The *Hugh Gallant* a Barke of 40. tons sunke. *Rio dulce*.

*Michael Sancius* a Marfillian.

A great newe shippe burnt. The second Barke of aduise taken. The riuer of *Copolita*. *Aguatulco* in 15 degrees and 40. minutes Northward. A barke burnt. *Anile*. Ca. 200. *Aguatulco* a towne of 100. houses burnt.



*Cacaos* goe for  
money in *Nue-  
ua España*.

Our Generall  
entred two  
miles into the  
maine land  
with 30. men.

*Puerto de Nati-  
uidad* in 19 de-  
grees.

The third pōle  
of aduise taken  
*Puerto de Nati-  
uidad* burnt.  
Two new ships  
burnt.  
The riuer of  
*Sant Iago*.  
Pearles taken.

The bay of  
*Malacca*.

The towne of  
*Acatlan* burnt.

The road of  
*Chaccalla*.

The Isle of *S.  
Andrew*.

*Iguanos* good  
meate.

*Massatlan* in 23.  
degrees and  
an halfe.

An Island a  
league North-  
wards of *Maf-  
satlan*.  
The escape of  
one *Domingo*, a  
Spaniard.  
*Chiametla*.

of was worth fortie Crownes, and foure hundred bagges of *Cacaos*; euery bag whereof is worth ten Crownes. These *Cacaos* goe among them for meate and money. For an hundred and fiftie of them are in value one Ryal of plate in readie payment. They are very like vnto an Almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste: they eat them, and make drinke of them.

The eight and twentieth day, we set sayle from *Copalita*, because the sea was so great there, that we could not fill water, and ranne the same night into the roade of *Aguatulco*. The nine and twentieth, our Generall landed and went on shore with thirtie men, two miles into the woods, where we tooke a *Mestizo*, whose name was *Michael de Truxillo*, who was customer of that towne, and we found with him two chambers full of his stuffe: wee brought him and his stuffe aboard. And whereas I say he was a *Mestizo*, it is to be vnderstood, that a *Mestizo*, is one 10 which hath a Spaniard to his father, and an Indian to his mother.

The foure and twentieth day of August, our Generall with thirty of vs went with the Pin- nesse vnto an haven called *Puerto de Natiuidad*, where we had intelligence by *Michael Sancius*, that there should be a Pinnesse, but before we could get thither, the said Pinnesse was gone to fill for pearles twelue leagues farther, as we were informed by certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a *Mullato* in this place in his bed, which was sent with letters of aduise concer- ning vs along the coast of *Nueva Galicia*, whose horse we killed, tooke his letters, left him be- hind, set fire on the houses, and burnt two new shippes of two hundred tunnes the piece, which were in building there on the stockes, and came aboard of our shippes againe. The sixe and twentieth day, we came into the bay of *S. Iago*, where we watered at a fresh Riuer, along which 20 riuer many plantans are growing: here is great abundance of fresh fish. Here also certaine of our company dragged for pearles, and caught some quantitie.

The second of September, we departed from *Sant Iago*. This bay of *Sant Iago* standeth in nineteene degrees and eightene minutes to the Northward of the line. The third of Septem- ber, we arriued in a little Bay a league to the Westward off *Port de Natiuidad*, called *Malacca*, which is a very good place to ride in: and the same day about twelue of the clocke, our Generall landed with thirty men or there about, and went vp to a towne of Indians, which was two leagues from the road, which towne is called *Acatlan*: there were in it about twentie or thirty houses and a Church, which we defaced and came aboard againe the same night. All the people were fled out of the towne at the sight of vs. The fourth, we departed from the road of *Malac- 30 ca*, and sayled along the coast. The eight, wee came to the roade of *Chaccalla*, in which Bay there are two little houses by the waters side. This Bay is eightene leagues from the *Cape de los Corrientes*. The ninth in the morning our Generall sent vp Captaine *Hauers*, with forty men of vs before day, and *Michael Sancius* being our guide, we vvent vnto a place about two leagues vp into the countrey, in a desert path through the vwoods and vvildernesse; and in the ende vvee came to a place vwhere vve tooke three householders vvith their vvives and children, and some In- dians, one Carpenter vvich vvas a Spaniard, and a Portugall, vve bound them all, and made them to come to the sea side vvith vs. Our Generall made their vvives to fetch vs Plantans, Lymmons, and Oranges, Pine-aples, and other fruits vvhereof they had abundance, and so let their husbands depart, except *Sembrano* the Spanish Carpenter, and *Diego* the Portugall; and the 40 tenth day vve departed the roade.

The twelfth day vve arriued at a little Island called the Isle of *Sant Andrew*, on vvich there is great store of fovvle and vvood: vvhere vve dried and salted as many of the fovvles as vvee thought good: vve also killed there abundance of Seales, and *Iguanos* vvich are a kind of Ser- pents, vvith foure feete, and a long sharpe tayle, strange to them vvich haue not seene them; but they are very good meate. We ridde here vntill the seuenteenth day, at vvich time vvee de- parted.

The foure and twentieth day we arriued in the road of *Massatlan*, which standeth in twenty three degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ , iust vnder the Tropicke of *Cancer*: It is a very great riuer within, but is barred at the mouth: & vpon the North side of the barre without, is good fresh water: but there is very euil 50 filling of it: because at a low water it is shoald halfe a mile off the shoare. There is great store of fresh fish in that bay: and good fruites vp into the countrey, whereof wee had some, though not without danger.

The seuen and twentieth day of September, we departed from the roade of *Massatlan*, and ran to an Island which is a league to the Northward of the said *Massatlan*; where wee trimmed our ships, and new built our Pinnesse: and there is a little Island a quarter of a league from it, on which are Seales; where a Spanish prisoner, whose name was *Domingo*, beeing sent to wash shirts with one of our men to keep him, made a scape, and swam to the maine, which was an English mile distant: at which place we had seene thirty or fortie Spaniards and Indians, which were horsemen, and kept watch there, which came from a towne called *Chiametla*, which was eleuen 60 leagues vp into the countrey, as *Michael Sancius* told vs. We found vpon the Island where we trimmed our Pinnesse, fresh water by the assistance of God in that our great neede by digging two or three foote deepe in the sand, where no water, nor signe of water was before to bee per- ceued. Othervise vve had gone backe twenty or thirty leagues to vvater: vvich might haue beene



beene occasion that vve might haue missed our prey vve had long vwayted for. But God rayled one *Flores* a Spaniard, vvhich vvas also a prisoner vwith vs, to make a motion to digge in the sands. Novv our Generall hauing had experience once before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practise, and in digging three foot deepe vve found very good and fresh vvater. So vve vvatered our shippes, and might haue filled a thousand tunnes more, if vve had vvould.

Fresh water at  
two or three  
foote deepe in  
the sand.

We stayed in this Island vntill the ninth day of October, at vvhich time vve departed at night for the Cape of *S. Lucar*, vvhich is on the West side of the point of *California*: vwith vvhich vve fell on the foureteenth of October, it is very like the *Needles* at the Isle of *Wight*: and vwithin the said Cape is a great Bay, called by the Spaniards *Aguada Segura*: into vvhich falleth  
10 a faire fresh riuer, about vvhich many *Indians* vse to keepe: vve vvatered in the riuer, and lay off and on from the said Cape of *S. Lucar* vntill the fourth of Nouember, and had the vvinds hanging still Westerly.

The Cape of  
*S. Lucar* on the  
point of *Cal-*  
*ifornia*.  
*Aguada Segura*.

The fourth of Nouember, the *Desire* and the *Content*, beating vp and downe vpon the head-land of *California*, which standeth in twenty three degrees, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  to the Northward, betweene  
20 seuen and eight of the clocke in the morning, one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ship going vp into the toppe, espied a sayle, bearing in from the sea with the Cape; whereupon he cryed out with no small ioy to himselfe and the whole companie, *A sayle, A sayle*: with which cheerefull word the master of the ship, and diuers others of the company went also vp into the maine top, who perceiuing the speech to be very true, gaue informa-  
tion vnto our Generall of these happy newes, who was no lesse glad then the cause required: wherupon he gaue in charge presently vnto the whole companie to put all things in readinesse, which beeing performed we gaue them chase some three or foure houres, standing with our best aduantage, and working for the winde.

*California* in  
23. degrees &  
two thirds.

In the afternoone we gat vp vnto them, giuing them the broad side with our great ordnance, and a vollee of small shot, and presently laid the ship aboard, whereof the King of *Spaine* was owner, which was Admirall of the South-sea, called the *S. Anna*, and thought to be seuen hundred tunnes in burthen. Now as we were readie on their ships side to enter her, beeing not past  
30 fiftie or sixty men at the vttermost in our ship, we perceiued that the Captain of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and laid their sailes close on their poope, their mid-ship, with their fore-castle, and hauing not one man to be seene, stood close vnder their fights, with Lances, lauelings, Rapiers and Targets, and an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw ouer boord vpon our heads, and into our ship so fast, and beeing so many of them, that they put vs off the shippe againe, with the losse of two of our men which were slaine, and with the hurting of foure or fve. But for all this we new trimmed our sailes, and fitted euery man his furniture, and gaue  
40 them a fresh incounter with our great Ordnance, and also with our small shot, raking them thorough and thorough, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine still like a valiant man with his companie, stood very stoutely vnto his close fights, not yeelding as yet. Our Generall encouraging his men afresh with the whole noyse of trumpets, gaue them the third encounter with our great Ordnance, and all our small shot to the great discomforting of our  
enemies, raking them through in diuerse places, killing and spoiling many. They beeing thus discomforted, and their shippe beeing in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some were vnder water, within fve or sixe houres fight, set out a flagge of truce, and parled for mercie, desiring our Generall to saue their liues, and to take their goods, and that they would presently yeeld. Our Generall promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sayles, and to hoysse out their boat, & to come aboard: which newes they were full glad to heare, and presently stroke their sailes, hoysed their boat out, and one of their chiefe marchants came aboard vnto our Generall: and falling downe vpon his knees, offered to haue kissed his feete, and craued mercie: the Captaine and their Pilote, at their comming vsed the like duetie and reuerence as the former did. The Generall promised their liues and good vsage. They de-  
50 clared what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundreth and two and twenty thousand pezos of gold: and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with, was in Silkes, Sattens, Damasks, with Muske and diuers other marchandize, and great store of all manner of victualls, with the choise of many conserues of all sorts for to eate, and of sundry sorts of very good wines. These things beeing made knowne, they were commanded to stay aboard the *Desire*, and on the sixt day of Nouember following, we went into an harbour, which is called by the Spaniards, *Aguada Segura*, or *Puerto Seguro*.

The fight be-  
tweene the  
great *S. Anna*  
and vs.

The second in-  
counter.

The third en-  
counter.

The great *S.*  
*Anna* yeeldeth.

One hundred  
and two and  
twenty thou-  
sand pezos of  
Gold.  
A pezo is 8.  
shillings.  
The merchan-  
dise in the  
great shippe.  
The Spaniards  
set on shore to  
the number of  
190.

Here the whole company of the Spaniards, both of men and women to the number of an hundred and ninetie persons were set on shore: where they had a fayre riuer of fresh water, with great store of fresh-fish, fowle, and wood, and also many Hares and Conies vpon the maine land.  
60 Our Generall also gaue them great store of victualls, of Garuanfas, Peason, and some Wine. Also they had all the sailes of their shippe to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of planks as should be sufficient to make them a barke. Then we fell to hoysing in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and alotting to euery man his portion. In diuision whereof, the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie against our Generall, especially those  
Ff 3 which

Mutinie a-  
gainst the Ge-  
nerall.



which were in the *Content*, which nevertheless were after a lort pacified for the time.

On the seuenteenth day of Nouember, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Maiestie, our Generall commanded all his Ordnance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his owne shippe where himselfe went, and also in the *Content*, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the same night we had many fire-workes, and more Ordnance discharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there: for the most part of them had neuer seene the like before. This ended, our Generall discharged the Captaine, gaue him a royall reward, with prouision for his defence against the *Indians* and his companie, both of Swords, Targets, Pieces, Shot and Powder to his great contentment: but before his departure, hee tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in *Iapon*, which could both write and reade their owne language, the eldest being about twenty yeeres olde, was named *Christopher*, the other was called *Cosmus*, about seuentene yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their shippe, three boyes borne in the Isles of *Manilla*, the one about fifteene, the other about thirteene, and the yongest about nine yeeres old. The name of the eldest was *Alphonso*, the second *Anthony de Dasi*, the thirt remaineth with the right Honourable the Countesse of *Essex*. He also tooke from them one *Nicholas Roderigo*, a Portugall, who hath been in *Canton*, and other parts of *China*, in the Islands of *Iapon*, being a countrey most rich in siluer mines, and in the *Philippinas*.

Two boyes of *Iapon*.

Three boyes of *Manilla*.

*Nicholas Roderigo*, a Portugall.

A Spanish Pilote.

*Acapulco* is the haven whence they set forth to the *Philippinas*.

Good watering at the *Ladrones*.

The winde at East northeast.

The *Content* whereof *Steuens* Hare was master, left behind in the road.

The Island of *Guana* one of the *Ladrones* in 13. degrees & two thirds. Commodities of the Isles of *Ladrones*.

The colour & stature of the people of the Isles of *Ladrones*.

Their images. Artificiall *Canoas*.

*Canoas* sayling right against the winde.

The nimbleness of the people of the *Ladrones*.

*Cabo del Spirito Santo* one of the Isles of the *Philippinas* in 13. degrees.

Hee tooke also from them a Spaniard, whose name was *Thomas de Ersola*, which was a very good Pilote from *Acapulco*, and the coast of *Nueva Espanna* vnto the Islands of *Ladrones*, where the Spaniards doe put in to water, sayling betweene *Acapulco* and the *Philippinas*: in which Isles of *Ladrones*, they finde fresh water, Plantans, and Potato-rootes: howbeit the people be verie rude and heathens.

The nineteenth day of Nouember aforesaid, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, our Generall caused the Kings Shippe to be set on fire, which hauing to the quantitie of five hundred turnes of goods in her, we saw burnt vnto the water, and then gaue them a piece of Ordnance, and set sayle ioyfully homewards towards *England* with a faire wind, which by this time was come about to East Northeast: and night growing neere, we left the *Content* a sterne of vs, which was not as yet come out of the roade. And here thinking she would haue ouertaken vs, we lost her companie, and neuer saw her after. We were sayling from this haven of *Agueda Segura* in *California*, vnto the Isles of *Ladrones* the rest of Nouember, and all December, and so forth vntill the third of Ianuarie, 1588. with a faire winde for the space of five and fortie dayes: and we esteemed it to be betweene seuentene and eightene hundred leagues.

The third day of Ianuarie by sixe of the clocke in the morning, we had sight of one of the Islands of *Ladrones*, called the Island of *Guana*, standing in thirteene degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$  toward the North, and sayling with a gentle gale before the winde, by one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, we were come vp within two leagues of the Island, where wee met with sixtie or seuentie sayles of *Canoas* full of Sauages, who came off to sea vnto vs, and brought with them in their Boates, Plantans, Cocos, Potato-rootes, and fresh-fish, which they had caught at Sea, and held them vp vnto vs for to trucke or exchange with vs; which when we perceiued, we made fast little pieces of old yron vpon small cords, and fishing lines, and so vered the yron vnto their *Canoas*, and they caught hold of them, and tooke off the yron, and in exchange of it, they would make fast vnto the same line, either a Potato-roote, or a bundle of Plantans, which we haled in: and thus our companie exchanged with them, vntill they had satisfied themselues with as much as did content them: yet we could not be ridde of them. For afterward they were so thicke about the ship, that it stemmed, and brake one or two of their *Canoas*; but the men saued themselves, being in euery *Canoa*, foure, sixe, or eight persons, all naked and excellent swimmers and diuers. They are of a tawny colour, and maruellous fat, and bigger ordinarily of stature then the most part of our men in *England*, wearing their haire maruellous long: yet some of them haue it made vp, and tyed with a knot on the Crowne, and some with two knots, much like vnto their Images which we saw carued in wood, and standing in the head of their boats, like vnto the Images of the deuill. Their *Canoas* were as artificially made, as any that euer we had seene: considering they were made and contriued without any edge-toole. They are not oboue halfe a yard in breadth, and in length some seuen or eight yardes, and their Heads and Sternes are both alike: they are made out with raftes of Canes and Reeds on the Starre-bord-side, with Mast and Saile: their Saile is made of matters of Sedges, square or trianglewise: and they saile as well right against the winde, as before the winde. These Sauages followed vs so long, that we could not be ridde of them: vntill in the ende our Generall commanded some halfe dozen Harquebuzes to be made ready; and himselfe strooke one of them, and the rest shot at them: but they were so yare and nimble, that we could not discerne whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backward into the sea, and preuent vs by diuing.

The fouteeteenth day of Ianuarie lying at hull with our Ship all the middle watch, from twelue at night, vntill foure in the morning, by the breake of day, we fell with an head-land of the Isles of the *Philippinas*, which is called *Cabo del Spirito Santo*, which is of very great bignesse and length,



length, high land in the midst of it, and very low land as the Cape lieth East and West, tending farre into the Sea to the Westward. This Cape or Island is distant from the Ile of *Guana*, one of the *Ladrones*, three hundred and ten leagues. We were in sayling of this course eleven dayes, with scant winds, and some foule weather, bearing no sayle two or three nights. This Island standeth in thirteene degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woodie through the whole Land: and it is short of the chiefe Island of the *Philippinas* called *Manilla*, about sixtie leagues. *Manilla* is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards, to the number of fixe or seven hundred persons: which dwell in a towne unvalled, which hath three or foure Block-houses, part made of wood, and part of stone, being indeed of no great strength: they haue one or two small Gallies belong to the Towne. It is a very rich place of Gold, and many other commodities; and they haue yeerely traffique from *Acapulco* in *Nueva España*, and also twenty or thirtie shippes from *China*, and from the *Sanguelos*, which bring them many sorts of marchandize. They bring great store of gold with them, which they traffique and exchange for siluer, and giue weight for weight. These *Sanguelos* are men of marvellous capacity, in deuising and making all manner of things, especially in all handie crafts and sciences: and euery one is so expert, perfect, and skilfull in his facultie, as few or no Christians are able to go beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing and imbroidering vpon Satten, Silke, or Lavvne, either beast, fowle, fish, or vvorme, for liuelinesse and perfectnesse, both in Silke, Siluer, Gold, and Pearle, they excell. Also the fourteenth day at night we entred the Straits between the Island of *Luçon*, and the Island of *Camlaia*.

The fifteenth of Ianuary we fell with an Island called *Capul*, and had betwixt the said Island and another Island but a narrowe passage, and a rippling of a very great tide, with a ledge of Rockes lying off the point of the Island of *Capul*: and no danger, but water enough a faire breadth off: and within the point a faire Bay, and a very good harborough in foure fathomes water hard aboard the shore within a Cables length. About tenne of the clocke in the morning we came to an anchor. Our Shippe was no sooner come to an anchor, but presently there came a *Canoe* rowing aboard vs; wherein was one of the cheife *Casiques* of the Island, whereof there be seven, who supposing that we were Spaniards, brought vs Potato-rootes, which they call *Comotas*, and greene *Cocos*, in exchange whereof we gaue his companie pieces of linnen, to the quantitie of a yard for foure *Cocos*, and as much linnen for a basket of Potato-rootes of a quart in quantitie; which rootes are very good meate, and excellent sweete, either roasted or boyled. This *Casiques* skinne was carued and cut with sundry and many strakes and deuises all ouer his bodie. We kept him still aboard, and caused him to send those men which brought him aboard backe to the Island, to cause the rest of the Principals to come aboard: who were no sooner gone on shore, but presently the people of the Island came downe with their *Cocos*, and Potato-rootes, and the rest of the Principals likewise came aboard, and brought with them hennes, and hogges: and they vsed the same order with vs which they doe with the Spaniards. For they tooke for euery hogge (which they call *Balboye*) eight Ryals of plate, and for euery henne or cocke one ryall of plate. Thus we rode at anchor all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, *Cocos*, hennes, hogges, and such things as they brought, refreshing our selues. Here *Thomas Ersola*, the Spanish Pilot, seeking to betray vs to the Spaniards, was hanged.

We roade for the space of nine dayes, about this Island of *Capul*, where we had diuerse kinds of fresh victualls, with excellent fresh water in euery bay, and great store of wood. The people of this Island go almost all naked, and are tawny of colour. The men weare onely a stroope about their waistes, of some kind of linnen of their owne weauing, which is made of Plantan-leaves, and another stroope comming from their backe vnder their twistes, which couereth their priuy parts, and is made fast to their girdles at their nauels; which is this. Euery man and man-child among them, hath a nayle of Tynne thrust quite through the head of his priue part, being split in the lower ende, and riuetted, and on the head of the nayle is as it were a Crowne: which is driuen through their priuities when they be yong, and the place groweth vp agtine, without any great paine to the child: and they take this nayle out and in as occasion serueth; and for the truth thereof, we our selues haue taken one of these nayles from a Sonne of one of the Kings, which was of the age of tenne yeeres, who did weare the same in his priuy member. This custome was granted at the request of the women of the Countrey, who finding their men to be giuen to the fowle sinne of Sodomie, desired some remedie against that mischiefe, and obtained this before named of the Magistrates. Moreouer, all the males are circumcised, hauing the foreskinne of their flesh cut avay. These people wholly worshippe the Deuill, and oftentimes haue conference with him, which appeareth vnto them in most vgly and monstrous shape.

On the three and twentieth, our Generall *M. Thomas Candish* caused all the Principals of this Island, and of an hundred Islands more, which hee had made to pay Tribute vnto him (which Tribute was in Hogges, Hennes, Potatoes, and *Cocos*) to appeare before him, and made himselfe and his Company knowne vnto them, that they were Englishmen, and enemies to the Spaniards; and thereupon spred his Ensigne, and sounded vp the Drummes, which they much marvelled

From *Guana* an Ile of the *Ladrones* to *Camlaia* is 310 leagues.

The description of the towne of *Manilla*. Trade from *Acapulco* to *Manilla*. Merchants of *China* Merchants called *Sanguelos*. Siluer exchanged weight for weight for Gold.

The Island of *Capul* at which our men stayed 9. dayes.

One of the cheife Gouernours of the Island came aboard vs.

Hennes and hogges.

The manner of the people of *Capul*.

A strange nail in the yards of men to prevent Sodomie, for which purpose in *Pegu* they weare in the same part balls.

Circumcision.



The inhabi-  
tants of *Capul*,  
with all the  
Islands adiey-  
ning, promise  
to ayde the  
English against  
the Spaniards.  
Our departure  
from the I-  
sland of *Capul*.  
The Isle of  
*Malbat*.

The Island of  
*Panama*.

Mines of very  
fine Gold, in  
the Island of  
*Panama*.  
The Island of  
*Negros*, in nine  
degrees.

Their depar-  
ture from the  
*Philippina's*.

*Batochina*.

11. or 12. small  
Islands, in 3. de-  
grees, 10. mi-  
nutes to the  
Southward.

March, 1588.  
Our arriual at  
*Iana maior*.

The Morisco  
or Arabian  
Tongue com-  
mon in *Iana*.

Nine or ten of  
the Kings Ca-  
noas.

*Raia Bolambo-  
am*.

led at. To conclude, they promised both themselves and all the Islands thereabout, to ayde him, whensoever hee should come againe to overcome the Spaniards. Also our Generall gave them, in token that wee were enemies to the Spaniards, Money back againe for all their Tribute which they had payed: which they tooke marvellous friendly, and rowed about our shippe, to shew vs pleasure, marvellous swiftly. At the last, our Generall caused a Saker to be shot off; whereat they wondered, and with great contentment tooke their leaves of vs.

The next day, being the foure and twentieth of Ianuary, wee set sayle about six of the clocke in the morning, and ran along the Coast of the Island of *Manilla*, shaping our course Northwest, betweene the Isle of *Manilla*, and the Isle of *Malbat*.

The eight and twentieth day, in the morning about seuen of the clocke, riding at an anchor 10  
betwixt two Islands, wee espyed a Frigat vnder her two Coarces, comming out betweene two other Islands, which (as wee imagined) came from *Manilla*, sayling close aboord the shore, along the maine Island of *Panama*. Here wee rode at anchor all that night, and perceiued that certaine Spaniards (which came from *Manilla* to *Ragann*, to fetch a new shippe of the Kings, there builded) had dispersed their Band into two or three parts, and kept great Watch in seuerall steedes, with Fires, and shooting off their Pieces. This Island hath much plaine Ground in it, in many places, and many faire and straight Trees doe grow vpon it, fit for to make excellent good Masts for all sorts of shippes. There are also Mynes of very fine Gold in it, which are in the custodie of the Indians. And to the South-ward of this place, there is another very great Island, which is not subdued by the Spaniards, nor any other Nation. The people which inhabite it, are all 20  
Negros, and the Island is called the Island of Negros; and is almost as bigge as *England*, standing in nine degrees: The most part of it seemeth to be very lowe Land, and by all likelihood is very fruitfull.

The nine and twentieth day of Ianuary, about six of the clocke in the morning wee set sayle, sending our Boat before, vntill it was two of the clocke in the afternoone, passing all this time as it were through a Strait, betwixt the said two Islands of *Panama*, and the Island of *Negros*; and about sixteene Leagues off, wee espyed a faire opening, trending South-west and by South: at which time our Boat came aboard, and our Generall sent commendations to the Spanish Cap-  
taine, which wee came from the Euening before, by a Spaniard which wee had taken, and wil- 30  
led him to prouide good store of Gold; for hee meant for to see him with his company at *Ma-  
nilla* within few yeeres; and that hee did but want a bigger Boat to haue landed his men, or else hee would haue seene him then; and so caused him to be set on shore.

The eight day of February, by eight of the clocke in the morning, wee espyed an Island neere *Gilolo*, called *Batochina*, which standeth in one degree from the Equinoctiall Line, Northward.

The foureteenth day of February, wee fell with eleuen or twelue very small Islands, lying very low and flat, full of Trees, and passed by some Islands which bee sunke, and haue the drie Sands lying in the maine Sea. These Islands neere the *Malucco's*, stand in three degrees and ten minutes, to the Southward of the Line.

The first day of March hauing passed through the Straits of *Iana minor* and *Iana maior*, wee 40  
came to an anchor vnder the Southwest parts of *Iana maior*; where wee espyed certaine of the people, which were fishing by the Sea side, in a Bay which was vnder the Island. Then our Generall taking into the ship-boat certaine of his company, and a Negro which could speake the *Morisco* Tongue, which hee had taken out of the great *S. Anna*, made toward those Fishers; which hauing espyed our Boat, ranne on shore into the Wood, for feare of our men: But our Generall caused his Negro to call vnto them; who no sooner heard him call, but presently one of them came out to the shore side, and made answere. Our Generall by the Negro enquired of him for fresh Water, which they found, and caused the Fisher to goe to the King, and to eertifie him of a shippe that was come, to haue Traffique for Victuals, and for Diamants, Pearles, or any 50  
other rich Iewels that hee had.

And on the twelfth of March, there came nine or ten of the Kings Canoas so deeply laden with Victuals as they could swimme, with two great liue Oxen, halfe a score of wonderfull great and fat Hogges, a number of Hennes, Drakes, Geese, Egges, Plantans, Sugar Canes, Sugar in Plates, *Cocos*, sweet Oranges and sowre, Lymes, great store of Wine and *Aqua-vita*, Salt to season Victuals withall, and almost all manner of Victuals else, with diuers of the Kings Officers, which were there.

There came two Portugals to vs, which enquired of *Don Antonio* their King, then in Eng-  
land, and told vs of the *Iauanes*, as followeth. The name of the King of that part of the Island was *Raia Bolamboam*, who was a man had in great maiestie and feare among them. The com-  
mon people may not bargaine, sell, or exchange any thing with any other Nation, without spe- 60  
ciall licence from their King; and if any so doe, it is present death for him. The King him-  
selfe is a man of great yeeres, and hath an hundred Wiues, his sonne hath fiftie. The custome of the Countrey is, that whensoever the King doth die, they take the body so dead, and burne it, and preserue the ashes of him, and within fve dayes next after, the Wiues of the said King  
fo



so dead, according to the custome and vse of their Countrey, euery one of them goe together to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the Women, which was neereſt vnto him in accompt, hath a Ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the Ball resteth, thither they goe all, and turne their faces to the East-ward, and euery one with a Dagger in their hand, (which Dagger they call a *Criſe*, and is as sharpe as a Raſor) ſtab themſelues to the heart, and with their hands all to be-bath themſelues in their owne blood, and falling groueling on their faces, ſo ende their dayes. This thing is as true as it ſeemeth to any hearer to be ſtrange. The men of themſelues be very politique and ſubtile, and ſingularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they vndertake, and wonderfully at commandement and feare of their King. For example: If their King command them to vndertake any exploit, be it neuer ſo dangerous or deſperate, they dare not reſuſe it, though they die euery man in the execution of the ſame. For he will cut off the heads of euery one of them which return aliue without bringing of their purpoſe to paſſe: which is ſuch a thing among them, as it maketh them the moſt valiant people in all the Southeaſt-parts of the world: for they neuer feare any death. For beeing in fight with any Nation, if any of them feeleth himſelfe hurt with Launce or ſword, he will willingly runne himſelfe vpon the weapon quite through his body, to procure his death the more ſpeedily, and in this deſperate fort ende his dayes, or ouercome his enimie. Moreouer, although the men bee tawnie of colour, and goe continually naked, yet their women be faire of complexion, and goe more apparelled. They told vs further, that if their King *Don Antonio*, would come vnto them, they would warrant him to haue all the *Malucos* at commandement, beſides *China*, *Sangles*, and the Iſles of the *Philippinds*, and that he might be aſſured to haue all the Indians on his ſide that are in the countrey. After we had fully contented theſe Portugals, and the people of *Iana* which brought vs victualls in their *Canoas*, they tooke their leaues of vs, with promiſe of all good entertainment at our returnes, and our Generall gaue them three great pieces of Ordnance at their departing.

The wiues kill themſelues after their husbands deaths. A ſtrange order.

Faire women in *Iana*. *Don Antonio* might be receiued as King in the *Eaſt Indies*.

Thus the next day, being the ſixteenth of March, we ſet ſayle towards the *Cape of good Hope*, called by the Portugals, *Cabo de buena Eſperança*, on the Southermoſt coaſt of *Africa*. The reſt of March, and all the moneth of Aprill, we ſpent in traueſing that mightie and vaſte Sea, betweene the Iſle of *Iana*, and the maine of *Africa*, obſeruing the heauens, the *Croſiers* or South-pole, the other ſtarres, the fowles, which are markes vnto the Sea-men of faire weather, foule weather, approching of Lands, or Iſlands, the winds, the tempeſts, the raines and thunders, with the alterations of tides and currents.

They depart from *Iana* the 16. of March, 1588.

The eleuenth of May in the morning one of the company went into the toppe, and eſpyed Land bearing North, and North and by Weſt off vs, and about noone we eſpyed land to beare Weſt off vs, which as we did imagine was the Cape of *Buena Eſperança*, whereof indeede wee were ſhort ſome fortie or fiftie leagues: and by reaſon of the ſkantneſſe of the winde, we ſtood along to the Southeaſt vntill midnight; at which time the winde came faire, and we haled along Weſtward. The twelfth and thirteenth dayes we were becalmed, and the ſkie was very hazy, and thicke, vntill the foureteenth day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the ſkie cleared, and we eſpied the Land againe, which was the Cape called *Cabo Faſſo*, which is ſhort of the *Cape de buena Eſperança* forty or fiftie leagues. This Cape is very eaſie to be known. For there are right ouer it three very high hills, ſtanding but a ſmall way one off another, and the higheſt ſtandeth in the middeſt, and the ground is much lower by the Sea ſide. The Cape of *Good Hope*, beareth Weſt and by South from the ſaid *Cabo Faſſo*.

*Cabo Faſſo*.

The ſixteenth day of May, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone the Wind came vp at Eaſt a very ſtiſſe gale, which held vntill it was Saturday with as much wind as euer the Shippe could goe before: at which time by fixe of the clocke in the morning we eſpied the Promontorie or Head-land, called the *Cape de Buena Eſperança*, which is a reaſonable high land, and at the Weſtermoſt point a little off the maine do ſhew two Hammocks, the one vpon the other, and three other Hammocks lying further off into the Sea, yet low land betweene and adioyning vnto the Sea. This cape of *Buena Eſperança* is ſet downe and accompted for two thouſand leagues from the Iſland of *Iana* in the Portugall Sea-carts: but it is not ſo much almoſt by an hundred and fiftie leagues, as we found by the running of our Ship. We were in running of theſe eightene hundred and fiftie leagues, iuſt nine weekes.

They double the Cape de *Bona Speranza*.

From *Iana* to the Cape of *Bona Speranza* is but 1850. leagues. Iune 1588.

The eight day of Iune, by breake of day we fell in ſight of the Iſland of *S. Helena*, ſeauen or eight leagues ſhort of it, hauing but a ſmall gale of winde, or almoſt none at all: inſomuch as wee could not get vnto it that day, but ſtood off and on all that night. The next day hauing a pretty eaſie gale of winde, we ſtood in with the ſhore, our Boat beeing ſent away before to make the harborough; and about one of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to an anchor in twelve fathomes water, two or three Cables length from the ſhore, in a very faire and ſmooth Bay, vnder the Northwest-ſide of the Iſland. This Iſland is very high land, and lieth in the maine Sea, ſtanding as it were in the middeſt of the Sea, betweene the maine land of *Africa*, and the maine of *Braſilia*, and the coaſt of *Guinea*: and is in fifteene degrees and fortie eight minutes to the Southward of the *Equinoctiall* line, and is diſtant from the Cape of *Buena Eſperança* betweene ſiue and fixe

They anchor at the Iſland of *S. Helena* the 9. of Iune.

*S. Helena* is in the latitude of 15. degrees 48. min. to the Southward.



The great  
store of diuerse  
excellent fruits  
in S. Helena.

sixe hundred leagues. Here we went on shore, and entred the Church, which was hanged with painted clothes, hauing an Altar with a picture of the Crucifixe and Blessed Virgine in a Table. There is a causey to the Church, two houses also adioyning, a frame with two Bells, and a Crosse of free-stone. The valley where it stands is pleasant, and planted in euery place either with fruit trees, or with herbes. There are fig-trees, which beare fruit continually, and marvellous plentiful: for, on euery tree you shall haue blossomes, greene figs, and ripe figs, all at once: and it is so all the yeere long: the reason is, that the Island standeth so neere the Sunne. There be also great store of Lymmon-trees, Orange-trees, Pomegranate-trees, Pomecitron-trees, Date-trees, which beare fruit as the Figge-trees doe, and are planted carefully and very artificially, with very pleasant walkes vnder and betweene them, and the said walkes bee ouer-shadowed with the leaues 10 of the trees: and in euery voide place is planted Parsly, Sorell, Basill, Fenell, Annis-seed, Mustard-seed, Raddishes, and many speciall good herbes: and the fresh water brooke runneth thorough diuerse places of this Orchyard, and may with very small paines be made to water any one tree in the valley.

Abundance of  
partridges in  
S. Helena.

There is also vpon this Island great store of Partridges, which are very tame, not making any great haste to flie away though one come very neere them, but onely to runne away, and get vp into the steepe cliffes; we killed some of them with a fowling Piece. They be within a little as bigge as a henne, and are of an ash-colour, and liue in Couies twelue, sixteene, and twenty together: you cannot goe tenne or twelue score, but you shall see or spring one or two Couies at the least. There are likewise no lesse store of Fesants in the Island, which are surpassing those which 20 are in our Countrey in bignesse, and in numbers of a companie. We found moreouer in this place great store of Guinie-cocks, which we call Turkies, of colour blacke and white, with red heads: they are much about the same bignesse which ours be of in England: their egges be white, and as bigge as a Turkies egge.

Exceeding  
numbers of  
goats.

There are in this Island thousands of Goates, which the Spaniards call *Cabritos*, which are very wild: you shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may behold them going in a flocke almost a mile long. Some of them are as big as an Asse, with a mayne like an Horse, and a beard hanging downe to the very ground. We tooke and killed many of them for all their swiftnes: for there be thousands of them vpon the mountaines. Here are in like manner great store of swine which be very wilde, fat, and large; they keepe altogether vpon the 30 mountaines, and will very fieldome abide any man to come neere them, except it bee by meere chance when they are found asleepe, or otherwise according to their kind, bee taken laid in the mire.

Plentie of  
swine.

Our departure  
from S. Helena.

We found in the houses at our comming three slaues, which were *Negros*, and one which was borne in the Island of *Iaua*: For the Portugals vse to touch and refresh here at their returne from the *Indies*, and leaue their sicke persons to be taken in by the next Fleet.

The twentieth day of Iune hauing taken in wood and water, and refreshed our selues with such things as we found there, and made cleane our ship, we set sayle about eight of the clocke in the night toward *England*. At our setting saile, we had the winde at Southeast, and wee haled away Northwest and by West. The winde is commonly off the shore at this Island of S. Helena. 40

Coruo and Flores,  
two Islands  
of the Azores.

On Friday in the morning beeing the three and twentieth day of August, at foure of the clocke we haled East, and East and by South for the Northermost Islands of the *Azores*.

On Saturday the foure and twentieth day of the said moneth, by fise of the clocke in the morning we fell in sight of the two Islands of *Flores* and *Coruo*, standing in thirtie nine degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and sailed away Northeast.

The third of September we met with a Flemish hulke which came from *Lisbone*, and declared vnto vs the ouerthrowing of the Spanish Fleete, to the singular reioycing and comfort of vs all.

The ninth of September, after a terrible tempest which carried away most part of our sailes, by the mercifull fauour of the Almightye, we recouered our long wished Port of *Plimmonsb* in 50 *England*, from whence we set forth at the beginning of our Voyage.

*A Letter of Master THOMAS CANDISH to the Right Honourable  
the Lord HUNSDON, Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Maiesties most Honourable Priuy Counsell, touching the successe of his Voyage about the World.*

**R**ight Honourable, as your fauour heretofore hath beene most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly desire a continuance thereof: and though there bee no meanes in me to deserue the same, yet the vttermost of my seruices shall not be wanting, whensoever it 60 shall please your Honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your Honour to make knowne vnto her Maiestie, the desire I haue had to doe her Maiestie seruice in the performance of this Voyage. And as it hath pleased God to giue her the victory ouer part of her enemies, so I trust yer long to see her ouerthrow them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they haue main-



maintained and made their warres, are now perfectly discovered; and if it please her Maiestie, with a very small power she may take the spoyle of themall. It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer me to circompasse the whole Globe of the World, entring in at the Streight of *Magellan*, and returning by the *Cape de Buena Esperança*. In which Voyage I haue either discovered, or brought certaine intelligence of all the rich places of the world that euer were knowne or discovered by any Christian. I nauigated alongst the Coast of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Nueva España*, where I made great spoyles: I burnt and sunke nineteene sayles of Ships small and great. All the Villages and Townes that euer I landed at, I burnt and spoyled: and had I not beene discovered vpon the Coast, I had taken great quantitie of Treasure. The matter of most profit vnto me, was a  
 10 great ship of the Kings vvhich I tooke at *California*, vvhich ship came from the *Philippinas*, beeing one of the richest of merchandize that euer passed those Seas, as the Kings Register and merchants accounts did shevv: for it did amount in value to \* in *Mexico* to be sold. Which goods (for that my Ships vv ere not able to containe the least part of them) I vv as inforced to set on fire. From the Cape of *California*, being the vttermost part of all *Nueva España*, I nauigated to the Islands of the *Philippinas*, hard vpon the Coast of *China*; of which Countrey I haue brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts. The statelinesse and riches of vvhich Countrey I feare to make report of, least I should not be credited: for if I had not knowvn sufficiently the incomparable vvealth of that Countrey, I should haue beene as incredulous thereof, as others vv ill be that haue not had the like experience. I sayled along the Islands of the  
 20 *Malucos*, vv here among some of the Heathen people I vv as vv ell intreated, vv here our Countrey-men may haue trade as freely as the Portugals, if they vv ill themselves. From thence I passed by the Cape of *Buena Esperança*, and found out by the vv ay homeward the Island of *S. Helena*, vv here the Portugals vse to relieue themselves: and from that Island God hath suffered me to returne into *England*. All vv hich seruices vv ith my selfe, I humbly prostrate at her Maiesties feete, desiring the Almighty long to continue her Reigne among vs: for at this day shee is the most famous and victorious Prince that liueth in the World.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of your Honour for my tediousnesse, I leaue your Lordship to the tuition of the Almighty. *Plimmoth* this ninth of September, 1588.

30

Your Honours most humble to command,

THOMAS CANDISH.

## CHAP. V.

40

*The Voyage of OLIVER NOORT round about the Globe,  
 beeing the fourth Circum-Navigation of the same,  
 extracted out of the Latine Diarie.*



IN the yeere 1598. on the second day of Iuly, the *Maurice* and the *Concord* set forth from *Roterdam*: and on the thirteenth of September, the *Henry Frederike*, and the *Hope* came vp to them, where they stayed for them on the Coast of *England*. Their chiefe Pilot was Captaine \* *Melis*, an Englishman, which had encompassed the Circumference with *M. Thomas Candish*. On the nineteenth they came before *Plimmoth*, where the Vice-admiralls boat with sixe men for-  
 50ooke them. On the seuen and twentieth they tooke two ships of *Biscay*, and after some view of them let them depart.

October the fourth, they met foure shippes, one of *Amsterdam*, another of *England*, and two *French* comming out of *Barbarie*, which related of the terrible pestilence in that countrey, of which two hundred and fiftie thousand men in short space had died in *Morocco*. On the sixt, they were betwixt the Great *Canarie* and *Teneriffe*. On the eight, the Vice-admirall lost her Boat, with one man, the night and winde seuering them. On the ninth, they had almost runne on shore on the Coast of *Barbary*, by mis-vnderstanding the English Pilot, who had bidden them steere Southwest, and they held their course South, till they vv ere within halfe a mile of Land. On the third of Nouember, they had sight of the Coast of *Guinea*. On December the fourth,  
 60they were hard by Cape *Palma*, in 3.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . On the tenth, they had sight of the *Princes Ile*, and made to it with no little comfort, after they had beene so long weather-beaten at sea. It standeth in one degree,  $\frac{1}{2}$ . They sent their Boats first for Discouerie, and hauing entred with a flagge of truce, a *Negro* comming with a like flagge to know what they would haue. They demanding prouision were kindly vsed, and *Gerrits* which knew the place, and could speake the Portu-  
 gall

\* Captaine *Melis* an English man in this Voyage, *M. Adams* in the next, Guides and Pilots to the Hollanders in their Circum-navigations; as *M. Davies*, and others afterwards in their first Indian Voyages. Their exploits are honours to the English.  
*Ila del Principe.*

Treachery of the Islanders.



gall tongue, with Captaine *Melis*, and one *John Breme*, were suddenly and treacherously slaine; Captaine *Peter Esias* escaped by flight to the Boats, which were furiously assailed by the Portugalls, and the Generalls brother slaine, the rest hardly returning aboard. The Generall calling a Councell of warre, they agreed to assault the Castle, which having attempted with losse, they burned all their Sugar houles, and with force provided themselves with fresh water. On the se-  
 Cape *Consalvo*. uenteenth they departed, but the South wind hindred them. On the five and twentieth they reached Cape *Consalvo*, where the wind usually in the night bloweth from Land; in the day from Sea. Heere they went on shore and found two Dutch Ships, and learned that *Peter Verhagens* had stayed a moneth in this place, and buried eight and thirtie of his companie, many other being sicke. He entred the Riuer of *Congo*, and was forced to retire hither, and a fortnight 10 before was departed for *Anobon*. He learned also that Captaine *Cleerhagen*, with a great part of his company were slaine in the Princes Island, the rest hardly escaping to and in their Ships. On the sixe and twentieth, they set sayle from the Cape towards *Brasil*.

1599.

Cape Saint  
 Thomas.  
 Faire Cape.  
 Cape Frio.  
 Rio Iauero.  
 S. Sebastian.

On the first day of Ianuarie, 1599. they passed the Isle *Anobon*, and found two degrees Southerly. On the eight and twentieth they had the Sunne in their Zenith. On the third of Februarie, they espied by night certaine low ground, on which the Concord had like to haue made a fatall discord. On the fift, they reached the Land of *Brasil*, at Cape Saint Thomas in two and twentie. On the sixt, they passed the *Faire Cape*, and in the Euening Cape *Frio*. On the ninth, they came to *Rio Iauero*. After some losse of time, and their company by *Portu-  
 gal-wiles* they departed to Saint *Sebastian*, where they had Fresh-water, Wood, and safe Har- 20 bour, but found no fruits. On the fourteenth of March, a cruell Storme assailed them, and seuered the Vice-Admirall and the Hope, which yet on the seuateenth were restored againe to the Fleet. The Concord also leaked so much, that they agreed to emptie the goods, and forsooke her. But the Scorbute increasing, and the Winter approaching, made them resolute to seeke the Isle of Saint *Helena*, which they did, but missed it, and therefore thought to releue themselves in the *Ascension*, or some other Island. In 20<sup>th</sup>. they came to the Island, but barren and in-hospitall, saue that with Clubbes they knocked downe many Fowles called *Malle Mowen*. But the Rockes without, and barrenesse within forced their departure, and when on the first of Iune, they had thought to haue encountered the Isle *Ascension*, they found it the Continent of *Brasil*: which they imagined to haue beene fourescore miles distant. The Portugalls prohibiting their 30 landing, they came at last to the Isle of Saint *Clara*, and there erected Tents for their sicke people, some of which presently died. Heere they found little but Herbes, and two Trees of sower Plumbes, which cured the sicke in fifteene dayes. The Island is a \* Mile in Compasse, and as farre from the Continent. Here they burned the *Concord*, hauing before taken out what they pleased: they also exposed two Malefactors to their forlorne fortunes. This Isle is in one and twentie degrees, fifteene minutes Southwards from the Line. On the sixteenth of Iuly they determined to seeke Port *Desire*, which after many tempests they came to, on the twentieth of September in fortie seuen degrees fortie minutes. In an Island three miles from thence Southwards, they furnished themselves with store of *Penguins* & fishes. Of those Fowles they took fifty thousand, being as bigge as Geese, with Egges innumerable, which prooued very refreshing to the diseased. 40 Here they careened their Ships and set vp a Smiths Forge. They went vp the Riuer the fift of October, and going on Land, found Beasts like Stagges and Buffals, and multitudes of Ostreches; in one Nest they tooke nineteene Egges, which the Damme had forsaken. The Captaine of the *Hope* dying of the Scorbute, the Captaine of the *Concord* was chosen his successour, and the Ship also was termed the *Concord*.

S. Clara.

\* By Miles vn-  
 derstand Dutch  
 Miles.

Port Desire.

Cape Virgins.

On the twentieth day, the Generall went on Land, to descrie the Country, giuing strait charge to looke well to the Boats, and not to stirre from them, which they transgressing, were out of ambushes set on by thirtie Sauages, and three slaine, besides the fourth wounded. These Sauages were of admirable stature, painted vnto terroure, their Bowes short, their Arrowes headed with Stone. On the nine and twentieth they prepared to depart. On the fourth of Nouember, they 50 were neere Cape *Virgins*; the Land is low and plaine, by the whitenesse resembling *England*. Often they hence attempted to enter the Straights, but often entred straights with that attempt, repelled by tempestuous Windes, Raine, Hailes, Snowes, Sicknesse and Contention adding their subsidiarie assistance. These sensible crosses were accompanied with losses of Anchors, Cables, and (that which is most irrecoverable) time, little lesse then fifteene moneths being spent before they could fasten any good entrance into the Straights; although they iustly seemed engulphed in the straights all this time, and all their way hither, hauing paid the liues of almost a hundred of their company for Sea-custome. From the said Cape the Land trends South-Westward: the Straights mouth is hence fourteene miles, and halfe a mile in breadth. On the South side thereof they espied a man, with a kind of cloke, supposed therefore but fallily, to 60 be a Christian, his face painted, and stature ordinarie, whom in vaine they inuited to their company. They saw many others, and on the five & twentieth they espied many men, in two Islands neere the Cape, which they called *Nassau*, who forbad the Hollanders landing, with their Darts and other weapons, but were chased to an obscure Caue, where they were all slaine, before the Dutch

Cape Nassau.



Dutch could winne entrance. There they found the amazed and affrighted mothers, lying prostrate on their Infants to protect them from that fatall Thunder, from whom they tooke foure Boyes and two Girles, and with them returned aboard. Of one of these hauing learned to speake Dutch, they receiued this intelligence; the Lands name was *Casterme*, this People or Tribe called *Enoo*. The name of the lesser Island *Talcke*, both stored with Penguins, whose Flesh yeelded them food, their Skinnies clothing. They dwelt in Caues vnder the Earth. In the Continent are many Ostriches whereon they feed: these they call *Talcke*, and another kind of wild beasts *Cassoni*. They dwell in seuerall Tribes or Families apart, whereof one is called *Kemenetes* dwelling in *Karay*, another *Kennekas* in *Karamay*, a third *Karaike* in *Morine*, all of stature like ours, except their broader and higher breasts, painted, the men tying their priue member with a string, the women hiding theirs with a Penguins skinne. The men weare long haire, the women are shauen. They goe naked, onely weare a cloke of Penguin skinnies to the waist. The like couering they make of other birds called *Oripeggre*; the Pengwins they call *Conppogre*. These skinnies they compact together with no lesse industrie and Art then Skinners doe with vs. There is a fourth Family or Tribe, named *Tirimenen*, and the place of their habitation *Coin*, of giantly stature tenne or twelue foote high, which haue often warres with the other Lords or Tribes, whom they call *Pengwine-eaters*, whereby it seemes they vse other meat, haply Mans-flesh.

*Casterme.*  
*Talcke.*  
Manners of  
the Inhabi-  
tants.

Giants: see the  
next storie an-  
nexed of *Seb.*  
*de Weert*.

On the sixe and twentieth, they tooke three hundred Pengwines on the Isles bearing that name. Before they come at these Pengwine Isles twixt two straits are shoalds, and an Island called *Pantagoms*. On the eight and twentieth day they passed to the Continent, and saw Whales. They encountered a pleasant Riuer, but saw not the mouth of it; there were many Parrots and faire Trees, whereupon they called it *Summer-bay*. On the nine and twentieth, they set sayle for wood and water to Port *Famine*. Heere the Land trends so farre to the South, that *Pantagoms*, and *Terra Fuego* seeme as farre off to ioyne. Heere they found no foot prints of the late *Philip-Citie*, now liker a heape of stones. The *Magellane* strait is distant thence about foure Dutch miles. The hills on both sides are steep and high all the yeere-long couered with store of Snow. Here they cut downe wood to make them another Boat. The Barkes of the Trees in these parts bite like Pepper. But finding no good watering, and doubting also whether it were *Philip-Citie*, or Port *Famine* indeed, they departed, and after two miles found a good Riuer, whence they had easie prouision, on the first of December. The next day they passed to Cape *Froward*, which hauing doubled with great danger, by reason of vn safe anchorage and contrary wind, they anchored at eightene fadomes, foure miles from thence in a great Bay. Heere was good watering, and an Herb like Neefwort, profitable against the Scorbute. Some Souldiers tasting of another Herb there growing, were well-nigh distracted for a time. A mile off they found a fit place to build their Boat, in which they spent twelue dayes. Here they had sight of *Sebalt de Weert* his Ship, one of *Peter Verhagens* company, which with another of the same Fleet, had beene driuen backe out of the South sea. Hee reported that he had spent aboue five moneths in the Strait, and lost by diseases, and otherwise, so many of his men, that of an hundred and ten, there were left but eight and thirtie, whence hee was not able to indure the stormes which assaulted him in the South sea, but was forced hither, when the rest of the Fleet better manned held on their course. Thus hard newes, stormes, and mutinies finished this moneth and yeare.

*Summer Bay*  
Port *Famine*.  
*Pantagoms*.  
*Terra Fuego*  
is the Land on  
the South of  
the Straights,  
since found  
to bee but  
Islands.  
*Philip-Citie*.  
Cape *Froward*.

\* Sir *Jaques*  
*Mahu* (or as  
*Adams* calls  
him, *Mahay*)  
went out Ge-  
nerall of this  
Fleet: who  
died in the Isle  
of *Braua*, and  
*Simon de Coor-*  
*des* succeeded.  
It is here cal-  
led *Peter Ver-*  
*hagens* compa-  
ny, because he  
was then chief  
of the Indi-  
an company  
which let them  
forth.

\* 1600.  
*Maurice Bay*.  
Ice all the  
yeere long in  
the Straights.  
The same re-  
port hath *Seb.*  
*de Weert*.  
*Meniste Bay*.  
*Goose Bay*.  
*Loish Bay*.  
Cape *Desire*.

On the second of Ianuarie \* they made search of *Maurice Bay*, which they obserued to extend farre to the East, and to receiue store of Riuers flowing into it, at the mouthes whereof they found great store of Ice in their iudgement neuer melted. For sounding ten fathomes they could not reach the bottome thereof, this their Mid-summer season notwithstanding. They coniectured the Land also to be broken Islands, which the height of the mountaines made to seeme continued and firme. They indured continuall raines, nor could get ought there but Muskles, which on the eighth they going to gather, the lesser Boat out-sailing her fellowes, two of her men were slaine and wounded by the Sauages. Their weapons were heauie Clubbes, with Ropes tied to them, and long Darts of Wood. At the landing of the greater Boat they all fled. Hauing indured diuers stormes, which indangered them on the Rocks in *Meniste Bay*, and some encounter of the Sauages which had left three Canoas vnder a high hill, and with stones defended them from the Hollanders, they departed on the seuenteenth day, and by a storme were driuen into *Goose Bay*, three miles distant, so called of the store of that Fowle their found fit for swimming and long diuing, but vn able to flie. Here the Vice-Admirall for diuers misdemeanours, was by a Councell of Warre adiudged to be set on land, which was accordingly executed, where *Famine*, or wilde beasts, or wilder men must needs make an end of his mutinous vnquiet life. On the first of Februarie they entred a new Bay, which they called *Popish Bay*, where the Admirall was like to haue perished on a sunken Rocke. Heere they had store of stormes, thunders, lightnings; and Muskles in a broad Riuer which runnes into it. On the seuen and twentieth they had view of a huge mountain of Ice in *Goose Bay*. On the last of February they passed Cape *Desire* into the South sea, with thanks to the Almighty for that happy successe. This sea was not so peaceable, but that it entertained them with diuers daies stormes, in which they lost their Boat. Their



- gall tongue, with Captaine *Melis*, and one *John Breme*, were suddenly and treacherously slaine; Captaine *Peter Esias* escaped by flight to the Boats, which were furiously assailed by the Portugalls, and the Generalls brother slaine, the rest hardly returning aboard. The Generall calling a Councell of warre, they agreed to assault the Castle, which having attempted with losse, they burned all their Sugar houles, and with force provided themselves with fresh water. On the se-  
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 two and twentie. On the sixt, they passed the *Faire Cape*, and in the Euening Cape *Frio*.  
 On the ninth, they came to *Rio Ianero*. After some losse of time, and their company by *Portu-*  
*gal*-wiles they departed to Saint *Sebastian*, where they had Fresh-water, Wood, and safe Har-  
 bour, but found no fruits. On the fourteenth of March, a cruell Storme assailed them, and seue-  
 red the Vice-Admirall and the Hope, which yet on the seuateenth were restored againe to the  
 Fleet. The Concord also leaked so much, that they agreed to emptie the goods, and forsooke her.  
 But the Scorbute increasing, and the Winter approaching, made them resolute to seeke the Isle of  
 Saint *Helena*, which they did, but missed it, and therefore thought to releue themselves in the  
*Ascension*, or some other Island. In 20<sup>th</sup>. they came to the Island, but barren and in-hospitall,  
 saue that with Clubbes they knocked downe many Fowles called *Malle Mowen*. But the  
 Rockes without, and barrenesse within forced their departure, and when on the first of Iune,  
 they had thought to haue encountred the Isle *Ascension*, they found it the Continent of *Brasil*:  
 which they imagined to haue beene fourescore miles distant. The Portugalls prohibiting their  
 landing, they came at last to the Isle of Saint *Clara*, and there erected Tents for their sicke people,  
 some of which presently died. Heere they found little but Herbes, and two Trees of sower  
 Plumbes, which cured the sicke in fifteene dayes. The Island is a <sup>1</sup> Mile in Compasse, and as farre  
 from the Continent. Here they burned the *Concord*, hauing before taken out what they plea-  
 sed: they also exposed two Malefactors to their forlorne fortunes. This Isle is in one and twen-  
 tie degrees, fifteene minutes Southwards from the Line. On the sixteenth of Iuly they determi-  
 ned to seeke Port *Desire*, which after many tempests they came to, on the twentieth of Septem-  
 ber in fortie seuen degrees fortie minutes. In an Island three miles from thence Southwards, they  
 furnished themselves with store of *Penguins* & fishes. Of those Fowles they took fifty thousand,  
 being as bigge as Geese, with Egges innumerable, which prooued very refreshing to the diseased.  
 Here they careened their Ships and set vp a Smiths Forge. They went vp the Riuer the fift of  
 October, and going on Land, found Beasts like Stagges and Buffals, and multitudes of *Ostreches*;  
 in one Nest they tooke nineteene Egges, which the Damme had forsaken. The Captaine of the  
*Hope* dying of the Scorbute, the Captaine of the *Concord* was chosen his successour, and the Ship  
 also was termed the *Concord*.
- On the twentieth day, the Generall went on Land, to descric the Country, giuing strait charge  
 to looke well to the Boats, and not to stirre from them, which they transgressing, were out of  
 ambushes set on by thirtie Sauages, and three slaine, besides the fourth wounded. These Sauages  
 were of admirable stature, painted vnto terrour, their Bowes short, their Arrowes headed with  
 Stone. On the nine and twentieth they prepared to depart. On the fourth of Nouember, they  
 were neere Cape *Virgines*; the Land is low and plaine, by the whitenesse resembling *England*.  
 Often they hence attempted to enter the Straights, but often entred straights with that  
 attempt, repelled by tempestuous Windes, Raine, Hailes, Snowes, Sicknesse and Contention  
 adding their subsidarie assistance. These sensible crosses were accompanied with losses of An-  
 chors, Cables, and (that which is most irrecoverable) time, little lesse then fifteene moneths  
 being spent before they could fasten any good entrance into the Straights; although they intly  
 seemed engulphed in the straights all this time, and all their way hither, hauing paid the liues  
 of almost a hundred of their company for Sea-custome. From the said Cape the Land trends  
 South-Westward: the Straights mouth is hence fourteene miles, and halfe a mile in breadth. On  
 the South side thereof they espied a man, with a kind of cloke, supposed therefore but fallily, to  
 be a Christian, his face painted, and stature ordinarie, whom in vaine they inuited to their com-  
 pany. They saw many others, and on the five & twentieth they espied many men, in two Islands  
 neere the Cape, which they called *Nassau*, who forbad the Hollanders landing, with their Darts  
 and other weapons, but were chased to an obscure Caue, where they were all slaine, before the  
 Dutch



Dutch could winne entrance. There they found the amazed and affrighted mothers, lying prostrate on their Infants to protect them from that fatall Thunder, from whom they tooke foure Boyes and two Girles, and with them returned aboard. Of one of these hauing learned to speake Dutch, they receiued this intelligence; the Lands name was *Castemme*, this People or Tribe called *Enoo*. The name of the lesser Island *Talcke*, both stored with Penguins, whose Flesh yeelded them food, their Skinnies clothing. They dwelt in Caues vnder the Earth. In the Continent are many Ostriches whereon they feed: these they call *Talcke*, and another kind of wild beasts *Cassoni*. They dwell in seuerall Tribes or Families apart, whereof one is called *Kemenetes* dwelling in *Karay*, another *Kennekas* in *Karamay*, a third *Karaike* in *Morine*, all of stature like ours, except their broader and higher breasts, painted, the men tying their priue member with a string, the women hiding theirs with a Penguins skinne. The men weare long haire, the women are shauen. They goe naked, onely weare a cloke of Penguin skinnies to the waist. The like couering they make of other birds called *Oripeggre*; the Pengwins they call *Con ppogre*. These skinnies they compact together with no lesse industrie and Art then Skinners doe with vs. There is a fourth Family or Tribe, named *Tirimenen*, and the place of their habitation *Coin*, of giarly stature tenne or twelue foote high, which haue often warres with the other Lords or Tribes, whom they call *Pengwine-eaters*, whereby it seemes they vse other meat, haply Mans-flesh.

On the sixe and twentieth, they tooke three hundred Pengwines on the Isles bearing that name. Before they come at these Pengwine Isles twixt two straits are shoalds, and an Island called *Pantagoms*. On the eight and twentieth day they passed to the Continent, and saw Whales. They encountered a pleasant Riuer, but saw not the mouth of it; there were many Parrots and faire Trees, whereupon they called it *Summer-bay*. On the nine and twentieth, they set sayle for wood and water to Port *Famine*. Heere the Land trends so farre to the South, that *Pantagoms*, and *Terra Fuego* seeme as farre off to ioyne. Heere they found no foot prints of the late *Philip-Citie*, now liker a heape of stones. The *Magellane* strait is distant thence about foure Dutch miles. The hills on both sides are steep and high all the yeere-long covered with store of Snow. Here they cut downe wood to make them another Boat. The Barkes of the Trees in these parts bite like Pepper. But finding no good watering, and doubting also whether it were *Philip-Citie*, or Port *Famine* indeed, they departed, and after two miles found a good Riuer, whence they had easie prouision, on the first of December. The next day they passed to Cape *Froward*, which hauing doubled with great danger, by reason of vn safe anchorage and contrary wind, they anchored at eightene fadomes, foure miles from thence in a great Bay. Heere was good watering, and an Herb like Neeswort, profitable against the Scorbute. Some Sculdiers tasting of another Herb there growing, were well-nigh distracted for a time. A mile off they found a fit place to build their Boat, in which they spent twelue dayes. Here they had sight of *Sebalt de Weert* his Ship, one of *Peter Verhagens* company, which with another of the same Fleet, had beene driuen hacke out of the South sea. Hee reported that he had spent aboue five moneths in the Strait, and lost by diseases, and otherwise, so many of his men, that of an hundred and ten, there were left but eight and thirtie, whence hee was not able to indure the stormes which assaulted him in the South sea, but was forced hither, when the rest of the Fleet better manned held on their course. Thus hard newes, stormes, and mutinies finished this moneth and yeare.

On the second of Ianuarie they made search of *Maurice Bay*, which they obserued to extend farre to the East, and to receiue store of Riuers flowing into it, at the mouthes whereof they found great store of Ice in their iudgement neuer melted. For sounding ten fathomes they could not reach the bottome thereof, this their Mid-summer season notwithstanding. They coniectured the Land also to be broken Islands, which the height of the mountaines made to seeme continued and firme. They indured continuall raines, nor could get ought there but Muskles, which on the eighth they going to gather, the lesser Boat out-sailing her fellowes, two of her men were slaine and wounded by the Sauages. Their weapons were heauie Clubbes, with Ropes tied to them, and long Darts of Wood. At the landing of the greater Boat they all fled. Hauing indured diuers stormes, which indangered them on the Rocks in *Meniste Bay*, and some encounter of the Sauages which had left three Canoes vnder a high hill, and with stones defended them from the Hollanders, they departed on the seuenteenth day, and by a storme were driuen into *Goose Bay*, three miles distant, so called of the store of that Fowle their found fit for swimming and long diuing, but vnable to flie. Here the Vice-Admirall for diuers misdemeanours, was by a Councell of Warre adiudged to be set on land, which was accordingly executed, where *Famine*, or wilde beasts, or wilder men must needs make an end of his mutinous vnquiet life. On the first of Februarie they entred a new Bay, which they called *Popish Bay*, where the Admirall was like to haue perished on a sunken Rocke. Heere they had store of stormes, thunders, lightnings, and Muskles in a broad Riuer which runnes into it. On the seuen and twentieth they had view of a huge mountain of Ice in *Goose Bay*. On the last of February they passed Cape *Desire* into the South sea, with thanks to the Almighty for that happy successe. This sea was not so peaceable, but that it entertained them with diuers daies stormes, in which they lost their Boat. Their

*Castemme.*  
*Talcke.*  
Manners of  
the Inhabi-  
tants.

Giants: see the  
next storie an-  
nexed of *Seb-  
de Weert*.

*Summer Bay*  
*Port Famine.*  
*Pantagoms.*  
*Terra Fuego*  
is the Land on  
the South of  
the Straights,  
since found  
to bee but  
Islands.  
*Philip Citie.*  
*Cape Froward.*

\* *Sir Iaques*  
*Mahu* (or as  
*Adams* calls  
him, *Mahoy*)  
went out Ge-  
nerall of this  
Fleet: who  
died in the Isle  
of *Brava*, and  
*Simon de Coor-*  
*des* succeeded.  
It is here cal-  
led *Peter Ver-*  
*hagens* compa-  
ny, because he  
was then chief  
of the Indi-  
an company  
which set them  
forth.

\* 1600.  
*Maurice Bay.*  
Ice all the  
yeere long in  
the Straights.  
The same re-  
port hath *Seb-  
de Weert*.  
*Meniste Bay.*  
*Goose Bay.*  
*Popish Bay.*  
*Cape Desire.*



La Mocha.

Cici drinke.

S. Maries an  
Island rich in  
Gold.

Val Paraiso.

Note the helpe  
which the  
Dutch had by  
English-  
mens notes.  
W. Adams  
makes menti-  
on of this fight,  
who in the  
same ship came  
to Japan.

S. Iago.

Sheep plenty.

Warres be-  
twixt the Spa-  
niards & Chili.  
Baldinia.  
Imperial.

Fertility of  
Chili.

company was now an hundred fortie seuen. On the twelfth of March they lost sight of the Vice. admirall, whom hauing in vaine expected, they went to the *Iland La Mocha*, in thirtie eight degrees, in the midst whereof is an high mountaine, cleauing it selfe in the toppe to yeeld waters to the subiect valley. Here they bartered Hatchets and Kniues for Sheep, Hennes, Maiz, Battalas, and other fruits. They went to the towne which hath some fiftie houses of strawe, long, with one doore, into which they might not be admitted. They gaue them drinke called *Cici*, somewhat sowerish, made of Mays, which the toothlesse old women chew (supposing that the elder the Women are, the better shall their drinke be) and steepe it in water, referuing it for necessary vse, and for their drunken feasts, drinking in a misordered order at the sound which one makes with his mouth, according to their Bacchanall mysteries, measuring to each his proportioned measure with vnmeasurable disproportion. They haue many vviues which they buy of their Parents, so that the Father of many daughters is the richest man. Their life is loose, scarcely subiect to any law. If any kill another, the kinred of the slain reuenge it, vnlesse some intercessors preuaile to procure a yeerely *Cici*-festiuall in recompence. The Inhabitants of *Chili* obserue like customes. They are clothed aboue and belowe with garments made of the wooll of large Sheepe with long necks, which they vse also to burthens, of which kind they would sell none to the Dutch, but of another fat kind not much vnlike ours. This Island is about sixe miles from the Continent. From it eightene miles lieth another, called *S. Maries*, in thirty seuen degrees, and fiftene minutes of Southerly latitude. Here they had sight of a Spanish shippe, which they chased and tooke. This ship they said was the Kings, sent with Lard and Meale to *Aranco* and *Conception*, where they haue warre with the Indians. The Pilot certified them, that it was impossible for them to recouer *S. Maries*, from whence they had chased this shippe to thirtie five degrees, by reason of the Southerly winds. They told them of two shippes of warre waiting for intelligence of their comming in *Arica*. They hereupon presently determined for *Val Paraiso*, and so lost their Vice-admirall altogether: whom they supposed to haue lost that Isle of *S. Maries*, by the wrong placing thereof in *Plancius* his Mappe, in thirty eight degrees, whereas it is in thirty seuen degrees and fiftene minutes. They themselues had also beene deceiued, but for notes of Captaine *Melis*, the Englishman which they had and followed. They heard also of *Simon de Cordes* his arriuall there, who by a Spaniard dissembling amity, was invited to land, and so betrayed to the Indians butchery, with twenty three men, beeing mistaken for Spaniards, their heads set vpon poles, and in a glorious ostentation shewed to the Spaniards in *Conception*. The Spaniards made faire semblance of kindnesse, so to haue possessed themselues of their two shippes, of which they sent notice to *Lima*, but the Hollanders mistrusting departed they knew not whither. The Spaniards in *Lyma* had receiued intelligence a yeere before their comming of the Hollanders, and of the names of their chiefe men, and provided themselues accordingly.

In *Val Paraiso* or *S. Iago* they tooke two shippes, and slew many Indians, but the Spaniards were fled. This *Val Paraiso* is in three and thirtie degrees of the South latitude, and *S. Iago* is from it eightene miles within land, a Towne fertile of Wine much like Claret in tast and colour. There are plenty of Sheepe which they kill onely for their sewet, wherewith they lade whole shippes. The whole Countrey is fruitfull. Here they receiued letters from *Derick Gerwitz*, Captaine of the *Flying Hart*, one of *Verhagens* companie, who thinking to trade with the Spaniards there, hauing but nine sound men in his shippe, was suddenly assaulted, wounded, and imprisoned, where he wrote these miserable lines. His famine proceeded from the missing of *S. Maries* Island, vpon that wrong placing in the Mappe aforesaid, so that meere famine brought him to these Straits.

In *S. Iago* they had intercepted Letters, which related the occurrents of the warres of *Chili*, the Indians rebelling against the Spaniards, and forcing *Baldinia*, the foure and twentieth of Nouember, 1599. slaying and carrying away captiue the Inhabitants. Two hundred Spaniards sent from *Lyma* did againe there fortifie. The Indians likewise besieged the Citie *Imperial*, and had now almost famished the Spaniards. These Indians are good and expert souldiers, of which five thousand were in this expedition: three thousand of them Horsemen, skilfull at their Launces, and an hundred Shot, seuentie Costlets. All which furniture they had taken from the Spaniards in many victories. They so hate the Spaniards, that of whomsoever they kil, they plucke out his heart and bite it, and make drinking vessels of their skuls. They vse Orations to encourage them to the maintenance of their pristine libertie against the Spanish tyrannie. They haue one chiefe Captaine onely in time of Warre. The first choise of him in their first Spanish warre was in this sort: A heauy piece of timber was by all the Competitors carried on their shoulers, which while it wearied the most to beare five or sixe houres, one was found strong enough to endure it foure and twenty together, and thereby attained this Ducall honour. The Region of *Chili*, from *S. Iago* to *Baldinia*, is the most fertile in the world, and of most wholesome ayre, in somuch that few are there sicke; yea, a sword put vp into the scabbard all wet with the dewe, doth not therewith rust. Fruits, Mays, Hogges, Horses, Kine, Sheepe, Goats, are plentifull and wander in great herds, besides Gold-mines. In the sacke of *Baldinia* they burned Houses, Temples,



ples, Monasteries, and striking off the heads of their Images, cried, *Downe goe the gods of the Spaniards*. They thrust Gold into their mouthes, and bid them satiate themselues vvith that for vvwhich they had raised such persecutions, and of vvwhich they made such vnfatiable prosecution.

- On the first of Aprill they entred the Bay *La Guasco*, and thence on the seuenth departed. *La Guasco.*  
 On the eleuenth they came into a great nooke called *Morre Gorch*, tenne miles from vvwhich is *Morre Gorch, & M. Morrene.*  
*Morre Morrene*, from vvwhich the shore is extended to *Aricca*, all vvwhich tract to *S. Francis* hill is vsually subiect to Southvvinds, and farre in the Sea the Winde variable. On the tvventieth, the aire vvas darke, that a man could not see aboue a stones cast. The cause vvas a cloud of dust *Cloud of dust.*  
 10 like meale, vvwhich vvhlited their clothes in like manner. The Spanish Pilot told them it vvas vsfall in those parts, by them called *Arenales*. It lasted all day, and caused the Generall to loose his tvvo other comforts till tvvo dayes after. On the five and tvventieth, they sawe *Lyma* bea- *Lyma.*  
 ring East from them. Here the *Negroes* confessed, that in one of the shippes vvwhich they had taken, the Captaine enuying the Hollanders such vvealth, vvhen he sawe hee could not escape, had throwne into the Sea three Boats loading of Gold. The Pilot being examined, confessed that there were two and fiftie Chests of Gold, whereof each had foure *Aroben*, and five hundred Pots, in each of which, was eight, tenne, or twelue pounds of Gold. He caused also euerie man to bring foorth whatsoever hee had and throw it into the Sea. This Gold came from Saint *Maries* Island, which three or foure Spaniards possessed imploying two thousand  
 20 Indians in the Mine.

On the nine and twentie, they espied two sayles, and gaue them chase in vaine, those Ships built for that Sea (where from *Panama* to *Lyma* they sayle most-what against the wind which is vsually constant) out stripping the Hollanders exceedingly. The twentieth of May, after that they had laboured in vaine to attaine the Isle of *Coquos* in five degrees of Notherly latitude, they *I. Coquos.*  
 purposed to auoid the danger of the Spanish men of warre, whereof they had intelligence, to set sayle to the *Ladiques*, and thence to the *Philippinas*. Much raine they had in the way, not without this benefit to supply their want of water. The thirtieth of Iune, the Spanish Pilot was for ill demeanures, by publike sentence cast ouer-board. A prosperous wind happily succeeded.

- 30 On the fifteenth of September, they had sight of the *Ladrones*. On the sixteenth, the Indians came in their *Canoas*, with Fish, *Coquos*, *Bonnanas*, Rootes, Sugar-canes, to barter for old pieces of yron: sometimes they might number two hundred of these *Canoas*, with two, three, or five men in each, all crying, *Hiero, Hiero*, that is, *Yron, Yron*, with greedinesse ouerturning their *Canoas* against the shippes side, which they regarded not, beeing expert swimmers, and could easily recouer their Boats, goods, and selues. They were subtle deceiuers, couering a Basket of *Coquo* shiels, with a little Rice in the toppe, as if they had been full of Rice; and vpon fit opportunitie snatching a Sword out of the scabbard, and leaping into the Sea, where with deepe and long diuing, they secured themselues from shot. The Women are herein equall to the men. They will fetch a piece of yron from the bottome of the Sea. Their Boats are neatly compact, of fifteene  
 40 or twenty foot long, and 1  $\frac{1}{2}$ . broad, wherewith they saile against the wind, and if they must turne, they neuer alter their sayle, but with the Poop cut the waues. Their Women couer their priuitie with a leafe, otherwise naked both men and women, like the pictures of *Adam* and *Eue*. They are libidinous, and haue thereof many pockie testimonies. This Island was called *Guana*, neither saw they any other. It was twentie miles large. These fruits were very comfortable to their sicke men of the Scorbute.

- On the seuenteenth, they set sayle for the *Philippinas*. On the twentieth, they had Ice, being then in three degrees. Sixe weekes together they dranke only raine water. On the fourteenth of October, they espied land, and thought, but falsly, that it had beene the Cape of the *Holy Ghost*. On the sixteenth day, there came a *Balsy* or *Canon*, and in the same a Spaniard, which *Philippine.*  
 50 fearing to come aboard, they displayed a Spanish flagge, and attired one like a Friar to allure him. Which taking effect, the Generall saluted him, and told him they were Frenchmen, with the Kings commission bound for *Manilla*, but wanting necessaries, and not knowing where they now were, hauing lost their Pilot. The Spaniard answered, this place was called *Bay la Bay*, *bay a bay.*  
 tenen or eight miles to the North, from the straight of *Manilla*. The Land was fertile, and hee commanded the Indians to bring Rice, Hogges, and Hennes: which was presently effected, and sold for readie money. His name was *Henry Nunes*. The next day *Francisco Rodrigo*, the Gouernour came to the Ship and did likewise. The Indians go most naked, their skinnies drawne out with indelible lines and figures. They pay for their heads to the Spaniard, tenne single Ryalls for euery one aboute twentie yeeres old. There are few Spaniards, and but one Priest which is  
 60 of great esteeme: and had they Priests enough, all the neighbour Nations would bee subiect to the Spaniard. Being furnished with necessarie prouision, and now also discouered, they departed for the Straight of *Manilla*, and were in no small danger of a Rocke the same night. This whole Tract is wast, barren, and full of Rockes. A storme of wind had almost robbed them  
*Straight of Manilla.*



the next day of their Masts and Sayles, which with such sudden violence assailed them from the South-East, that in their stormie and tedious voyage, they had not encountered a more terrible. On the three and twentieth, some went on Land, and eat *Palmis*, and drank water, after which followed the bloudie Fluxe, whether of this cause, or the landing after so long a being at Sea, vncertaine. The foure and twentieth, they entred the straight and sayled by the Island in the midst, and in the Euening passed by the Isle *Capul*, seuen miles within the straight, neere which they found many Whirle-Pooles, which at first seemed Shoalds but they could find no bottome. The people were all fled. Heere they lost a Londoner, *John \* Caldwey*, an excellent Musician surprized, as was suspected, by some insidiarie Indians; whereupon they burned their Villages. *Manilla* is eightie miles from *Capul*, which now they left to attaine the other, but in a calme winde, with violent working of the waues, were much tossed without much danger, by reason of the depth. They wanted a Pilot, and their Maps were vncertaine.

Mexican trade  
yeerely at  
*Manilla*.

The seuenth of Nouember, they tooke a China *lunke*, laden with prouision for *Manilla*. The owner was of *Canton*, the Master and Mariners of *Chincheo*. This Master was expert in the Portugall tongue, and their Indian affaires, which happened verie luckily to the Hollanders ignorant of their course. These told them that in *Manilla* were two great Shippes, which from new *Spaine* yeerely sayle thither; that there was also a Dutch Shippe bought at *Malana*: These ride before *Manilla*, and there are two Castles or Forts to secure them; the Citie also walled about, and without it aboue fiftene thousand *Chinois* Inhabitants, occupied in marchandize and handy-crafts: And that foure hundred China Shippes come thither yeerely from *Chincheo*, with Silke and other precious marchandise, betwixt December and Easter. They added that two were shortly expected from *Iapon* with Iron, other mettalls and victualls. On the fiftenth, they tooke two Barkes laden with Hennes and Hogges, which were to bee paid for tribute to the Spaniards, for which they gaue them some linnen bolts in recompence. They passed by the Isle *Bankingle*, and another called *Mindore*, right against which is the Isle *Lon-bou*, two miles distant, and betwixt them both, is another lesser Island, neere which is safe passage for Ships.

*Bankingle*.  
*Mindore*.  
*Lon-bou*.

*Lusson*.

They agreed vpon consultation to stay in expectation of the Iaponian Ships, at an Anchor (for the East wind hath the Monarchy of that season in those parts) in fiftene degrees of North Latitude. The Isle *Lusson* is bigger then *England* and *Scotland*, to which many Islands adioyne. The riches arise more out of trafficke, then fertilitie. On the third of December they tooke one of the *Iapon* Ships of fiftie tunnes, which had spent fise and twentie dayes in the voyage. The forme was strange, the forepart like a Chimney, the sayles of Reed, or Matt twisted, the Anchors of Wood, the Cables of Straw. The Iapanders make themselves bald, except a tuft left in the hinder part of the head. The Iesuites haue the managing of the Portugall trafficke in *Iapon*, hauing made way thereto by their preaching, and are in reputation with their conuerts, as Demi-gods: neither admit they any other order of Religion to helpe them. The Generall obtained at easie rate one of these wooden Anchors for his vse, and some quantitie of prouision. On the ninth, they tooke a Barke laden with *Coquo* Wine, like *Aqua-vite*, the people all fled; and another with Rice and Hennes.

Iaponian ships  
and men.

There are  
some *Franciscans*  
also.

Fight with  
Spaniards  
and Indians.

Dutch victory.

On the fourteenth, the Ships came from *Manilla*, and there passed betwixt them a Sea-fight. The Spanish Admirall came so neere, and was stored with men, that they entred the Dutch Admirall, and thought themselves Masters thereof, fixe or seuen still laying at one Hollander: the Vice-Admirall also set vpon the smaller Ship. All day the two Admiralls were fast together, and the Dutch ouer-wearied with multitudes, were now vpon point to yeeld, when the Admirall rated their cowardise, and threatned to blow them vp with Gun-powder presently. This feare expelled the other, and the dread of fire, added reall fire to their courages, insomuch that they renewed the fight, and cleared the Ship of her new Masters, which had no lesse labour to cleare their owne Shippe from the Dutch, which was no sooner done, but the Sea challenged her for his owne, and deuoured her in one fatall morsell, into his vnlatiable paunch. The people swamme about, crying, *Misericordia, Misericordia*, which a little before had cried in another dialect, *Maina peros, Maina peros*. Of these miserable wretches were two hundred, besides such as were before drowned or slaine. But the fire was almost as dangerous to the Dutch, as the water to the Spanish; by often shooting, the Timbers being ouer-heat, threatned by light flames to make the Dutch accompanie the Spaniards into *Neptunes* entrailes. But feare awaked diligence, and diligence cast this feare also into a dead sleep, the blessed Trinitie in almost an vnitie of time, diuerting a trinitie of deaths, by yeelding, sinking, fring. But in this diuine mercie, they forgate not their inhumane feritie to the swimming remainders of the enemy, entertaining them with Pikes, Shot, yea (especially a Priest in his habite) with derision. In the Shippe were fise Spaniards found dead with siluer Boxes about them, containing little consecrated Schedules, testimonies of great and bootlesse superstition, in which they exceed the European Papists in the midst of *Spaine* and *Rome*. Five  
Hollanders



Hollanders were slaine and twentie six wounded in the fight, the whole company in the Ship being but five and thirtie. The Pinnasse had but five and twentie, and could not withstand the violence of five hundred armed men in the enemies Vice-Admirall, some Spaniards, some Indians, which after long fight tooke her. These two were the *Mexican* Shippes, which yeerely trade in the *Philippinas* for Silke, Gold, and Muske, with other commodities of *China*.

Dutch Pinnasse taken.

Hence they departed for *Borneo*, to repaire the torne Ship, distant from *Manilla* one hundred and eightie miles, this being in five degrees, *Manilla* in fourteene degrees forty five minutes, (Miles you must in all this storie vnderstand in the Dutch account.) They sayled by *Bolutan*, a great Island, one hundred and eightie miles long. On the fixe and twentieth they arriued at *Borneo* in a great Bay, containing some three miles in compasse, the water still, the ground good for ancorage, the neighbour Riuer well stored with Fish, which the Fisher-men there dwelling changed plentifully for linnen clothes. The Generall sent to the King for license to trade. The people were very desirous of *China* peeces of linnen, which they had taken before *Manilla*, but little respected that which they brought out of *Holland*. On the eight and twentieth, the Pilot which hee had sent to the King returned, and a Prow of the Kings with him, in which were two brasse Peeces, and the Kings Banner. The Gunner was of *Patana*, in much repute with the King. He misdoubted that they were Spaniards, vntill his officers had searched, and found the contrary. Here they traded for Pepper, with the *Patanees*, which seeme to bee of *Chinese* originall and obserue their customes, inhabiting in a Region of their owne. Meane while they had learned that the *Borneans* intended treason toward them, and to begin the new year, Ianuarie first, 1601. saw an hundred Prowes assembled, and vnder colour of presents from the King, they sought to enter the Ship, till the Dutch vigilance and threats made them giue ouer their designe, with colourable excuses. A *Patane* was the author of this treacherie, which had slaine the Portugalls not long before, and taken their shippe, with like wile in vnlike securitie.

Bolutan.

Borneo.

1601.

This Island *Borneo*, is one of the greatest in *East India*. The Citie of the same name, is situate in a mirie soyle, and in their Prow they may passe from one house to another. It containeth three thousand houses, besides many further vp-land. It is very populous, the Inhabitants tall, subtle; goe armed all of them be they poore Husband-men, or Fisher-men. Their armes are Bowes, lauelins pointed with Iron, Forkes, Quiuers with venomd Darts, which poyson to death where they draw blood. They are all Mahumetans, and will die sooner then taste of lard, neither keepe they any swine. They haue many wiues, those wittie, warie in trading, bold and couragious: one of them rudelier handled by a Hollander, with a lauelin had dispatched him, if her force had not beene intercepted. They are clothed with linnen, from the wast downwards: the baser sort goe all naked: they weare on their heads a cotten Turbant. The King a child, was vnder a Protector. The Nobles are proud, graue, and much obserued. In the midst of their Prowes stood a table with siluer vessels, for their Bettele and Arecea, which they vsually are chewing. Seeing little hope of trade, they determined to set sayle for *Bantam*. The third of Ianuarie, in the darke night foure *Borneans* came to the Ship, with purpose to cut the Cable, so to bring the Ship on ground: neither had they any more anchors but one left them on boord, and that one by which they roade. But being perceiued and shot at, they left their Prow, which the Hollanders tooke with them, hauing lost their Boat at *Manilla*. The next morning they set saile, and espying a Iunke of *Japan*, learned of them that they were bound for *Manilla*, and forced for succour to *Borneo*, had spent foure moneths waiting for their voyage. The Captaine was *Emanuel Powis* a Portugall, then dwelling at *Langnasacke* in *Japan*, the Pilot a *Chinese*, the company *Iapanders*. These told them of a great *Holland* Ship by tempests shaken, to haue put in at *Japan*, the company by famine and sicknesse all but fourteene dead. They came first to *Bongo* in thirtie foure degrees, fortie minutes, and by the Kings direction remooued to *Atonza*, in 36  $\frac{1}{2}$ . They roade there in safe harbour, with foure anchors, and had freedome of their persons and trade, and to make a new Ship to goe whether they would. They coniectured hereby that it was *Verbagens* his Admirall Ship of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes: being as this Captaine told them, well furnished with Ordnance, Ryalls of eight, and commodities. The Generall desired this Captaine at his returne, to remember his kindest greeting to his Countrey-men, and after other kindnesse departed, hauing giuen him a Passe at his request, in the name of *Grane Maurice*. On the thirteenth they passed the line the third time. They sayled at this time in much feare and danger for want of a Pilot, and good Cards. On the sixteenth they tooke a Iunke of *Ior*, and furnished themselues with a skilfull Pilot out of hers, without whom he had small likelihood in those dangerous Seas to haue escaped shipwracke. The Islands were many, *Banta*, *Crimati* (which yeelds Diamonds, which they sell at *Malacca*) and others, besides sholds. They had now but one Anchor left, and the Cable thereof worne and weake. On the twentieth eight they came to *Iortan*, and heard of *Holland* Ships at *Bantam*. Heere they bought Mace and prouision. *Iortan* hath a thousand houses all of Timber. The King was absent at *Passarnan*, five yeres before he had besieged *Balamboa*, & destroyed the King with all his kindred.

Borneo Cape.

William Adams an Englishman, went chiefe Pilot in this Ship, and liued aboue twentie yeres in *Japan*. Of him you may read more hereafter. He lately died, as I heare, at *Fizanda* a *Iaponian* Island.

Crimati.

Iortan.

Passarnan. Balamboa.

He



Sorba.

He is also called King of *Sorhay*, a Citie not far distant, all which foure Cities are Mahumetan, and very rigid in that swinish superstition. The Pagodes and Idols argue permission of Eatinke, & ancienter Indian Rites. The chiefe Priest resides in a place without the Citie of *Iersan*, a man of an hundred and twentie yeres, which hath many wiues to keepe him warme, & with their milke to nourish him, eating no other meat. Departing hence, they saw a great Portugall Ship of fixe hundred Tunnes set fast on the shoalds, which was going to *Amboyna*, to fortifie there against the Inhabitants, and to prohibite all other Nations trade. The first of Februarie, they passed the straight betwixt *Belambha* and *Bala*. And leaving *Lava* North East from them, on the eleventh day they found themselves in thirteene degrees, & directed their course to Cape *Bona Esperanza*. On the eighteenth, the Sunne was right over them at noone, in the eleventh degree, twentie minutes, and a calme continued tenne dayes. The nineteenth of March, the height was twenty foure degrees, fortie five minutes, and on the foure and twentieth, twentie eight degrees, tenne minutes. On the first of April, thirtie degrees, fiftie minutes. On the nineteenth, the calmes and grosse windes caused a set allowance of water to be proportioned. On the twentieth fourth at night they saw a light like fire about foure miles to the North-West, whereby they were by Gods grace preserved from hazard. Forthby their reckoning they held themselves two hundred miles distant from the Cape, whereas this fire gaue notice of land neere. The next day their height was thirtie foure degrees, and thirtie five minutes. The calmes gaue them license to mend their Sayles. At night they saw another fire, and the next morning land, bearing North Easterly. On the twentie seven they were in thirtie foure degrees and fortie minutes; within fixe or seven miles of the said land.

Amboyna.

May the second they were in thirtie five deg. & fifteen minutes, & the next morning betwixt East and North, had sight of a low land like the end of some Island about fixe miles off in eightie fathome, whereby they thought themselves neere the Cape. The Winde being at East they made Westward, and shaped their course for *Saint Helena* in fifteen degrees fiftie eight minutes, where on the fixe and twentieth they arrived and refreshed themselves with fresh water, store of fish, and some flesh, for the Goates and Fowles are wilde and hardly taken. They found no Oranges. On the thirtieth day they departed, and June the fourteenth, they passed the Line the fourth time. On the sixteene day they encountred sixe Dutch Ships, the Generall whereof was *James Heemeskerk*, bound for the East Indies. They had spent two monethes on the way, and lost their Vice-Admirall and Pinnace, having fought with thirteene Spanish Ships neere the Salt Islands. The Pinnace was taken, the other (they hoped) escaped. Iuly the eight, they were in twentie seven degrees, and had store of Weedes in the Sea called *Saragossa*. On the thirteenth were in thirtie two degrees, thirtie minutes, and then had fifteen dayes calme, and the Sea all full of Weed. On the twentie two they were driven to allowance of their Worme-eaten Bread.

Note.

Saint Helena.

Weedie Sea.

Flores and Cornues.

August the first they were in fortie degrees, and left *Flores* and *Cornues* to the West some forty five miles. On the eleventh they saw a Ship, and making toward it in vaine, they shot off a Peece, and strooke their maine saile: whereupon the Ship stayed, and signified the same by a shot, which when these would answere, the Peece broke and cut off the Guns foote, killed his Boy and brake the maine Mast in three pieces, whereupon they were forced to make a new. The other Ship passed from them. Three Ships of *Emden* encountred them on the eighteenth, and gaue them bread and flesh for Pepper and Rice: and told them they were not yet attayned so neere *England* as their Master supposed, which had promised the *Lysart* the day before. On the nineteenth they had sight of the *Sorlings*. On the twentie five they had like to runne on ground by the *Brill*, and the next day anchored at *Amsterdam*.

Of SEBALD DE WERT his Voyage to the South Sea, and miserie in the Straights  
nine Moneths, wherein WILLIAM \* ADAMS Englishman was chiefe Pilot.

\* Of W. Addams his coming to Iapon followeth after in the next Book.

BEcause mention is made of *Verhagens* Fleete, which passed the Straights a little before Noort I have thought good to adde somewhat touching that Voyage, Anno 1598. five Ships of *Amsterdam* The *Hope* Admirall of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes with one hundred & thirtie persons. The *Charitie* Vice-Admirall of one hundred and sixtie Tunne, with an hundred and ten men. The *Faith*, of one hundred and sixtie Tun, with one hundred and nine men. The *Fidelitie*, of one hundred Tun with fourescore and sixe men. The *Good Newes*, of threescore and fifteene Tun with fiftie six men furnished with all necessarie prouision, (Sir *Iaques Mahu* being Generall, *Simon de Cordes* Vice-Admirall, *Benninghen*, *Bockholt* and *Sebalt de Wert*, the three Captains of the three other Ships set saile Iune the seven and twentieth. And after much a-do & little helpe at the Islands of Cape *Vord* where they lost their Generall, to whom *Cordes* succeeded and receiued Oath a-new of his Companie (as did each other Captaine of his owne Ship, being remoued in successiue order) they were forced by their owne wants and the Portugall wiles, the Scorbute or Scuruie also infecting and infecting euery Ship, to depart with intent to refresh their



- the ir men and make better prouision of water and other necessaries at the Isle *Anno Bueno*, or *Anobon*. But espying land vnexpected a hundred and twentie miles or more sooner then their reckoning about three degrees of South Latitude, they determined to goe to Cape *Lopo Consalues*. The people of *Guinnee* as they passed along the Coast yeelded a pedling Trade. The sicke men were set on shore the tenth of November. On the three twentieth a French Sayler came aboard, which promised to doe them all fauour with the Negro King. To him was sent Captaine *Weert*, who found him on a Throne scarcely one foot high with a Lambes skinne vnder his feet, his Garment of violet coloured cloth with gilded lace, attyred like a Rower, without shirt, shooes, or stockings, hauing a particoloured cloth on his head and many glasse Beades about his necke; attended with his Courtiers adorned with Cockes Feathers. The Palace was not comparable to a Stable. His prouision was brought him by women, a few roasted Plantans, and smoke dried Fish in Wooden Vessels, with Wine of Palme in such sparing measure, that *Masieffa* and the renowned Examples of Temperance might hane bene this Negro's Disciples. Once the Dutch Captaine was faine (vnder colour of courtesie to shew the King his manner of Dyet) to call for some of his *Holland* prouision to satisfie his barking, and thus more prouoked entrailles. But in the Spanish Wine the Guinean forgot his Temperance and was carryed to his rest. Little refreshing was here to be had. A Bore and two Buffals they killed in the Woods: a little they bought, a few Birds they tooke, and (which worke was) as the Scorbuto forsooke the sicke, Feuers possessed the stronger. On the eight of December they departed, and on the sixteenth arriued at *Anobon*. Some prouision they got there by force, and that scurue exchange of the Scuruie and Feuer, and lost by sicknesse thirtie men, amongst which *Thomas Spring* an English yong man of great towardnesse. In the beginning of the yeare 1599. they departed for the Magellane Straits. In the tenth of March in fortie two degrees, the Sea was all red as if it had bene mixed with bloud, being full of red Wormes, which taken vp leaped like Fleas. On Aprill the sixt they entered the straights. At Pinguine Islands they stored themselues with thirteene or fourteene hundred. On the eighteenth they anchored in the Greene Bay in fiftie foure degrees, where they had fresh Water and large Muscles. Here they stayed till the three and twentieth of August in a perpetuall stormie Winter, and lost a hundred of their Companie. Alway the storme found them worke, and miserable was their toyle without any furtherance to their intended Voyage. Raine, Winde, Snow, Hayle, Hunger, losse of Anchors, spoyle of Ship and Tackling, Sicknesse, Death, Sauages; want of store, and store of wants, conspired a fulnesse of miseries. But specially colde increased their appetite; and this decreased their Prouision and made them seek out for supply. On the seuenth of May, they went to take Gudgeons towards the South ouer against the Greene Bay, and their descryed seuen Canoes of wilde men, of ten or eleuen foot as they coniectured in stature with red bodies and long haire, which amazed the Dutch, and terrified them with stones and cries, and after got into their Boates againe to assaile them, but seeing foure or five fall downe dead with Dutch Thunder, they fledde to Land and plucking vp bigge Trees, barricadoed themselues, and threw stones at the Hollanders, which their left them in their sudden erected Fort. But afterwards three of their Companie were slaine, who in seeking food for life, found death at the hand of naked Sauages, whose weapons were Saw-toothed Darts, which if they entred, must be cut out of the flesh. This Greene Bay they called the Bay of *Cordes*, for their long stay. In another Bay called the Horse Bay, they erected a new Guild or Fraternitie, which Societie bound themselues by Oath to certaine Articles, which was done with more solemnitie of Ceremonie then prosperous effect. They stiled it the *Fraternitie of the freed Lion*. The Generall added fixe choice men to himselfe in this Societie and caused their names to bee carued in a Table fastened on high Pillers, to be seene of all Passengers, which was defaced, neuertheless by the Sauages who also plucked out the CorpSES from the Graues and dismembred them, and carried one away. On the third of September, they passed out of the straight and continued till the seuenth, when Captaine *Weert* was forced by a storme to stay, and the *Faith* and *Fidelitie* were left behind in much Miserie, Tempest, Hunger Leaks, &c. the death of their Master also attending the losse of their Company, & thus in the end of the Moneth entred the straights againe. Straights againe, indeed, for in two Moneths they had not one faire day to dry their Sayles. The *Faith* lost the foureteenth of October two Anchors. Their troubles left Name of Perillous Bay, to one place of their miserie, and to another, Vnfortunate, which yet followed them to euerie place not without Diuine assistance and deliuerance. The Deuill added also Mutinie in this miserable Companie, and Theeuerie. They tooke a Sauage woman with two children one halfe yeare old, yet able to goe readily and hauing all the teeth. Their lothsome feeding with the bloud running out of their mouthes, I loath to rehearse. Here they met with Generall *Noort*, his men lustie, but not able to spare them any reliefe. After a world of straights in the Straights too long to recite, they depart thence the two & twentieth of January 1600. & arriued in the *Maes*, the fourteenth of Iuly, without the straights homeward in fiftie degrees and fortie minutes, they saw three Ilands threescore miles from land stored with Penguins, called \* *Sebaldine* of the Indies.

This land was  
in Congo.

*Thomas Spring*  
Englishman in  
this Voyage.

Giants.

\* *Sebaldine* 3.  
Ilands not  
mentioned in  
Maps.

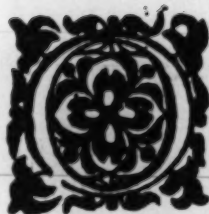


## CHAP. VI.

*The Voyage of GEORGE SPILBERGEN, General of a Dutch Fleet of sixe Shippes, which passed by the Magellane Straits, and South Sea, unto the East Indies, and thence (having encompassed the whole Circumference of the Earth) home: gathered out of the Latine Iournall, beeing the fift Circum-Navigation.*

*Brave and Fogo.*

*Abrolhos dangerous sands.*



IN the eight of August, 1614. they set forth from the *Tessell*. After much tempestuous weather, on the third of October they attained the height of *Madera*. On the tenth they lost sight of the *Canaries*. On the twentieth third, they had sight of the Islands *Brave* and *Fogo*. From the thirtieth of October, to the seuenteenth of Nouember, was a continuall calme, with many showres. And they were forced to stint euery man his Water. December the ninth, they gaue thanks to the Almighty, because they had passed the dangerous sands of *Abrolhos*. On the thirteenth, we saw *Brasil*, and by reason of sholds the Great *Sunne* shot off, to giue warning to the rest not to come very neere the shore. On the twentieth, they came to the Islands *Grandes*, where they anchored, and went on shore. They tooke much fish, and amongst them small Cro- 20 codiles, of the bignesse of a man. On the thirtieth, whilest they stayed to refresh their sicke men on shore, hearing the *Huntsman* (one of their ships) to discharge so often, they sent to see, and found that five Barks of Portugals and Indians had set vpon three boats, and slaine the men; whereupon they assailed them, but others came in to their succour, and frustrated the attempt.

Anno 1615. Ianuary the first, a conspiracie of certaine mutinous persons was found out, for which two were executed, beeing hanged vp at yard arme, shotte through with sixe Muskets, and buried on shore, the Preacher hauing all the night before laboured to fit them for a more happy life: others were put in irons, and distributed to diuerse shippes. Before their departure, they called a Councell, and ordained, that if any ship lost the rest, they should set vp a marke in *Cordes* 30 *Hauen*, or some other vsuall landing place, and how long they should stay for each other, and after should hasten to *La Mocha*. They agreed to remooue thence for want of meet prouision for their sicke, to the Isle of *S. Vincent*. There the Portugals delayed, and dallied with them trifling away time. On the twenty sixth, they tooke a Barke with eightene Portugals, whom they denied to exchange for fewer Hollanders, although they offered also many fayre Manuscripts, Pictures, Plate, and other things taken in the prize, pertaining to the Iesuites. They found also that intelligence of them had been giuen by some traitors of their owne Country-men out of *Holland*. And thus in the beginning of February they departed, freeing foure of their Captiue Portugals, detaining the rest, for one of which also, another Portugall had offered himselfe, 40 with diuers petty presents, pretending himselfe a Batchelour, and the other his kinsman to haue wife and children; but was not accepted. They burned the Prize, and some buildings pertaining to the Portugals, and had well furnished themselues with Oranges and Pome-citrons.

*Magellane Strait.*

*Sholds in the Straits.*

*\* A Giant.*

*May.*

March the seuenth, a cruell storme encountred them, in 52. degrees, and sixe minutes, which continued diuerse dayes, and separated them. And on the one and twentieth, a worse storme happened amongst some mutinous persons, and some of them (to still that tempest) were cast into the Sea, by the better part getting the better. It was the eight and twentieth before they entered the strait, whence the winde and tide forced vs out. Some by contrariety of windes, desired to winter in Port *Desire*, others to hold their course to the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Aprill the second, they reentred and anchored, because of sholds, one of which they sounded next day a quarter of a league ouer, and found but siue Cubits water. They saw here a man of Gi- 50 antly stature, climbing the hils to take view of them. This was in the land of *Fogo*, or *Fire*, which is the South of the strait. On the seuenth, they went on shore, found no men, but two Ostriges, and a great Riuer of fresh water, with store of shrubs with sweet blacke berries. On the South-side they found pleasant woods full of Parrots, in fiftie foure degrees, the mountaines full of snow. They called one place *Pepper-hauen*, of the barke of a tree there, biting like Pepper. On the sixteenth, they conferred with the Sauages, and gaue them Sacke, and certaine Kniues, for Pearles ioyned together in fashion of hornes. But some of the company going on May day on shore, to take certaine goodly Birds, were surprized by some of the Sauages, and two slaine. On the sixt, they passed into the South sea, not without terror both from the depth in the way the day before, scorning the law of anchorage, and after that the dangerous sholds and Islands, be- 60 twixt the Northern and Southern iawes of the not straight Mouth of the Straits, opening into the wide Sea. They were welcomed into this Peaceable Sea, with a terrible storme, which they feared would haue split them on the Sorlings (so for likenesse to ours they called the Islands in that sea a little without the straits.) These straits are dangerous for high Islands, sholds, and want of



of ancorage. Also tedious stormes attended their ingresse and egress. On the one and twentieth, they had sight of *Chili* and *La Mocha*. This Island is low and broad to the North, full of rockes to the South. On the twentieth sixth they sent out boats to traffique with the people; the Gouvernour and his sonne dined with the Admirall, and seemed glad to see such munition against the Spaniards, as likewise did all the *Chilefians* at sight of their training and mustering their Souldiers. They exchanged Hatchets, Corall, and the like, for great plenty of Sheep, of which they had two for one Hatchet, with great curtesie. But they brought all to the Boat, nor would suffer any to goe to their Houses, iealous, it seemes, of their wiues. One of these sheep was of legs, and necke very long, hare-mouthed, and bunch-backed, which they vse for carriage and culture as asses. They had many Hennes and other Fowles. On the twenty seuenth we set sayle, and  
 10 twentieth eighth came neere the shore, hard by the Island of *S. Mary*, broken and rockie. On the twentieth ninth, we came to harbour therein. A Spaniard came aboard them, hauing a pledge left for him. But inuiting them to a dinner on shore, one of the boats espied a conuoy of Souldiers, tending to that place where they should dine: wherupon they returned aboard, with the Spaniard prisoner. The next morning they went on shore with three Ensignes. The Spaniards set their Church on fire, and fled. In the skirmish two Hollanders were wounded, and foure Spaniards slaine. Their houses built of Reed, yeelded a goodly flame. They found store of Hennes, tooke  
 20 five hundred sheepe, with other spoile. Here they vnderstood of three Ships which had departed thence in Aprill to seeke these Dutch Ships, furnished with a thousand Spaniards, the Admirall hauing fortie Brasse Pieces, the rest proportionable. Hereupon the Dutch determined now to seeke them, in the Ile of *Conception*, and after that in *Valparisa*, and then on the shore of *Arica*. The Spaniard also reported of the like preparation in *Lima*, hauing Dutch Gunners. They enacted certaine orders of Militarie discipline, how each Ship, and each person should carry himselfe in the fight, if they encountred the enemy, and to die rather then yeeld.

June the first, they set sayle, and passed not farre from *Anroca*, a Towne with five hundred Spaniards in Garrison, continually assaulted by the *Chilefians*. On the third, they approached the Ile *Quiriquenam*, neere the Continent, and behind it came vp to the Towne of *Conception*,  
 wherein besides many Indians, were two hundred Spaniards. On the twelfth, they entred the safe rode of *Valparisa*. There was a Spanish ship, on which the Mariners set fire, and fled. On the  
 30 thirteenth, they had at none thirty two degrees, fiftene minutes, and in the afternoone came to the faire and secure Harbour of *Quintero*. They went on shore, and sawe many wilde Horses which fled. Here they watered, and tooke many fish, and for wood and other things found the place very commodious. Euery where Fame had beene their ouer-hasty Harbenger, which caused Spanish preparation for an vnwelcome intertainment, so that no matter of weight was effected.

July the second, they came to *Aracca*, in twelue degrees, and fortie minutes. Whether the silver is brought from *Potosi*, and carried thence to *Panama*. But finding no ships there, they departed. On the tenth, they had a calme and raine, not without wonder, because the Prisoner had reported a perpetual serenity or fairenesse of weather in those parts. On the sixteenth, they  
 40 tooke a small shippe, with some store of Treasure, most of which was embezelled by the Mariners. They tooke out the commodities, and sunke her. They had sight of eight saile, which the Spanish Master of the former Shippe said, was the Fleet-Royall, come forth to seeke the Hollanders, against the minde of the Counsell of *Peru*, which would rather haue had them stay. But *Roderigode Mendoza*, the Vice-Royes kinsman and Admirall, conceited of himselfe, sayd that two of his shippes would take all *England*, how much more those Hennes of *Holland*, after so long a iourney which had spent and wasted them: yea, he was sure they would yeeld to him at the very first. Whereupon the Vice-Roy bid him, Goe and bring them bound vnto him, and  
*Mendoza* sware he would neuer returne till they were taken or slaine. Thus he departed out of the road of *Callion*, on the eleuenth of July. The *Iesu Maria* Admirall, had twentieth foure brasse  
 50 Pieces, foure hundred and sixtie men of all sorts, and had cost the King, 158000. Ducats. The Vice-admirall *S. Anne*, had three hundred men, the Captaine *Aluarez de Piger*, which had taken an English ship in the South sea before; this ship had stood the King in 150000. Ducats, and was the fairest that euer was seene in the Indies. The *Carmen* had eight brasse Pieces, two hundred Souldiers and Mariners, besides the Commanders and their retinew. To it was the next not next but equall, the *S. James*. The *Rosary* had one hundred and fiftie men, and foure brasse Ordnance. The *S. Francis* had no Ordnance, but seuentie Muskietiers, and twentieth Mariners. Saint *Andrew* had eightie Muskietiers, and twentieth five Mariners. The eight was sent after the rest, vncertaine with what furniture.

July the seuenteenth they came neere each other in the Euening, and the Dutch Admirall sent  
 60 word to the Spanish, if he pleased to forbear fight that night. But *Roderigo* could not be so patient, but about ten of the clocke set vpon the great *Sunne*, in which the Admirall himselfe was, and exchanged mutuall Thunders on both sides. The Saint *Francis* being next raked thorow by the *Sunne*, by the *Hunter* (another *Holland* ship) was sent into a waterie Mansion and perpetual Night. She was presently assaulted by the Spanish Admirall, and had soone followed to triumph

June.

*Conception* Island in 36, degrees, 40. min.

July.

The Fleet Royall of *Peru*.

Sir *Richard Hawkins*, in which fight he was a Captaine but not General.

A Sea fight by night.



umph over the *Francis*, her new Conquest in the Channels bottome, had not her Admirall succoured her with a Boate full of men, and caused the Vice-Admirall to do the like. The Admirals Boat mistaken was by a Peeces from the *Huntsman* drowned, one man alone escaping. The next morning five ships sent word to the Admirall, that they would do their best to escape: but the Dutch Admirall and Vice-Admirall set upon the Spanish Admirall and Vice-Admirall, and entred a bloudie fight: the *Eolus* another Hollandship came in also. The two Spanish ships were fastened together and gave greater advantage. At last they forsooke the Vice-Admirall, and leapt into the Admirall, not finding therein above fiftie persons alive, as by their Confessions after appeared. Meane while they hung out a white flag of Peace, which was diuers times plucked in by the Gentlemen, chusing rather to dye then yeeld. The Dutch pressing them, the Vice-Admirals men returned againe and renewed the fight, and the Dutch Vice-Admirall was in great perill, the Spaniards leaping into her out of their Admirall, but repelled or slaine. And the Spanish Admirall not further enduring, fled, and by benefit of night escaped the pursuit of the Dutch Admirall, and out of the fire into the water be an escape. For such was the fame that she went to visit the *Saint Francis*, as also was said of another of them called the *Saint Mary*. The Vice-Admirall and *Eolus* bestirred them so with ferie Rhetorikes and yron Disputes, that the Spanish Vice-Admirall past hope of escaping, set up a flag of Truce. The Dutch Vice-Admirall sent two Boats to bring the Commander aboard. But he refused, saying, he would stay that night except the Vice-Admirall himselfe would fetch him: or send some Captaine to remaine in pledge, and rather desired death then disgrace. One of the *Eolus* men in this while had taken away their flag, and the Boats departed, ten or twelve staying aboard contrarie to command that they might bee first in the spoile. They did together with the Dutch what they could doe in the night to preserue the ship from sinking, but seeing their labour vaine, they lighted many lights and with horrible clamours for helpe, were of the relentlesse Sea swallowed vp in the Hollanders sight. The next morning they sent out foure Boates which found thirtie swimming on the bords, crying for mercie, which to some of the chiefe they shewed leauing the rest to the Seas crueltie, or preuenting it by humane inhumanitie, some of the Dutch against command, slaying some Spaniards. The Commander, or Vice-Admirall had perished before of his wounds. Some fortie Dutchmen were wounded and sixteene slaine in those three ships. In the rest eigh-  
teene wounded, and foure and twentie slaine. The same day they went for *Caliou de Lima*, but the Calme suffered them not. The twentieth they passed by the land and saw in the Hauen four-  
teene ships going to and fro neere the shore, but could not come neere for the shold: and therefore went to the Road of *Caliou de Lima* to seeke for the Spanish Admirall, whom afterwards they learned in *Guarme* and *Peyta* to haue beene sunke. From the shore the Spaniards shot off their great Ordnance, one of which carried a Bullet of thirtie sixe pound, and had almost sunke the *Huntsman*. They saw also on shore a great Armie in which the Vice-roy himselfe was present with eight Troupes of Horfe, and foure thousand foot: they agreed to goe backe out of the reach of their shot and cast anchor at the mouth of the Hauen, where they stayed to the five and twen-  
tieth with intent to take some of their ships, but in vaine, they being lighter of saile. On the sixe and twentieth they tooke a little Barke laden with Salt, and eightie Vessels of Sirrup, the men all fled. They ordered that if they met with the fleet of *Panama*, in regard they were in the enemies Countrey, where they could not repayre their losses, & were also bound to the *Manillas*, that they would not giue audacious on-sets, and should take heed of being separated, which had much endangered them in the last fight: and if any hostile ship should yeeld, the Masters & chiefe Officers should not forsake their owne ships, but cause the enemy to come in Boats aboard them, lest confusion, as lately through greedinesse of spoyle, should happen. The seuen and twentieth they set sayle: the eight and twentieth, they came to the Roade of *Guarme*, in ten degrees, beyond the Line, a pleasant place with a large Hauen. Neere vnto it is a Lake of standing water. They went on shore but found the people all fled who had left little pillage. Some Hennes, Oranges, Hogges and Meale they tooke.

The Admirall  
and Vice-Ad-  
mirall of the  
Spaniards  
both sunke.

August.

It consisted of  
many Timbers  
fastened  
strangely toge-  
ther, as in the  
Picture of the  
Latine Booke  
is seene.

August the third they dismissed some of their Spanish Prisoners. They passed betwixt the *Ile Loubes* (so called of certaine fishes) and the continent. The eight they cast Anchor neere to *Peyta*. The ninth they set three hundred men on shore, which after a few skirmishes returned aboard, the Citie being too strongly defended. They tooke an Indian ship of strange sayles, with sixe lustie Indians which had beene two moneths a fishing, and had many delicate fishes dried which they distributed thorow the Fleet. The tenth the *Eolus*, *Lucifer*, and *Huntsman* battered the Towne with their Ordnance, and sent a greater number of men on shore, which found the Citie forsaken and the people with their goods fled to the Mountaines. They sent five of their Indians on shore to get fruits and to learne more certaintie of the Spanish Admirall, which brought word of her buriall in the waues, only sixe escaping. The Indians also brought the Letters of Captaine *Gaspard Caldron* to *Paula* the *Commandators* Wife of *Peyta*, who had fled to the Towne of *Saint Michael* twelve leagues from shore. Shee sent the Hollanders in commiseration of the Captiues, many Citrons and Oranges with other prouision. This Woman both for Beautie, Wisdome, and Vertue, is of singular reputation in all those parts.

*Peyta*



*Peyta* to the Sea-ward is strong and impregnable. There were in it two Churches, one Monastery and many goodly Buildings, an excellent Haven to which all the ships of *Panama* resorted, and then they passed by Land to *Calion de Lima*, because of the perpetuall rage of both Elements, the Windes and Waters in that place. They tooke in the *Ile Loubes*, two fowles of admirable greatnesse, in the beake, wings and talons not vnlike the Eagle, necked somewhat like a Sheepe, their heads combed as a Cocke: they were two elles in height, and three in breadth when their wings were displayed.

They learned of *Pedro de Madriga* of *Lima*, that *Peru*, *Chili*, and *Terra firma*, are commanded by *Iohn de Mendoza* Marquess *Des Montes Claros*, the Vice-Roy: which Office the King conferreth for fixe or eight yeares with yeerely allowance of fortie thousand Duckets, adding further a thousand Pesos for extraordinary expenses in the Feast of *Christmas*, *Epiphany*, *S. Spirit* and *Easter*, each of twelue Rials and halfe, because at those times he is to entertaine all the Counsellors of the Audience: two thousand Pesos also yeerely when hee furnisheth the Siluer Fleete. The Vice-Roy is serued with great Pompe in his Palace, goeth not forth without his Guard or Pensioners, and if he goeth into the Countrey, hath a hundred Lances, (which haue eight hundred Pesos stipend) and fiftie Muskets (which haue foure hundred Pesos yeerely) attending. There are foure Courts or Audiences, in *Panama*, *Quito*, *Charlas*, *Lima*: one also in *Chili*. In them are the Kings Counsellors, to whom both Ciuill & Criminall Causes are committed; but with appellation in Ciuill Cases to the *Oydors*, (certaine Commissioners) and in Criminall to the *Alcalds*. These all goe in one Habit, and are allowed three thousand Pesos annuall Pension.

The Vice-Roy resideth in the Citie of Kings or *Los Reyes*, called also *Lima*, situate in a pleasant Valley, extended a mile and halfe in length, in breadth three quarters, hauing about a hundred thousand Inhabitants, besides Merchants of other places. It hath foure Market places. There are two thousand Indian Artificers dwelling in the *Cercado*. Here resides the Archbishop *Bartolomeu Lobo Guorero*, which hath sixtie thousand Pesos of Reuenue. The chiefe Temple hath foure and twentie Prebends, one Archdeacon, besides Schoolemasters and other Priests. There are foure principall Pastors, to each of which are assigned fiftene thousand Pesos. Besides this Temple of Saint *Iohn* Euangelist are foure other, one of Saint *Marcellus*, with two Pastors and a thousand Pesos reuenue: the second of Saint *Sebastian*, the third of Saint *Anne*, with like stipend; the fourth is an Hospitall of Orphans, with five hundred Pesos. Monasteries here are of Saint *Francis*, of Saint *Dominicke*, and of Saint *Augustine*, and of our *Ladie de las Mercedes*, each of which hath two Cloysters of their owne Order, that of Saint *Francis* three, to wit, one of bare-foot Friars of our *Ladie* of *Guadalupe*. They haue there two Colledges of Iesuites which the Spaniards call *Teatines*,\* both there and in *Europe*.

In each chiefe Monasterie are two hundred and fiftie Religious. There are five Monasteries of Nuns, called of the *Incarnation*, *Conception*, *Trinitie*, Saint *Ioseph*, and Saint *Clare*. Our *Ladie* also hath her Temple by the title of *Monferrat*, & *del Prado* & *de Loretto*. They haue foure Hospitals for the poore of Saint *Andrew*, in which are foure hundred sicke, of Saint *Anna* for the Indians, of Saint *Peter* for the Ecclesiasticks, of *Charitie* for women: another of Saint *Spirito* for Saylers, and one of Saint *Lazaro* for inueterate diseales. There are sixe hundred Priests, and a thousand Students.

Allowance is giuen to twentie foure in the Kings Colledge by the King, to as many in Saint *Torines* by the Archbishop. There are further reported to be two hundred Doctors in the Vniuersitie of all faculties. The professors receiue of the King a thousand Pesos pension. The two professors of Ciuill Law, haue each sixe hundred Pesos. There are foure hundred Masters of Art. Euerie yeare they chuse a new Rector or Chancellor. In this Citie and the Suburbs are about twentie thousand slaues. There are seene more women then men. The Indians\* are free as well as the Spaniards, sauing that they pay euerie fixe moneths, two Pesos, a Henne, a Fenege of eight Royalls, and a piece of cloth of cotten or wollen. They are bound to serue the King\* yearely in the Mines or Husbandrie diuers dayes, beginning in May, and continuing their times and courtes til Nouember. Those of *Arrica* bring to *Potosi*, Beasts, Wheat, Meale, Mays, Axicoca, an hearb which they perpetually chew; they vie for carriages a certaine Camel-fashioned-sheep. By this Citie the Riuer runneth close to the walls, which by showers sometimes so swells, that it hath carried away the stone Bridge, of nine Arches. Here is the Kings Contractation house, and his Treasurie; the Court also of Inquisition, with two Inquisitors (each of which hath three thousand Pesos pension) and a prison peculiar. The two Notaries haue foure thousand Pesos a piece. Here is the Court, or office of the *Crusada*, or the Popes Bulls, with officers and like stipends. This Citie is two leagues from the Sea, hath eight bands of foot, and as many of horse in Garrison. The next Port is called *Callao*, in which are some eight hundred Inhabitants. From the Citie to *Potosi* are all Spanish merchandise conueyed. *Potosi* is called *La Valla Imperial*, comprehending a great mountaine in which are Siluer Mines. Into them is an horrible descent of foure hundred steps, nor may the Sunne be admitted spectator of those Acts in perpetu-

Relations of the Govern-ment of *Peru*, and of the Citie of Kings, or *Lima*.

See M. Ellis Narration hereof in the Tractate proper to *America*

Foure Monasteries.

\*Iesuites called *Teatines*: of which name a merry Wit in *Spain*, earnestly iested in an Embleme or Picture, in which was painted a Purse full of Money, and one of euerie Order pictured in his Habit reaching but short, and his Motto according, *To no te atino*, the Iesuite laying fast hold on it, saying, *To te atino*, the words bearing a double sense, *I am a Teatine*, or, *I attayne thee* the Conceit almost lost in the Translation. This was related to mee by a Spaniard.

M. Ellis saith they are Negroes.

\* This seemes spoken of Citizens.

\* These the *Caciques* bring in by courtes, some at one time, and some at another.

Ellis. *Lincolnen* saith, this publication of the Popes Indulgences is worth to the King of *Spain* yeerely 147058. pounds.

all



248 hath  
100000.

tuall night, which exercise aboue twenty thousand Indians in digging, and an hundred more in carrying, grinding, and other their mettall workes.

This place is so cold that nothing growes in foure leagues space, but an herbe called *Ycho*. Their prouision is all brought from *Arica*: a pound of bread is there worth two Ryals. The hauen of *Arica* is an hundred and eighty Spanish leagues from thence; but many Villages are well inhabited by the way. Not farre hence is *Chuquisaca*, the Bishop whereof hath 30000. Ducats reuenue: there are the like Monasteries to those at *Lima*, but not so full of Monkes. At *Potosi* liue fifteen hundred shifting Card-players, and nimming companions which liue by their wits. Seuentie miles from thence is another Siluer Mine, called *Erucio*. Neerer *Pima* is *Chocla Choca* another Mine, cold as *Potosi*, where dwell fve thousand Spaniards. *Cusco* is like to *Lima*, hath sixe thousand Spanish inhabitants, a Bishop, and Monkes, and two Colledges, with some sixe hundred Students. *Arequipa* hath also a Bishop, two thousand Spaniards, and a Corrigidor. But it were tedious to relate the full Story.

Chil.

Of *Chili*, the Mother-City is *S. Iago*, where is a Gold Mine. *Coquimbo* hath store of brasse. *Baldinia* is rich in Gold. In the yeare 1599. the Inabitants or Natiues of the Countrey killed the Spaniards, and captiued their Wiues, eight hundred in number, which they offered to exchange, giuing for each, a paire of Shooes, a Bridle, a Sword, and a paire of Stirrups. But the King forbad Armour to be carried to them. They powred molten Gold into the Gouvernours mouth, made a Cup of his skull, and made Pipes of his shank-bones, in memory of their victory. *Auroca* hath neere it a Fort with a Spanish garrison, but very poore. Of *Conception* is spoken before. It hath 20 fowre hundred souldiers to keepe it, with some Ordnance. But you haue listened too long to this Dutch Intelligence from the Spanish Captiue. Let vs now with our Hollanders to Sea: so did they the one and twentieth of August, but easily perceiued the next day, the strength of the Current to be such, that without a faire and stiffe gale, they preuailed nothing. On the twentieth third, they anchored before *Rio de Tumba*, for the barre and tide forbad them entrance. They agreed to turne backe to the Ile *Cogues* in fve degrees Southerly, to refresh themselves. But stormes, raines, thunders, so haunted them to the thirteenth of September, that they could not finde the Island, and manifold diseases easily found them. On the twentieth they had sight of land in *Noua Hispania*: they had thirteene degrees, and thirty minutes. And the weather became againe very tempestuous. October the first, after much sea-trouble, they had sight of pleasant land, but the sea wrought so, that they could not haue safe landing, and so beat off and on, till the eleuenth, that they entred the hauen of *Aguapolque*, within shot of the Castle. And hanging out a flagge of peace, two Spaniards came aboard, and they agreed to exchange Prisoners for Sheep, Fruits, and Prouision, which was accordingly performed. On the fifteenth, *Melchior Hernandez* came aboard, to take view of the fleete, which had vanquished the Kings. He was Nephew to the Vice-Roy of *New Spaine*, and was kindly entertained of the Admirall, his men well appointed in their Armes. The Catle had seuentie Brasse Pieces, hauing intelligence eight moneths before of their comming. On the eighteenth they departed. The Calme kept them from doing any thing of moment, saue that they tooke a shippe which was bound for Pearle-fishing, and in her cleuer men, two of them Friars, twelue others escaping before by sight. They 40 manned it with two and twenty Dutch to followe the Fleet.

November.

November the tenth, they cast anchor before the Port *Selagues* in nineteene degrees. Vnderstanding by the Prisoners of a River neere this place full of fish, and set with Citrons, and other Fruits, and Meadows not farre off full of Cattell. they sent out their Boates, which espying sheo-prints, were afraid of Spaniards, and returned. After a hot skirmish, on the eleuenth they departed, and came to Port *Natiuidad*, where they watered and furnished themselves with other necessaries. On the twentieth they departed. On the twentieth sixth, they had twenty degrees and twentieth sixe minutes. They determined the next way to the *Ladrones*. On December the third, not without great maruell, they beheld two Islands farre in the Sea. On the fourth, they saw a Rocke, and had thought it a Shippe which they expected. It was in nineteene degrees, 50 fiftie three leagues from the Continent. In the sixt, they had sight of a newe Island with fve hills seeming as so many Islands.

December.

New Islands.

A dangerous

Ro. ke.

January. 1616.

*Anno 1616.* in January many died of diseases. On the three and twentieth the *Ladrones* appeared. The Land was low, and therefore kept aloofe that night. The next day the Sauages came about them with their Boates, and they went on land. On the fve and twentieth, *Sibrand Cornelison*, a Marchant, was taken with a sudden giddinesse at dinner, and presently died: at his buriall the Ordnance and Shot so dismayed the Indians which brought them prouision, that they durst come no more. They set sayle the twentieth sixth for the *Maniles*. They perceiued these *Ladrones* to be witty, strong, and to obserue some kind of Idolatrie. There is store of Fowle and fish.

February.

On February the ninth, they had sight of Cape *Spirito Santo*, and the same night anchored at the *Maniles*. In the tenth they had speech with the Indians, which refused all trade, because (they said) they came to warre with the Spaniard. They did not so in *Capul*, whither they came on the eleuenth, but brought them Hogges and Hennes with other things for trifles. They stay-  
ed



ed till the nineteenth, and then by the helpe of two Indian Pilots, passed the Straights to the *Manilian* Port or Bay. The fruits much releued and recouered the sicke. The people weare long garments like shirts, haue Friars in such reuerence, that to one of our Prisoners they prostrated themselues, and kissed his hands with incredible honour. On the nineteenth, they anchored before the Ile *Luçon*, the greatest of them in which is the City *Manilla*. Here they saw an house artificially framed on the tops of diuers trees, and seemed farre off as a Palace. Finding no people, they proceeded. On the eight and twentieth, they saw as they passed an exceeding high hill vomiting flames, named *Albaca*. On the foure and twentieth they had sight of the other strait in the egress, and sent their Boats to sound the way. The calme kept them prisoners  
 10 that they could not passe. On the twenty eighth, they anchored before the Ile *Mirabelles*, whose two Rockes seeme to threaten the skie, behind which is the city *Manilla*. Here they perpetually watch the comming of Ships, from *China*, to Pilote them to the City, the way beeing dangerous. Neither could the Hollanders make this strait, to passe through it all the time of their staying with all their labour, hindred by Calmes.

On March the first, they saw two sayles, and sent out their Boats to take them, but they were too swift. On the the third they tooke one laden with prouision of Rice, Oyle, Hens, Fruits, and on the fifth two more, with a Spaniard in them with like prouision, and after that three others. These were going to gather in the Tribute, which the places adioyning pay to the City *Manilla*. Here they had intelligence of a Fleet of tenne great Ships, built here, and sent forth vnder the Command of *Iohn de Silues* to the *Moluccas*, to fight with the Hollanders; together with  
 20 foure Gallies, and two other Ships; in them two thousand Spaniards, besides Chineses, Iapanders, and Indians. Their purpose was to reduce all the *Moluccas* vnder the Spaniard. Whereupon they freed all their Prisoners, except one Spaniard and an Indian, and hastened after them. On the eleuenth, they encountred so many Islands that they doubted of egress, and by the Spanish Marriners aduise, anchored all night: and by his helpe next day recouered the wide Sea. On the foureteenth, they rode at Anchor all night before the Ile *Paney* by reason of shoals. On the  
 30 eighteenth, they sayled close by *Mendanao*, but hearing of dangerous shelues, they in the Evening set further off into the Sea. On the nineteenth, they sayled againe close to the shore, and had prouision of the Islanders very cheape. On the twentieth, they reached *Cape de Cadera*, where the Spaniards as they passe to the *Moluccas*, vse to take in water. Till the three and twentieth, the calme permitted no further saile then the tide forced: betwixt *Mendanao* and *Tagimo*, a contrary tide stayed them. These Islanders shewed themselues enemies to the Spaniards, and offered fiftie of their ships in aide. On the twenty seuenth, they passed the Ile *Sanguin*, and many others. On the twentieth, they came to *Ternata*, in which is *Maleia* a Towne subiect to the Hollanders, where of their Countrey-men they were gladly entertained. These at *Maleia* reckoned this the eight and twentieth of March, which we reckoned the nine and twentieth, so that with following the Sunne in his course, they had one day lesse.

The Strait of *Bouton* is full of shoals: without them is deepe water. On the East is fresh water. To the West two leagues is a rockie shold.

40 Aprill the eighth, *Cornelius de Vianen* went for *Banda*. The Gouvernour shewed his Charter for the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboina*, without preiudice to the Admiralls authoritie. And the souldiers went on land after so long a Nauigation.

May the second, they sent sixe ships for *Macian*, that theemie should not haue any Cloues, and there anchored before *Maurice* Fort. The English here told them of the taking of *Coteway* by the Dutch on the tenth of Aprill, rich in Nutmegs. And the Indians moued with this successe, made a new league with the Hollanders. On the eighteenth, they exchanged Prisoners, Spaniards for Dutch. The rest of this moneth, and Iune and Iuly following, they spent the time in these parts as occasion was offered, not so necessary to our purpose.

September the fifteenth, they came to *Iacatra*, and repaired there their Ships, not without  
 50 feare of *Iohn de Silues* with his Spanish Fleete. But on the thirtieth, wee heard of his sudden death at *Malacca* as was thought by poison, and the returne of the *Armada* to the *Maniles*, with great shame to the Spaniard after foure yeares preparation, doing little or nothing. Whiles they were at *Iacatra* foure ships of huge burthen came out of *Holland*, with exceeding store of Spanish Ryalls, and an other out of *Iapon* laden with Spanish Ryalls, and Siluer vnwrought, with Brasie, Yron, and other Commodities, the most of which they had taken from a Portugall shippe bound for *Marico*.

October the twentieth, the *Concord* a shippe of *Horne* which had departed out of *Holland*,  
 60 Iune, 1615. came to *Iacatra* (of which you shall haue a peculiar Relation) and because it was not of the Companie of the Indies, it was by the Generall annexed to the Fleet, the men beeing distributed into other Ships.

Nouember the tenth came the *Nassau* to *Bantam* from *Mocha* in the red Sea, well prouided  
 thence of Spanish Ryalls, and Turkish Ducats. December the twelfth came thither the *Amsterdam*, and the *Middleborough* from the straits of *Mallaoca*; the one of seuen hundred, the other of fixe hundred tunnes, in which the Admirall *Spilberg* prepared for returne. On the seuen-



January 1617. tenth of January, 1617. they came to the Isle *Mauritius*. The thirtieth of March to Saint *Helena*, where they found the *Middleburgh*, which they had not seen in three moneths. Hence they departed the seventh of Aprill, and came into *Zeland* in July following.

*A discourse of the present state of the Moluccos, annexed to the former Iournall, extracted out of APOLLONIVS SCHOT of Middleborough.*

Orange in Ternate.

Maleia or Gramia.  
Molucco or Hollandia.  
Tacome or Willemstat.  
Motir.

Machian, with three Forts.  
Cayoe.

Bachian.

Laboua.

Guamnequorre in Gilolo, which is a great Island before which lye the smaller Islands of the Moluccas.

Spaniards in Moluccas.  
Nuestra Señora del Rosario.

S.S. Pedro & Paulo.

Tidore.  
Taroula.

THE Portugalls having, to the griefe of the Venetians, and their owne enriching, made themselves Masters of almost all the trade of Spicerie, by their possession of the Moluccas: their grew some distasts, first, betwixt them and the Spaniards (as in *Magellanes* voyage is expressed.) After the English, by the conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*, and since in their East Indian trade have had traffique there. Lastly, the Hollanders have dispossessed the Portugalls: and the Spaniards or Castilians, by meanes of the Tidorians have their fortified. The King of *Ternate* being taken with some chiefe men, the rest fled, and by *Mateliese* his ayd were reduced, and there erected the Fort *Orange*, and entred league with the Hollanders, and so wrought that *Motir*, *Machian* and *Bachian* yeelded to the Dutch, the Spaniards holding *Tidor*, and the chiefe Citie of *Ternate*, and some places in *Gilolo*, as shall after follow more particularly.

In the Isle of *Ternate*, the Dutch have three Forts, *Maleia* otherwise *Gramia*, the seat of the King and Nobilitie, taken by *Matelief*: *Molucco*, which they call *Holland* distant from *Maleia* halfe a mile North-wards, seated on a Hill, and built with lime and stone for the safetie of the Hauens of *Maleia*: *Tacome*, called also *Willemstat*, in the North-west Coast of *Ternate*, commodious for the places betwixt *Malacca* and *Tacome*.

The Isle *Motir*, was by the warres of *Ternate* and *Tidore* for a time desolate, till Admirall *Wiert*, by intreatie of the *Ternateis* erected a Fort in the North part thereof, and brought thither a Colonie of the Inhabitants out of *Gilolo*, whither they had fled. The Spaniards had thought to have brought those *Motirians* thither, which had fled to *Tidore*. The Inhabitants are about two thousand. Admirall *Van Caerden* tooke *Machian*, and raised therein three Forts, *Tafason* to the West, *Noffagnia* to the North, and *Tabelole* East-ward, all which places are populous. This Island numbred about nine thousand. From *Cayoe* a neighbour Island, for feare they remooued to *Tabelole*. It is the most fertile of all the *Moluccas*, and nourisheth with her fruits *Ternate* and *Tidore*, which are so addicted to warre, that they neglect culture of their grounds. *Bachian* is a great Kingdome and fruitfull, but not populous. The Inhabitants are idle and voluptuous, and have brought vpon themselves the present miserie. In *Laboua* the Spaniards had a Fort, and there are yet some seuentene Portugalls, and eightie Families of the Natiues become Christians. The Vice-Admirall 1600. tooke and fortified it with a strong Garrison. In the Continent they have *Guamnequorre*, to whom the Sabougians have added themselves, forsaking the Spaniard. In it is a Garrison of thirtie Souldiers. The Natiues calling the Dutch to their ayd were franke in promises, as the Dutch also to them, further then either partie doth, or well can performe, being too grieuous; as that the Dutch should have all the customes of the Natiues and Forreiners, should be free from all payments: yea they now deny such composition, & are alienated from the Dutch for not keeping word with them. The people are perfidious, ambitious, inconsistent, hardned in the insolencies and mischiefs, which alwayes attend warres. The Kings in time past had absolute rule, now are contemned, vpon occasion the people seeking new patronage. The Spaniards by bountie and liberalitie wonne their hearts, and made them auerse to the Hollander. These have the chiefe Citie in *Ternate*, and call it now *Our Lady of the Rosario*, strong, and fortified with all munition from the *Moluccas*. Heere are two hundred Spaniards, ninetie Papoos (Inhabitants of the *Philippinas*) besides thirtie Portugall householders, eightie Chineses, sixtie Moluccans, with their Families. Betwixt this and *Maleia*, they have a Fort called *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, strongly seated on a Hill, with fixe and twentie Spaniards, twentie Papoos and some Manilians.

*Tidore* they have wholly, and therein three Forts, one in the chiefe Citie where the King resides, called *Taroula*, in which are ordinarily fiftie Spaniards, tenne Papoos, eight Natiues, with five brasse Pieces very large. The second hath thirteene Spaniards, besides the Natiues, and two Pieces. The third called *Marico*, within sight of *Our Lady* Citie, is a Towne well inhabited, walled, and hath a Garrison like the former. The Island scarcely yeelds a thousand armed men.

In *Gilolo* (which comparatiuely to those *Moluccas* seemes a Continent, as our *Britaine* to the *Hebrides*) the Spaniards have, first *Sabongo*, which *Iohn de Silva* tooke from the Dutch, 1611. against the truce (as they say) and fortified strongly, imposing a Garrison of sixtie Spaniards, and fortie Papoos: secondly, *Pilolo* craftily taken from the Dutch also, and well provided with sixtie Spaniards, and some Manilians. The third, at the West side of *Gilolo* ouer against *Machian*, called *Aquilamo*, with few Spaniards, and fortie *Tidorians*. To the Moren or Easterne Coast of *Gilolo* they have three other *Iolo*, *Isian* and *Iassongo*, with them fortie five Spaniards, with the Natiues. They have a Gally or two at Sea besides, some *Lari* (a kind of smaller



smaller Gally) and are alwayes well provided of Armes, often destitute of victualls, which causeth diuers of them to flie away. Halfe the Cloues belong to the King, and the marchandise of them is in the Portugalls hands. The Kings costs for fixe yeeres were very great, with little profit. *Jerônimo de Sylva*, is now Commander in those parts, an old warie Souldier, with other officers vnder him.

*A briefe description of the Forts, Souldiers, and Militarie prouision, as also of their Trade and Shipping in the East Indies, vnder the seruice of the Generall States of the vniued Prouinces, and his Excellencie, as it was in Iuly 1616.*  
extracted out of the Author of the Iournall.

JO

IN the Isle of Ternate, at Maleia are these Captaines; Captaine *Fridericke Hamel*, *William Ertvelt*, *Peter Barker*, *Rowland Philips*, *Goswine a Mammerent*, with their seuerall bands, each of ninetie, or a hundred men, the Citie walled and strongly fortified. *Tabucke* is a Fort neere, kept by the Inhabitants, as *Tacome* and *Tabou*, two others in *Gilolo*. In *Tidore* is the Fort *Marrico*, vnder Captaine *William ab Amfing*, very strong. In *Motir*, Captaine *Henry Maier* hath an able Garrison and Fortresse. *Macian* is gouerned by *Gilbert Vianen*, and hath three Forts as before. *Bartholmen Spilbergen* is chiefe in *Bacian*, where is the Fort *Barne-velt* built of stone, and well furnished with armes and men.

20 In *Ambaina* is a royall Fort or Castle, commanded by *Henry Steur*, with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers: besides other Fortresses, as *Conbellam*, *Hutson*, and *Low*; This last is kept by the Ternatois. *Adrian Blockhousen* is Gouverneur of the Island. In *Banda* are two Forts, *Nassau*, with a Garrison of an hundred and twentie Hollanders besides a very great number of Iapaners, Chineses and others; and the *Belgique*, furnished as well. Captaine *Henry Benerlincke* commands both. In the Island *Poleway*, they haue the *Reuenge*, with an hundred fixtie Souldiers vnder two Captaines, *Dussen*, and *Verhoeren*.

In the Coast of *Coromandel*, in *Palataque*, is a strong and goodly Castle, with a Garrison of an hundred and twentie Souldiers: the Cities *Negapatan*, and *Massepatan*, shew them great fauour. *Iohn de Hase* a Counsellor of the Indies, is Commander in these parts. In *Iana* the greater, at *Iacatra* a dayes iourney from *Bantam*, is built a Magnificent store-house or Arsenale, for Artificers, and prouision for the warre, and for the Nauie, furnished therewith brasse Ordnance. In all these are Souldiers three thousand; Brasse Peeces, an hundred ninetie three, of Iron Ordnance three hundred and twentie, of Stone three hundred.

30 Places forsaken vpon better consideration, are *Gemmalanor*, a Fort in the Isle of *Boutton*; another in *Salor* and *Timor*; a *Magazine*, or Store-house in *Gresel* and *Achin*, and *Macassar* in *Selibes*. The King of *Ior* is their great friend, but admits no Fort. They haue their most profitable trade at *Iambi*, in one of the Islands of *Sumatra*, at the straight of *Malacca*. In *Fieos*, *Priaman*, and *Silbe*, on the West of *Sumatra* they haue trading. In *Borneo* they trade for Diamants, and *Bezoar* stones. In *Iapon*, *James Spex* hath erected a great store-house. At *Bantam* is their chiefe Factorie, where all Shippes are laden vnder the command of Sir *Iohn Peters Coenen* Generall president of the Indies, which heere keepes an exact register and accounts of all the Indian affa es.

40 Their shipping in Iuly, 1616. was as followeth; In the *Moluccas*, The *Old Sun*, the *Old Moone*, the *New Sun*, the *New Moone*, the *Flushing*, the *Angel of Delph*, the *Hope*, the *Lucifer*, and the *Larus*. In *Iapatra*, the *Holland*. At *Bantam*, the *Faith*, the *Nassau*, the *Horne*, the *Larus* of *Iapon*, the *Blacke Lion*. In *Timor* and *Salor*, the *Eagle*, and the *Starre*. In *Achin*, the *Falcon* and the *Huntsman*. In *Coromandel*, the *Neptune*, the *Golden Lion*. At *Iambi*, the *Bargen Boat*, the *Halfe Moone*. The *Concord*, and *Little Holland*, were sent to the Isle *Ingane*, to receiue those which had beene shipwrecked in the *Aolus*. At *Iacatra*, the *Enchusen*. At *Bantam* were also the *New Horne*, the *Amsterdam*, the *Middleborough*. The *Tergoes* expected from *Coromandel*. The *Blacke Beare* lately departed, and the *Amsterdam*, and the *New Zeland*. Then at Sea towards the Indies, the *Concord* of *Amsterdam*, and the *Aolus* of *Zeland*. They haue moreouer in *Banda* two small Gallies, and in *Iacatra*, and *Bantam* many smaller Sayle.



## CHAP. VII.

*The Sixth Circum-Navigation, by WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOUTEN of Horne : Who South-wards from the Straights of Magelan in Terra-Del-fuogo, found and discovered a new passage through the great South-Sea, and that way sayled round about the World : Describing what Islands, Countries, People, and strange Adventures hee found in his said Passage.*

**B**Ecause the Generall States of the vnited *Nether-land* Prouinces, had granted Pattents of trade to the East Indian Company, with prohibition to all others to passe the Cape of Good Hope East-ward, or thorough the Magelen straights West-ward: *Isaak le Maire* a Marchant of *Amsterdam*, and *William Cornelison Schouten* of *Horne* (a man which had beene thrice in the East Indies) deuised and consulted of some new way, without impeachment of the said Pattents, which they confidently supposed might bee done by some passage South-wards from the Magelan straights. And to that end agreed, betweene them to enterprise such a Voyage, taking order that *Isaac le Maire* should prouide the one halfe of the money, and *William Cornelison Schouten* the other halfe to furnish the said Voyage, by the helpe and furtherance of their friends, the care thereof, and to make prouision for the said Voyage, being referred to *William Cornelison Schouten*.

And to finish the said Voyage, the Marchants aforesaid prepared and rigged a great and a small Ship of *Horne*, the great Ship called the *Unitie*, of three hundred sixtie Tunnes, whereof *William Cornelison Schouten* was Master and chiefe Pilot, and *Iacob le Maire* Marchant and principall Factor, in it hauing sixtie fve men, and nineteene great Pieces, and twelue Slings, with Muskets and other munition for warre proportionably, with a Pinasse to sayle, another to row, a Boat, and a Scute, Anckors, Cabels, Ropes, Sayles, and all other necessaries belonging thereunto. The lesser Ship called the *Horne*, of an hundred and tenne Tunnes, whereof *John Cornelison Schouten* was Master, and *Aris Clawson* Marchant, in it twentie two men, eight great Pieces, foure Slings, and other furniture, as need required, and was necessarie for such a Voyage. And for that they would not make knowne to any man, as I said before whether they meant to goe, they hyred all their men, both common Saylers and Officers, to sayle vnto euery place whether the Masters and the Marchants would go, which made the common Saylers and people to speake and ghesse of that Voyage diuersly, and at the last gaue them the name of the *Gold-Finders*, but the Marchants named them the *South Company*. The Ships being readie, vpon the sixteenth of May 1615. the men were mustred by the Scout and Schepen of *Horne*, and the twentie fve of the same moneth the *Unitie* set sayle, and arriued at the *Tessell* vpon the twentie seuen.

*Ann. 1615.* The third of Iune the lesser departed from *Horne*, and the next day came to the *Tessell*. Vpon the fourteenth of Iune 1615. we sayled out of the *Tessell*, and the sixteenth of the same moneth, being in the sight of *Dunkerke*, past betweene *Douer* and *Callis*: the seuenteenth anko-ring in the Downs, *William Cornelison Schouten* went on shoare at *Douer*, to get men to bring vs Fresh-water; and the same day set sayle from thence.

The fourth of Iuly, it was ordered that euery man should haue a Can of Beere a day, foure pound of Bisket, and halfe a pound of Butter (besides sweet Suet) a weeke, and fve Cheeses for the whole Voyage.

The thirteenth in the morning wee saw the Islands of *Tenerifa*, and great *Canaria*, and the same day about noone we sayled betweene them both, with a stiffe North North-east wind, and a swift streame.

Betweene the fourteenth and the fifteenth, with the same wind and streame we passed *Tropicus Caneri*.

The twentieth on the morning, we fell on the North side of Cape Verde, and had eight fathome deepe when we first saw the Land, sayling along by the Coast, and at Sunne-rising the Cape lay West and by South from vs, so that with a North North-east wind wee could not get beyond it, and were forced to Ankor at thirtie two fathome deepe: that night it blew hard, with a great storme of raine and thunder. We had ill weather diuers dayes.

The fve and twentieth the *Alkaide*, or gouernour came aboard our ship, with whom wee agreed for eight States of Iron; that we should peaceably fetch Fresh-water from the shoare. The first of August wee set sayle from the Cape.

*Sierra Liona.*

The one and twentieth of August in the morning, by Sunne rising we set sayle, and saw the high Land of *Sierra Liona*, about fixe Leagues from vs North-east and by North: wee likewise saw the Islands of *Madrabomba*, which lye on the South point, or corner of the high land of *Sierra Liona*, North from the *Baixos*, or shallows of Saint *Annas* Island. *Sierra Liona* is a very high



high land, there is no land so high as it, betweene Capo Verde, and the Coast of Guinea, where- by the point is most easie to be knowne : that day we laboured as wee could to get to land, for the most part hauing stormie weather, running to the point, and ouer the *Baixos*, or shallows of Saint *Anna*, at tenne, nine, eight, seuen and fve fathome water, and as wee sayled North-ward, the water waxed deeper, but East-ward shallower, so that about euening wee anchored with a high water, at foure fathome and a halfe soft ground, and in the night time wee had but three fathome and a halfe, but it was fine cleare weather.

10 The two and twentieth in the morning at Sun-rising, *William Schouten* went aboard the *Horne*, and sayled in it before vs, the great ship following, holding our course North North-east, with a North-west wind, and an ebbe vnder the bough, and so got off from the *Baixos*, to eigh-  
teene fathome water, and from thence to the Illands of *Mabrabomba*, which are very high, and  
lye all three on a row, South-west and North-east, halfe a league from *Sierra Liona* to sea-ward,  
there wee had shallow water, at fve and foure fathome, soft muddie ground, we anchored about a  
league from the land, and going on shoare found no man dwelling therein, but perceiued the  
footsteps of many great beasts, but all the land lay wast like a wildernesse, with low marshes or  
bogges, and high hills.

*Baixos*, or shal-  
lows of Saint  
*Anna Mabrabomba*.

20 The three and twentieth in the morning, *Iacoble Maire* went aboard the *Horne*, and from  
it with both the boates on shoare, where hee found a Riuer, at the mouth thereof ha-  
uing many Cliffes, Sands, and Rockes, whereby no Shippe could goe into it, but within it was  
very deepe and broad enough for ships to turne and wind, there they could perceiue no people  
to dwell, but saw three wild Oxen, and a great many Monkees, and some Birds that barked like  
Dogs. They rowed at least three leagues vp into it with the floud. After long search they found  
eight or nine Limon trees which they ihook, and got about seuen hundred and fifty Limons, most  
ripe, ready to dry. There also they saw great store of *Tortoyes* & some *Crocodiles*, but no people.  
We determined to trie if we could get into the fresh riuer with both our ships, therein to make  
pouision of fresh water and Limonds, and to that end set sayle, but found the water so shallow,  
that we were forced to anchor at fixe fathome. The *Horne* anchored before the riuer, on the  
lower land, but there found shallow water. They found vp the riuer no signes of men, onely a  
Buffe and a Calfe, and here and there got some Limons.

30 The nine and twentieth, perceiuing that we were not in the riuer of *Sierra Liona*, wee deter-  
mined early in the morning to set sayle, and to goe North-ward of the high land, and about noone  
vvee got about the Illands of *Mabrabomba*, West-ward, along tovvards the North part of the  
high land, till wee had twelue and fittene fathome vvater, and in the euening got about the  
point, vvhere vve anchored at fittene fathome deepe.

The thirtie in the morning, vvee hoysed Anchor, and draue vvith the streame, and a South  
vvind before the Village, in the right roade of *Sierra Liona*, \* vvhere vve anchored at eight fa-  
thome, sandie ground, about a Musket shot from the land, there vvwe savv eight or nine houles  
couered vvith Stravv. The *Moore*s called vnto vs in their language, to fetch them aboard our  
ship, and because they had no *Canoes* vvwe sent our boat on land, vvwhich presently came backe a-  
gaine vvith fve *Moore*s in it. vvwhereof one vvwas their Interpreter : but before they came, they  
40 desired that vve vvould leaue some of our men, to stay vvith them as pledges, for that not long  
before there had beene a French ship there, vvwhich had taken and carryed avvay vvvo of their  
*Moore*s. *Aris Clawson* the Marchant, that vvvent a shoare vvith the boat, stayed there vvith  
them, and hauing certaine Beades, he there bartered them for Limons, and Bananas. The In-  
terpreter spake all kind of languages, one vvith another. In the meane time, our men hauing  
faire weather, laded fresh water, which is there easie to bee had, by reason it fals downe out of  
the hill into the road, so that wee held the Barrels vnder the shoare, or fall of the water, and fil-  
ling them, put them straight into the Scute, the water was very good. For a few Beades, and  
some slight Norremburgh Kniues, wee might haue had an hundred thousand Limons there at  
the least, if we would, for there they grew by vvhole \* Woods full : the same night we bartered  
50 with the *Negroes* for a shoale of Fish.

\* The road of  
*Sierra Liona*.

\* Store of  
Limons.

The first of September vve hoysed Anchor, and draue before the streame, and that Euening  
anchored at the mouth of the Sea, before a Small Riuer. The second, vve set the *Horne* vpon the  
Strand to make her cleane, hauing a good place to doe it, for there the vvater fals seuen foote  
vp and dovvne : in the euening our men came on boord againe, and brought a little beaft named  
an Antelop, vvwhich they found in a Wood, in a net or snare set there by the *Negroes*, and some  
Limons, and after that the Boat vvvent out to fish, and got a great number, and some Palmitas  
which they had not cut dovvne in the vvood.

60 The third in the afternoone, the *Horne* being made cleane vvwas lancht into the vvater againe,  
and our Master vvvent out to fish, in the euening bringing a great shole of fish vvith him in fashion  
like to a Shoormakers cutting knife, and euery man an hundred and fittie Limons for his part.

The fourth early in the morning vve hoysed anchor, and set sayle out of *Sierra Liona*.

The fift of October, we were vnder foure degrees, seuen and twentie minutes, the same day a-  
bout noone, there was such a noyse in the Bough of our Shippe, that the Matter being behind in



\* Strange accident of a Fish striking against the Ship.

the Gallerie, thought that one of the men had fallen out of the Fore-ship, for from the Boe-spric into the Sea, but as hee looked out ouer the side of the Ship, hee saw the Sea all red, as if great store of bloud had beene powred into it, whereat hee wondred, knowing not what it meant, but afterward hee found, that a great Fish, or a Sea monster hauing a horne, had therewith stricken \* against the Ship, with most great strength. For when wee were in *Porto Desire*, where we set the Ship on the Strand to make it cleane, about seuen foot vnder water before in the Ship, wee found a Horne sticking in the Ship, much like for thickeesse and fashion to a common Elephants tooth, not hollow, but full, very strong hard Bone, which had entred into three Plankes of the Ship, that is two thicke Plankes of greene, and one of Oken wood, and so into a Rib, where it turned vpward, to our great good fortune: for if it had entred betweene the Ribbes into the Ship, it would happily haue made a greater hole, and haue brought both Ship and men in danger to be lost, it stucke at least halfe a foote deepe into the Ship, and about halfe a foote without, where with great force it was broken off, by reason whereof the great monster bled so much.

The five and twentieth, the wind continuing, we held on the same course. Vntill that time we had sayled, and no man in our Ship, (vnlesse it were the Master, *William Cornelison Schouten*, and *Jacob le Maire* our Marchant) knew whether we should goe, and then they told vs what voyage they intended, which was, to seeke by another way then the straights of *Magelan*, to enter into the South Sea, there to discouer new countries in the South parts, where they thought to find great riches, and that if it fell not as they desired and pretended, then that they would saile along through the great South Sea, South-ward to the East Indies. This being knowne, our men were very glad and reioyced, hoping euery man for his part, to benefit by that voyage, to their aduancement.

The sixe and twentieth, we were vnder sixe degrees, five and twentieth Minutes, with faire weather, and a good gale, and all the rest of that moneth for the most part sayling South-ward, with an East, and a North-East wind, we were vnder tenne degrees, and thirtie minutes.

The first of Nouember we past the Sunne, whereby at noone time, it was North from vs.

The third we were vnder nineteene degrees, twentie minutes, then we saw some Black-birds, and two or three fowles called Sea-mewes, and after noone, wee had a sight of *Martin vads Islands* called *Ascension*, which lay South-East, and by East from vs, vnder twentie degrees, there wee found our Compasse to varie North-East-ward twelue degrees: The wind being North North-East, as the day before, and held our course South: That day our men had double allowance of Wine, because we had past the dangerous Sands, called *Abrolhos*.

The one and twentieth, wee were vnder eight and thirtie degrees, five and twentie minutes, and had alteration of water, there wee cast our Lead, but found no ground, the Compasse then varied seuentene degrees North-East-ward, that morning wee saw the new Moone, being one and twentie howers old.

The sixt of December, we saw Land not very high, but white and somewhat flat, we fell (according to our desire) on the North side of *Porto Desire*, and at night anchored at tenne fathom deepe, about a league and a halfe from the shoare, with an ebbe that ran South-ward, as strongly as the Sea runnes betweene *Flushing* heads.

The seuenth in the morning wee hoysed Anchor, and sayled South vntill noone, then wee were before the Hauen of *Porto Desire*, lying vnder seuen and fortie degrees, fortie minutes, and made towards the entrie thereof, where we had very high water, so that the Clifles (whereof *Oliuer van Noort* writeth, which sailing into that Hauen must be left North-ward from vs) were cleane vnder water, but on the South point there lay certaine Clifles open, which we tooke to be those, and therefore went South-ward on, but sayled South-ward of the right channell into a crooked Bay, and there at high water anchored at foure fathom and a halfe, and when the water was low, we had but foureteene foot-water, whereby the *Unitie* lay with her Sterne fast on ground, it being full of Clifles, the wind was West from the Land, and smooth water to our great fortune, for if we had had an East wind, with any gale, for certaine, we had lost our Ship: vpon the Clifles we found many Egges, and tooke great Muscles and other Fish, and among the rest, Smelts of sixteene inches long, and for that cause we called that place the *Smelt Bay*. Our Shallop went to the *Penguins* Island, lying East South-East two leagues from *Porto Desire*, and came aboard againe late in the euening, bringing two Sea Lyons, and an hundred and fiftie *Penguins*, which we ate the next day.

Penguins.

Seals.

Smelt Bay.

The eight in the morning, with the Land-wind we sayled out of the *Smelt Bay*, and anchored right before the Hauen of *Porto Desire*, and sent our Shallop out to sound the depth of the channell, and found twelue and thirteene fathom, entering in after noone, with a high water, and a North-East wind, we set sayle, the *Horne* first, and so entred into the Hauen. When wee had sayled about a league and a halfe into the riuer, the wind turned, and we anchored at twentie fathoms: there the ground was slippery stones, for about halfe an houre after, the winde blowing hard North-West, both our Ships lying with two Anchors a Peece out: presently draue vpon the South shoare, for there five and twentie anchors could not haue holden them, so that wee verily thought both our Ships would there bee cast away. The great Ship fate with her side vpon



vpon the Clifles, and shoke with the falling vvater somevvhat lovver, and still kept stanch, but the *Horne* fell vpon the Clifles, so that the vvater vvent cleane from it, vvhereby at a lov vva-  
ter a man might haue gone dry foote vnder the Keele, right against the maine Mast: the Keele  
vvvas aboue a fathome out of vvater, fearefull to behold, but as the vvinde bleve hard Northvvest  
it kept it from falling ouer, vvwhich appeared to be so, for that vvhen the vvinde ceased, it fell  
from the land against the vvinde vpon the side, at least three foote lovver then the Keele, where-  
at vve vvvere all abasht, thinking vve had surely lost her, but vvhen the Flood came vvith still  
vvweather, it rose vp againe, vvhereat vve all reioycd. In the morning vvith calme vvweather vve  
vvound off from the vvall, and the same night the *Horne* came to vs.

- 10 The ninth in the morning, we set saile againe, and went further into the Riuer, and came to *Kings Island*, so called by *Oliuer van Noort*, the *Horne* went behind it, and there anchored, but  
we could not get in with the *Unitie*, because the wind was contrary. Our men went on shore in-  
to the Island, which was almost couered ouer with egges; for a man standing still on his feete,  
with his hands might reach to fiftie foure neasts, each hauing three or foure egges a piece, much  
like (but somewhat greater) then Sea-Mues egges, the birds were blackish Sea-Mues, we carri-  
ed thousands of them aboard, and ate them.

*Kings Island*  
almost coue-  
red with eggs.

- The eleuenth, the boat went lower into the Riuer on the South side, to seeke for men and wa-  
ter, and found nothing but brackish water: there they saw some Estriges, and beasts like Harts,  
with very long neckes, which were afraid of vs. Vpon the highest part of the hilles wee found  
20 some burying places, which were heapes of stones, and we not knowing what that meant, pul-  
led the stones off from one of them, and vnder them found mens bones of tenne and eleuen foot  
long: they buried the dead vpon the top of the hils, flat on the ground, and couer them also with  
stones, which keepes them from beeing deuoured by beasts or birds.

Estriges.

Gyants: see  
the Voyage of  
*Magelan*.

The twelfth, thirteenth, foureteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, our men went continually on  
land to seeke for water, but found none, euery day bringing good store of birds and fishes on  
boord.

The seuenteenth, we laid our shippe within *Kings Island* on the wall, with an high water, to  
make it cleane, where it was drie, that we might goe round about it dry foot.

- The eighteenth, the *Horne* was also laid on shore about two Musket shot from our Shippe to  
30 make it cleane. The nineteenth, as we were busie about both the ships to make them cleane, and  
burnt reeds vnder the *Horne*, the flame of the fire sodainly got into the Ship, and presently tooke  
such hold thereof, that in the twinckling of an eye it was so great, that we could by no meanes  
quench it, by reason it lay fiftie foote drie from the water side, and by that meanes wee were  
constrained to stand still, and see it burne before our eyes, not able to doe any thing to saue it.

The twentieth, at a high water we lancht the *Unitie* into the water againe, and went to the  
*Horne* and quencht the fire, but the ship was burnt cleane downe to the water. The next day  
when we had cast the water out of that part of it that was left, we saued all the wood, Iron-  
worke, Anchors, Ordnance, and what else that was to be gotten, and put it into our shippe.

- The twenty fifth our men found certaine holes full of fresh water, which was white and very  
40 thicke, from whence some of them daily fetch water in little rondlets on their shoulders: some  
went armed with Muskets to defend them, others fetcht birds, and egges, and yong sea Lyons  
which we ate, and are of a reasonable good tast.

Seales.

The thirteenth about noone, we sailed out of *Porto Desire*, but the sea beeing calme, wee an-  
chored before the hauen, and when the winde began to rise, hoysed anchor and put to Sea.

The eighteenth we saw *Sebalds Islands* South-east from vs about three leagues, they lie, as *Se-  
bald Dewert* writes, distant from the Strait, East Northeast, and West Southwest, about fiftie  
leagues, then we were vnder fiftie one degrees.

*Sebalds Islands*.

- The twentieth, we saw *Steencrosse* driue, and perceiued that we had a great streame that went  
Southwest, then we were vnder fiftie three degrees, and ghest that we were about twentie  
50 leagues Southward from the Straits of *Magelan*. The eleuenth we were vnder three and fiftie  
degrees.

The three and twentieth in the morning, we had a South winde, and about noone it waxt  
calme, then the wind blew West, and we had ground at fiftie fathome blacke sandy, with small  
stones, after that the winde turned North, with smooth water and faire weather. The water  
shewed as white, as if we had beene within the land, we held our course South and by West, a-  
bout three of the clocke afternoone we saw land West, and West Southwest from vs, and not  
long after that we saw it also in the South, then hauing a North winde, we went East South-  
east, to get aboue the land, it blew so hard in the hollow water, that we were forced to take in  
our Toppe-sayles.

- 60 The foure and twentieth in the morning, wee sawe land on starre-boord, not aboue a great  
league distant from vs, there wee had ground at fortie fathome, and a West-winde, the land  
stretcht East and South, with very high hills, that were all couered ouer with Ice. We sayled a-  
long by that land, and about noone past it, and saw other land East from it, which also was very  
high and ragged.

These



These lands as we ghest lay about eight leagues one from the other, and seemed as if there were a good passage betweene them, which we were the better perswaded vnto, for that there ranne a hard streame Southward betweene both those lands.

Store of  
Whales.

Then about noone we were vnder fiftie foure degrees and fortie fixe minutes, and after noone wee had a North wind, and made towards this opening, but about euening it calmed, and that night wee draue forwards with a hard streame, and little wind. There we saw an innumerable number of Pengwins, and thousands of Whales, so that we were forced to looke well about vs, and to winde and turne to shunne the Whales, leaft we should sayle vpon them.

State land and  
Maurice-land.

The five and twentieth in the morning, we were close by the East land, which was very high and craggie, which on the North side reacheth East South-east, as farre as we could see, that land 10 we called *State land*, but the land that lay West from vs, we named *Maurice-land*. We perceiued that on both sides thereof, there were good roades, and sandy Bayes, for on either side it had sandy strands, and very faire sandie ground. There are great store of fish, Pengwins and Porpoises, as also birdes and water enough, but we could see no Trees: we had a North-wind in the entrie, and went South South-west, with a stiffe course, at noone we were vnder fiftie five degrees, thirty fixe minutes, and then held our course South-west, with a good sharpe wind and raine, and a stiffe gale: we saw the land on the South side of the passage vpon the West ende of *Maurice van Nassawes* land, reach West South-west and South-west, as farre as we could see it, all very high and craggie-land. In the Euening the wind was South-west, and that night wee went South with great waues or billowes out of the South-west, and very blew water, whereby 20 we iudged and held for certaine that we had great deepe water to loefward from vs, nothing doubting but that it was the great South-sea, whereat we were exceeding glad, to think that we had discovered a way, which vntill that time was vnknowne to men, as afterward we found it to be true.

Great fowles  
very tame.

There we saw extreame great Sea-mewes, bigger of body then Swannes, their wings beeing spread abroad, each of them about a fathome long. These birds being vnaccustomed to see men, came to our ship, and sat thereon, and let our men take and kill them.

The fixe and twentieth, we were vnder seuen and fiftie degrees, with a flying storme out of the West and South-west, the whole quarter, with very high and blevv vwater, vve held our course South-vvard, and in the North-vvest saw very high land, in the night vve turned North- 30 West-vvard.

The seuen and twentieth, vve vvere vnder fixe and fiftie degrees, and one and fiftie minutes, the vweather very cold, vvith haile, and raine, the vvind West and West and by South, and vve vvent South-vvard, and then crost North-vvard vvith our maine Sailes.

The eight and twentieth vve hoysed our top-sayles, then vve had great billowes out of the West, vvith a West vvind and then a North-east, and therevvith held our course South, and then West and West and by South, and vvere vnder fiftie fixe degrees and fortie eight minutes.

Barnueles I-  
lands.

The nine and twentieth, we had a Northeast wind, and held our course South-west, and saw two Islands before vs, lying West South-west from vs: about noone we got to them, but could not saile about them, so that we held our course North: about them they had dry gray Cliffes, and some low Cliffes about them, they lay vnder fiftie seuen degrees, South-ward of the Equinoctiall line, we named them *Barnueles Islands*. From them we sayled West North-west: about Euening we saw land againe, lying North West and North North-west from vs, which was the land that lay South from the straits of *Magellan* which reacheth South-ward, all high hilly land, couered ouer with snow, ending with a sharpe point, which we called *Cape Horne*, it lieth vnder fiftie seuen degrees and fortie eight minutes.

Cape Horne.

Then wee had faire weather, and a North wind, with great Billowes out of the West, we held on course West, and found a strong streame that ranne West-ward.

The thirtieth, we still had great Billowes out of the West, with hollow water and a strong streame that went West-ward, which assured vs that we had an open way into the South sea, then 50 we were vnder fiftie seuen degrees, thirty foure minutes.

The one and thirtieth, wee had a North wind, and sayled West, and were vnder fiftie eight degrees: then the wind turning West, and West South-west, somewhat variable, wee passed by *Cape Van Horne*, and could see no more land, and had great billowes out of the West, and verie blew water, which then fully assured vs that we had the broad South sea before vs, and no land: the wind was very variable, with great store of haile and raine, which forced vs oftentimes to winde to and fro.

The first of February, we had cold weather, with a storme out of the South-west, and sayled with our maine sayles, lying North-west, and West North-west. The second, the wind West, we sayled South-ward, and were vnder fiftie seuen degrees, fiftie eight minutes, and found twelue 60 degrees North-ward variation of the Compasse. That day we saw many great Sea-mewes and other Birds.

The third, we were vnder fiftie nine degrees twentie five minutes, with indifferent weather, and a hard West wind, and guesfed that wee were that day vnder fiftie nine degrees and a halfe, but



but saw no land, nor any signe thereof in the South. The fourth, we were vnder fiftie fixe degrees fortie three minutes, with variable windes, most Southweſt, and wound to and fro as the wind blew, with eleuen degrees Northeastward variation of Compaſſe.

The fift wee had a ſtrong ſtreame out of the Weſt, with hollow vvater, vvhereby vve could beare no ſayle, but vvere forced to driue vvith the vvinde.

The tvvelvth, our men had each of them three cups of vvine in ſigne of ioy for our good hap, for then the Straits of *Magellan* lay Eaſt from vs: the ſame day by aduice of all our Counſell, at the requeſt of our chiefe Marchant, the nev vvaſſage ( by vs diſcouered betvvene *Mauritius* land, and the *Stateſland*,) vvvas named the *Straights of le Maire*, although by good right it  
10 ſhould rather haue beene called *William Schoutens Strait*, after our Maſters Name, by vvhoſe vvife conduction and ſkill in ſayling, the ſame vvvas found.

During the time that vve paſſed through that Nevv Strait, and ſayling Southward about that New-found land, till vve got to the Weſt ſide of the Straits of *Magellan*, for the moſt part vve had a very ſtrong ſtreame, hollow vvater, continuall raine, miſts, moiſt and thicke vvether, with much haile and ſnovv: vvhereby vvee endured much trouble, miſerie and diſeaſe. But in regard that vve had ſo luckily diſcouered that Paſſage, and hoping that the places vvhiſh vve vvere yet to diſcouer, vvould likvvviſe fall out vvell, vve vvere encouraged; and not once thinking vpon our former hard paſſage, vvith aſſured mindes determined to goe forvvard on our Voyage.

The foure and tvventieth, vve hoyle our vvpper Ordnance out of the hold, and placed it aboue  
20 vpon our Decke. The ſiue and tvventieth of Ianuary, vve hoyle all our ſayles, becauſe vve entered into a peaceable Sea, and had paſt all ſtormes and hard vvether.

The ſeuē and tvventieth, vve hoyle vp our ſecond tyre of Ordnance, and placed it in our ſecond Orlope, for in *Porto Deſire* vve had laid it dovvne in the hold, and all things that might hinder the vvind, and then vvere vnder fortie degrees vvith faire vvether, a South, and South Southeaſt vvind, and a good gale, as the day before, and held our courſe Northvvard.

The eight and tvventieth, our Counſell, and the foure Maſters determined to ſayle to the Iſles of *John Fernando*, there to reſreſh vs, becauſe ſome of our men by meanes of the great paines and labour taken by them vvere extreame vvary, and ſome had the fluxe: that day vve vvere vnder thirtie ſiue degrees, fiftie three minutes. In the euening vve bare but ſmall ſayle, fearing to fall  
30 vpon the land by night, and becauſe vve vvould not paſſe beyond it in the night, vvee ſayled Northeaſt.

The firſt of March in the morning wee ſaw the Iſlands of *John Fernando*, right before vs, Iſlands of *John Fernando*. North North-eaſt, with a South wind, faire vvether, and a good gale. About noone wee got to them, vnder thirtie three degrees and fortie eight minutes.

Theſe are two Iſlands, both of them very high land: the ſmalleſt lying moſt Weſt-ward, is a very dry bare Iſland with nothing in it, but bare Hills and Cliffeſ, the greateſt (lying Eaſt-ward) is alſo full of very high Hills, but hath many Trees, and very fruitfull. Therein are many Beaſts, as Hogs, and Goates, vpon the Coaſt admirable numbers of good fiſh; which makes the Spaniards oftentimes come thither to fiſh, and in ſhort time fill their ſhips and carrie them  
40 to *Peru*. Wee went on the Weſt ſide of thoſe Iſlands, which was not well for vs, for there wee muſt haue gone about Eaſt-ward to get into the Road, which lyeth on the Eaſt point of the greateſt Iſland, for going about on the Weſt ſide behind the land, wee ſhould haue gotten vnder the land in the calme vvater, becauſe the land there is high and calme, ſo that wee could not get to the land to anchor with our ſhip, and therefore ſent our Boat out to ſound the depth, which came aboard againe in the Euening, and told vs, that cloſe by the land we had fortie and thirtie fathome ſandy ground which ſtill leſſeneth till it come to three fathome good to anchor in, beſides a faire Greene Valley, full of Greene Trees, pleaſant to behold, but becauſe of the ſhortneſſe of the time they went not on ſhore, and in diuers places ſaw freſh vvater in great ſtreames run downe off the Hills, they likvvviſe ſaw many Goats and other Beaſts,  
50 vpon the Hills, which they could not well know, being ſo farre off: they had alſo in ſhort time taken a great number of good fiſh, for the Hooke was no ſooner in the vvater, but preſently they tooke fiſh, ſo that continually without ceaſing, they did nothing but draw vp fiſh, moſt of them being Corcobados, and Steen-braſſes, and ſaw many Sea-Wolues: theſe newes cheared vp our men, ſpecially thoſe that were troubled with looſeneſſe hoping there to reſreſh themſelues: that night it was calme vvether, ſo that the ſtreame draue vs ſomewhat back-ward.

The ſecond day we were with our ſhip cloſe vnder the land againe, but could not get ſo neere (what meanes ſoever wee vſed) to finde ground, wee once againe ſent our men on land, ſome to fiſh, and ſome to ſeeke for Cattell, they ſaw many Hogs, Goats, and other Beaſts, but by reaſon that the Woods were thicke they could not get them: and the while that ſome of them fetch  
60 vvater, they that were in the Boat had taken almoſt two Tunnes of fiſh, all with Hookes, and ſo we were forced to leaue that faire Iſland, and could get nothing elſe there.

The third day wee draue at leaſt foure leagues beneath the Iſlands, notwithstanding that all that quarter we did the beſt we could to ſayle neere to it, vvhereof at laſt being wearie, (ſeeing it was vnpoſſible to bee done) wee determined to leaue them, and to hold on our courſe, to per-  
forme



forme our Voyage, euery day hauing a good fore-wind, to the great grieve of our sicke men, who thereby were cleane out of comfort, but God holpe them.

These Islands are vnder thirtie three degrees, fortie minutes : this resolution taken, we set our course North-west and by West, with a good South gale of wind and faire weather.

The eleuenth day wee past *Tropicus Capricorni* the second time, with a South-east wind, our course North-west, there we had the generall East and East South-east wind, and held our course North North-west to the fifteenth, till we were vnder eightene degrees, then we changed our course, and went West, and made our rowing Shallop readie, to vse it when we came neere any land.

The third of April being Easter day, we were vnder fifteene degrees twelue minutes, at which time we had no variation of Compasse, for the Needle stood right North and South, then the flux began much to trouble our men, for at times, halfe of them at the least had it.

*Dogs Island*  
in 15. degrees  
11. minutes,  
92. leagues  
from *Pernu*.

The tenth day we saw three leagues from vs a low Island, not very great, with great numbers of Sea-mewes and fish, and set our course to the Island thinking to haue some refreshing, whereof in regard of the flux we had great need, About noone we got to the Island, and cast out our Lead, but found no ground, and therefore put out our Shalop. About Euening they came aboard againe, and could get nothing, but onely some Greene Herbs, which tasted like vnto Holland Tuinkars, they said, that there they had leene three Dogs, that neither barkt, nor made any noyse, and in it found some places full of raine water, that had fallen that day.

The Island as we perceiued, seemed at high water for the most part to be ouer-flowne, it had nothing about it but a kind of wall like a Ditch, full of Greene Trees, pleasant to behold, and in the middle of them and else-where, much Salt-water. It is vnder fifteene degrees twelue minutes, distant from the Coast of *Pernu*, by our estimation nine hundred twentie and fve leagues. That quarter the wind was North, and we held our course West, towards the Islands of *Salomon*, and called that Island *Dogs Island*.

In the night it blew hard, with a great showre of raine.

Another Island.

The fourteenth the winde East and East South-east, we sayled West, and West and by North, with wind and weather aforesaid, and saw much fish, and many Birds: after noone we saw another low Island North-west from vs being very great, and reached North-east and South-west, whereat we reioyced, hoping to get water and some refreshing there, and made to it, holding our course North-west.

About Euening, being with our ship about a league from the Land, there came a *Canoe* to meet vs, with foure Indians in it, all naked, of a reddish colour, very blacke long haire: they kept a good way from our ship, first calling to vs, making signes to haue vs come on Land, but we vnderstood them not, nor they vs, notwithstanding that we answered and called to them in *Spanish*, *Moluccu*, *Iauan*, and our owne *Netherland* speech.

About Euening at Sunne-setting, we got to the land, but found no ground, nor no changing of water, although we were so neere to the shore, that with a Musket we might shoot into it, and therefore put to Sea againe, and the *Canoe* to land, where a great many Indians stood vpon the shore to watch for them: not long after againe there came another *Canoe* from the land to our ship, but would not (as the first) come aboard, they called to vs, and we to them, but vnderstood not one the other, at last their *Canoe* ouerthrew in the water, but they soone turned it vp againe, and leapt quickly into it, they shewed and pointed towards the land, and wee the like to them towards the ship, but they would not come, wherewith we held on our course and left the Island, sayling South and South-west to get about the land: the Island was not broad, but somewhat long, and full of Trees, which as we ghesed were Palmitas and Cocus Trees, it lyes vnder fifteene degrees fifteene minutes, hauing white sand ground: that night we saw fire vpon the land in diuers places.

The fifteene day in the Morning, hauing in the night sayled about ten leagues South South-west, we sayled close along by the land, where we saw many naked men standing on shore, calling and crying (as it seemed) to bid vs come on land, and then againe there came another *Canoe*, from the land towards our ship, with three Indians in it, which also called to vs, and would not come aboard, but rowed to the Shalop, and went close to it, our men shewing them all the friendship they could, giuing them some Beads and Kniues, but they vnderstood not one another hauing bene a little while by the Shalop, they left it, and came so neere to our ship, that we cast out a small Rope to them, which they tooke, but would not enter into the ship, but went into the Shalop, which came backe from the land without doing any thing, and hauing bene a good while in it, at the last one of them came into the Gallerie, and drew out the nayles of the windowes in the Marchants and Masters Cabines, and taking them away, hid them in his haire, they were desirous of Iron; for they ventured to pull out the bolts with their hands, and to carrie them away, we sought to keepe one of them in the ship, and to send one of ourmen with the other two in their *Canoe* to land, to make friendship with them but they would not. They were very theeuish people, all naked, only a piece of a Mat hanging before their priue Members. Their skinne was marked with diuers figures, as Snakes, Dragons, and such like things which

Louers of Iron,  
as in the La-  
drones.



which shewed very blew, as if they had beene burnt thereon with Gun-powder, we gaue them wine, as they sat in the *Canoe*, but they would not giue vs the Cup againe. Wee sent our Shalop once againe to the land, with eight Muskietiers, and sixe men with Swords. *Claus Johnson* our vnder Marchant, and *Arice Clauson* the Marchant of the *Horne*, went with them, to see what was to be gotten in the Iland, and to make friendship with them. But as soone as they were by the strand and the men went on shore, there came at least thirtie Indians out of the Wood, with great Clubs or Cudgels and would haue taken our mens armes from them and thought to draw the Shalop vpon the land, ventred to take two of our men out of the Shalop, thinking to carrie them into the Wood, but our Muskietiers, hauing their Muskets readie, discharged three of them  
 10 amongst them, and verily thought that they either killed or sore wounded some of them. They likewise had long staues, with very long sharpe things at the ends thereof, which (as we thought) were finnes of blacke fishes, they also cast stones with Slings, but (God bee thanked) hurt none of our men. Bowes they had not, as farre as we could see. Our men saw some of their women, that cryed and claspt their men about the neckes, but knew not what they meant, and thought they did it to get them from thence. That Iland (by reason we could there find no ground to anchor) we  
 20 called the Iland without ground. On the out side it was low plaine ground, full of Palme Trees, but within full of salt water. At last when we saw that there was nothing to be gotten, we determined to leaue it, and with an East wind held our course West to Sea-ward. There wee had slight water and no billowes as the day before wee had out of the South, and therefore wee ghest that South-ward there was more land: it is vnder fifteene degrees, about a hundred leagues distant from *Dogs Iland*.

Iland without ground.

The sixteenth day in the morning betimes, we saw another Iland, North-ward from vs, which  
 we made to, but found it as the other, without anchor ground, within also being all drowned land, yet on the sides it was full of Trees, but no Palme nor Cocos Trees. Wee put out our Shalop to found the depth, but, going to the shore, found no ground, and therefore came aboard againe, without doing any thing, or seeing any men. We sent our Shalop once againe to see if we could get any refreshing or water vpon the land, who returning againe told vs that they had found fresh water not farre from the shore, in a Pit or Keele, which they might bring with Buckets to the strand, but hard to get into the ship, for the Shalop, by reason of the billowes, lay fast at a dreg, by which  
 30 meanes the men were forced, to draw one another with a Rope on land, and in like sort on boord againe, so that it was very troublesome and dangerous to goe on the land, and therefore fetcht but foure small fats of water. There also we found such herbes as we had in the *Dogs Iland*, whereof we brought a sackfull aboard, and some Crabs, as also some Shells and Hornes, that had fish in them of very good taste. That euening we held on our course West-ward, with an East-wind, and an indifferent gale, rainie weather and smooth water. The same day wee were vnder fourteene degrees, fortie sixe minutes. That Iland was fifteene leagues distant from the other, wee called it the water Iland, because there we got some water.

Water Iland.

The seuenteenth day we gaue our men six cups of water, and sod a great Kettle with Pottage, made of the greene herbes that we had in water Iland, which did our men some good, and ealed  
 40 them of their loosenesse.

The eighteenth day in the morning, we saw another low Iland South-west from vs, lying West  
 North-west, and East South-East, as farre as we could see, at the least twentie leagues, distant from the other. We made to it, and being hard by it, sent out our Boate to found the depth, they told vs they found ground by a point of land, from whence there came a streame at twentie, fye, and fortie fathome, running softly downe, about a Musket shot from the land, whereupon we sent the Boat with our emptie Caske thither, hoping to find water, when it came to the land, they let the Schut lye fast at a Dreg in the water and drew one another with a Rope through the water, to land as they did before, there they sought a good way within a Wood for fresh water, but because they had no Armes with them, and saw a wild man, who as they thought had a Bow  
 50 in his hand, they turned presently backe to the Shalop, and came aboard againe without doing any thing, and lying a good way from the shore, there came fye or sixe wilde men to the strand, who seeing that our men were gone, went backe againe into the Wood. Vpon that Iland there were great store of greene wilde trees, being also full of salt-water within. When our men came into the ship they were couered all ouer with Flyes, in such abundance that wee could not know them, their faces, hands, and Scute, all full, and the Oars also as farre as they were out of the water, were couered ouer with blacke Flyes, wonderfull to behold: those Flyes came with them aboard our ship, and fye so thicke vpon our bodie, and in our faces, that wee knew not how to shunne them, for we could hardly eate or drinke, but all was full of them: wee still wip't our faces and hands, and made flaps to kill as many as we could, this continued two or three dayes  
 60 with great trouble vnto vs all: at last we had a good gale of winde, whereby, and with continuall killing them, in the end when three or foure dayes were past we were rid of them: wee called that Iland, the *Flye Iland*, and therewith set forward from it, and had some raine, as also the next day, whereby we gathered so much water, with Clothes and Sailes, that it holpe vs well. In the  
 night

Flye Iland.



night we made no great way, but oftentimes let the shippe driue, that wee might not by night fall vpon such low Islands, and spoyle our shippe.

The three and twentieth, we were vnder fifteene degrees, foure minutes, and then againe had great hollow billowes out of the South, which the next day also continued; the wind was North-east, and most part East, and East and by South. There they said, that *Terra Australis* which we sought for, lay yet two hundred and fiftie leagues further.

The five and twentieth, we filled foure vessels full of raine water, and still had hollow billowes out of the South, as we commonly haue in the Spanish Seas out of the North-west.

May.

The third of May the wind was still East South-east, and we sayled West, and at noone were vnder fifteene degrees, three minutes. That day we saw many great Dorados which were the first 10 that we had seene in the South Sea.

A strange  
sayle.

The ninth, vve were vnder fifteene degrees, twenty minutes, and at that time as vve thought vvere 15 10. leagues distant from the coast of *Pern* and *Chili*. About noone vvee sawe a sayle, vvhich as vve guessed vvas a Barke, comming out of the South, and vvent North-vvard tovwards vs, vve presently made tovwards it, and as it came neere to vs, vve shot at it vvith one of our Pieces right ouer her, to make them strike, but they vvould not; then vve shot againe, but yet they vvould not strike, vvith that vve put out our Shalop vvith tenne Musketers in it, to take her, vvhich calling to them vve shot another Piece, yet vvithout any intent to reach or to hurt them, but they vvould not strike, but sought as vvell as they could to get avway from vs, and got to loofe-vvard of vs, but our Shalop beeing too craftie for them rovved to them, and bee- 20 ing about halfe a musket shot from them, shot foure Muskets one after another, as they drevve neere to her, and before they could reach her, some of her men in great feare leapt ouer-boord, vvhereof one of them had a little child, and another vvas hurt, and had three holes in his backe, but not very deepe, for it was haile shot, those we fetcht out of the water againe: they also threw much of their goods ouer-boord, and amongst the rest three Hennes, our men leapt into their ship and carried them into our ship, they not once resisting; for in truth they had no armes, when they were in our ship, we fetcht two men more that were left in theirs, which presently fell downe before vs, and kist our feet and hands, one of them was a very old man, the other a young man, we could not vnderstand them, but vsed them kindly, and presently the Shalop rowed to fetch those that leapt ouer-boord, to saue their liues, but they got but two of them, that droue vpon 30 one of their oares, and pointed to our men with their hands to the ground, as much to say, that the rest were drowned: one of those two that was hurt, whom we drest, had long yeallowish haire. In that shippe there was at least eight women, three young sucking children, and some of nine or tenne yeeres old, so that we made account they were three and twentie in all, cleane naked people, both men and women, onely something hanging before their priuy members. About euening we set the men on boord their ship againe, that were welcome to their wiues, which claspt them about the necks, and kissed them. We gaue them beades, (which they hung about their necks,) and some kniues, and shewed them all the friendship we could, and they the like to vs, giuing vs two fine Matiens, and two Cocos nuts, for they had not many: that was all they had to eate and drinke, and they had drunke out all the water out of the Nuttes, so that they had 40 no more drinke. Wee saw them drinke salt water out of the Sea, and gaue it also to their young children to drinke, which we thought to be against Nature. They had certaine cloathes which they ware before their priuy members, and therewith couered themselves against the heate of the Sunne, of a yeallowish colour. They were reddish people, that anoynted themselves with Oyle: the Women had short haire, like our men in *Holland*: Mens haire was long, curled, and very blacke: their ship was of a strange fashion. It was made of two long faire Canoas with a good space betweene them, in each Canca about the middle thereof, there lay two whole broad planckes of faire red wood, to keepe out the water, and diuers planckes laid crosse ouer, from the one Canoa to the other, which were made fast together, and hung a good way ouer on both endes, without the Canoas, very close aboue to keepe out the water, before at the ende of one of the Ca- 50 noas, on starre-boord, there stood a Mast, at the ende thereof hauing a Forke, whereon the yard lay. The Sayle was made of Mats, and as the wind blew they sayled, without Compasse, or any Instruments for the Sea, but hookes to fish withall, whereof the vpper part was stone, the other blacke bone, or Tortoyles shells, and some of them were mother of Pearle. Their ropes were very faire, and almost as thicke as a Cable, made of such stufte as the figge-frayles in *Spaine* are. When they sayled from vs, they held their course South-east.

Drinkers of  
Sea-water.

The manners  
and Canoes of  
the Negroes.

The tenth wee had the wind South South-east, and South-east and by South, and held our course West and South-west. In the morning after breake-fast, wee saw very high land on Lar-board, lying South-east and by South, about eight leagues from vs: wee made to it, and sayled all that day with a good gale, but could not reach it.

The eleuenth in the morning, wee were neere a high Island, and about two leagues South-ward from thence, another long low Island, that day wee sayled ouer a Banke of fourteene fathome deepe, stony ground, lying about two leagues from the land, and as soone as wee were ouer it, 60 wee



wee could find no more ground. One of the shippes aforesaid came to vs : they also carrie a Canoe in their shippe, which what time soeuer, they can put out : and are very good Sea-men: Their ships were of the fashion aforesaid, with good sayles, and are so swift of sayle, that few ships in *Holland* can out sayle them. They steere behind with two Oares, on each Canoe a man, and sometimes row with their Oares before, when they will wind, the ship also windes of it selfe when they pull the Oares out of the water and let it goe, or alone with the wind, wee put out our Shalop to found, which came and told vs that they had found ground at fiftene, fourteene, and twelue fathomes, shelve ground, about a Canon shot from the land, wee presently made to it to Anchor, and tooke in our sayles. The Negroes seeing that, made signes to vs to goe to the other Island, and sayled thither before vs, but wee anchored at the end of the Island, at five and twentie fathome sandie ground, a great Canon shot from the land. That Island is a high hill, almost like one of the Moluccos Island, full of trees, most *Cocos* trees, therefore wee called it *Cocos* Island.

*Cocos* Island.

The other Island is much longer, but lower, lying East and West. As soone as wee were at an Anchor, there came three small ships, that sayled vp and downe about our shippe, and at least nine or tenne Canoes boarded vs, some from the land, and some out of the little shippes, among the which two of them put out little white Flags in signe of peace, and wee did the like. Their Canoes, which had three and foure men a peece in them, were flat before, and sharpe behind, hewed out of a whole peece of reed wood. Wherewith they could row exceeding swift, and when they came neere the ship, they leapt into the water, and swamme to our ship, with their hands full of *Cocos* nuts, and Vbes rootes, which they bartred with vs for nayles and beades, whereof they were verie desirous, they gaue foure or five *Cocos* nuts, for one nayle, or a small string of beades, so that the same day we bartered for an hundred eightie *Cocos* nuts, and at last there came so many on board, that we scarce knew how to bestirre our selues. Wee sent our Shalop towards the other Island, to see if there we could not lie better, for there we lay in the open Sea, but the Shalop was no sooner off from the ship, rowing along by the land, but it was inclosed round about by twelue or thirteene Canoes of the other Island, and still more came to them, the people within them shewing as if they were mad, hauing certaine staues of hard wood in their hands like clubbes, sharpe at the point, and a little burnt. They boarded our Shalop, and thought to haue taken it from vs, but our men being thereby constrained to defend themselves, let see three Muskets among them, wherewith first they laught and mockt, thinking it but a sport, but the third time one of them was shot into the breast cleane through his bodie, which his fellowes seeing went presently to helpe him, & finding him to be so sore hurt, all of them kept off from the Shalop, and went to one of their small ships with sayles, and calling to it, would haue had them to ouer row the Shalop, as we ghest, but they would not, for their Canoes had been aboard our ship, where they had bene well vsed, and friendly dealt withall. Those people were very theeuish. They were lustie men, well proportioned, and of great stature, and went all naked and vnarmed onely their priue members couered. Their haire was drest after diuers fashions, some short, and some finely curled, some had long haire bound vp in pleits in seuerall manner, they were notable swimmers. That *Cocos* Island lies vnder sixteene degrees, tenne minutes. The twelfth in the morning after breake-fast-time, there came more Canoes aboard our shippe, with *Cocos* nuttes, Bananas, Vbas rootes, and some little Hogges, and some vessels full of fresh water; that day wee bartered with them for one thousand two hundred *Cocos* nuts, wee were eightie five men aboard, and euery one had twelue nuts. They stroue who should get first aboard, and those that could not get to the ship, leapt out of their Canoes, and diued vnder the other Canoes, to get to the shippe to sell their ware, holding Vbas rootes, and bunches of *Cocos* nuts in their mouthes, and climed so many, and so fast vp to the shippe, that wee were forced to keepe them downe with staues. When they had sold their wares, they leapt out of the ship and swamme to their Canoes againe. They wondered at the greatnesse and strength of the shippe, and some of them crept downe behind at the rother, vnder the ship, and knockt with stones vpon the bottome thereof, to prooue how strong it was. There came a Canoe from the other Island, that brought vs a young blacke wilde hogge, which the King sent vs for a present, wee would haue giuen the messenger somewhat for it, but he would not take it, making signes that the King had charged him not to take any thing. At noone the King himselfe came in a great shippe with a sayle, of the fashion aforesaid, like an Ice Slead, with at least thirtie five Canoes to accompany him. This King was by his men called *Laton*, wee receiued him with Drummes and Trumpets, wherewith they wondred, because they neuer had seene nor heard the like before. They shewed vs great honour and much friendship outwardly, with bowing their heads, clapping their fists together ouer their heads, and other strange Ceremonies. When he was a little way from vs, hee began to call and to crie out aloud, as if hee had prayed after his manner, all the rest of his men did the like, wee not knowing what it meant, but ghest that it was in stead of a welcome.

Theeuish people.

Presently thereupon the King sent vs a *Matien* by three of his men, to whom wee gaue an old hatchet, a few beades, some old nayles, and a peece of linnen cloth, which hee willingly receiued, laying it three times vpon his head, and bowing it, in token of reuerence or thankes and



curtelie. Those that came into our ship, fell on their knees, and kist our feet, and wondred much at our shippe. We could not know the King from the other Indians, for he was likewise cleane naked, but onely that they shewed him reuerencee, and he commanded ouer his men. We made signes that the King should come aboard of our Shippe: his sonne came aboard, and we entertained him well, but he himselfe durst not or would not come, but they altogether made signes to haue vs come to the further Island, with our Shippe, where there was enough of all things to be had. Among other things, we bartered with them for angles of haire, that were made of reede, as in *Holland*, but somewhat thicker, with hookes of mother of Pearle. The Kings sonne went to land againe, and the Canoa wherein he went had a great piece of wood on lar-boord, where- with it kept vpnight, vpon that piece of wood their angle lay, readie to take fish. 10

The thirteenth in the morning, there came at least fortie fise Canoas aboard, to traffique with vs, with an Armado of three and twenty small shippes, made like Ice-leads, each of them one with an other, hauing fise and twentie men a piece in them, and euery small Canoa foure or fise, we not knowing what their intent was. The Canoas dealt with vs, bartering Cocos nuttes for nayles, and made show, as if they were our great friends, but afterward we found it otherwise: all of them made signes to vs to sayle to the other Island: the King who the day before had been at our Shippe, came likewise in his ship with a saile to our shippe, and all of them made a great noyse. We would gladly haue had him aboard, but he would not; wherewith wee suspected treason, fearing some mischiefe, and the rather, because all the Shippes and Canoas kept close round about our ship, and that the King went out of his ship into a Canoa, and his sonne into an other, and presently they stroke vpon a kind of drumme that was in his shippe, whereat all the Indians began to crie out aloud, which we esteemed to be a warning giuen vnto them, altogether to fall vpon vs, to take our shippe from vs, and then the ship wherein the King sayled before he went out of it, boorded vs, comming so hard vpon vs, as if it would haue sunke vs: but it stricke against our shippe with such a force, that the two heads of the Canoas before brake in pieces; wherewith the men that were in it, (among them hauing some women) leapt into the water, and swam to windward; the rest beganne to sling great number of stones at vs, thinking therewith to feare vs, but we shot at them with Muskets, and three great pieces (laden with Musket shot, and old nayles) wherewith all they that were in the shippe and Canoas that lay about our ship, leapt into the water. We made reckoning that some of them had forgotten the way to goe home againe, and that diuers of them also were sore wounded, and therewith they went backe: they knew not what such manner of shooting meant, but yet when they saw how we had handled them with our shot, they kept aloofe out of the reach of our Pieces, and we hoy- sing anchor, set forward againe on our Voyage, holding our course West, and West and by South. We were of opinion, that the King at that time had assembled all his forces, for he had at the least a thousand men, or rather more: among them we saw one that was cleane white. 20

When we were about foure leagues off from the Islands, many of our men would haue had vs goe backe againe to the Islands by force, to goe on land, to refresh our selues, in regard that we had but little water, but the Master and the Marchant would not. The first Island that was so high, we named *Cocos* Island; and the other that lay a league distant from it, we called *Traitors* Island, because the most part of the Indians that sought to betray vs, came from that Island. 40

*Traitors* Island.

*Hope* Island.

The foureteenth in the morning, we saw another Island right before vs, about seuen leagues distant from vs, which seemed to be round, and as we ghesst was thirty leagues distant from the Islands aforesaid. That Island we called the *Hope*, and made towards it, hoping there to get water, and better refreshing; but comming to it, could find no ground, and therefore put out our Shalop to sound a long the shore, which about a Musket shot from the land, found ground at forty fathome, small blacke and soft stony ground, sometimes also they had twenty and thirty fathomes, but as soone as they were a Shalops length or two from it, they had no ground againe. Then tenne or twelue Canoas came to our Shippe, but we would not let them come aboard, but shewed them friendly countenance, and bartered with them for foure flying fishes, for the which we gaue them some beades, which we let downe by a rope at the sterne of the Shippe, and they taking them, tyed the fishes to the rope, and we puld them vp: in the meane time our Shalop sounded along by the Land, which they in the Canoas seeing, presently made towards it, and beeing close by it, at first spake vnto the men, but withall compassed them about with foureteene Canoas; and therewith some of them leapt ouer-boord, thinking to fall vpon the Shalop, or to draw it away with them; which our men perceiuing, shot with their muskets among them (there beeing fixe Muskets, and other armes, Courtelasses and Pikes in the Shalop) and therewith killed two of the Indians as they sate in their Canoas, where of one presently fell dead ouer-boord, the other sate still with his hand wiping off the blood vpon his breast, but at last fell likewise ouer-boord: the rest in the Canoas, were thereat in so great feare, that in all haste they made away, at which time we saw many men standing vpon the shore, that cryed and made a great noyse. But for that we there could finde no fit anchoring ground, we tooke our Shalop in againe, and went forward on our Voyage, holding our course South-west, the better to get to the South, hoping there to finde firme land. And it was so rough neere to the Island, that it was a very badde place 60



place for a Boat to goe on shore. The Iland was all full of blacke Clifles, greene on the top, and blacke earth, and was full of Cocos Trees, and greene herbes. Wee also saw many houles along by the Sea-side, and close by the strand there was a great Village, the land was hilly, but not very high.

The eighteenth, being vnder sixteene degrees, five minutes, wee had variable West windes, that day we cald our Councell together, to whom *William Cornelison Schouten* our Master shewed, that then we were at the least one thousand six hundred leagues East-ward from the Coast of *Peru*, and *Chili*, and had not discovered any part of *Terra Australis*, as our intent was; that there was not any appearance to discover any thing to our contentments; that we also had sayled further West-ward, then we intended; that sayling forward in that manner, without all doubt we should fall South-ward vpon *Nova Guinea*, and that if there we should find no passage or way to get through (it being very dangerous, vncertaine and not knowne) that then both ship and goods would be lost, and we our selues likewise should perish, it being vnpossible to come East-ward backe againe from thence, by reason of the stedfast East-winds, that in the West parts continually blow; that we also had but small store of victuals, and saw no meanes as yet to increase them; and therefore asked their counsell, whether it was not their best way to alter their course, and to saile North-ward, thereby to get North-ward to *Nova Guinea*, and so to the *Molucces*, which they considering of, and well weighing, found his reasons to be true, and thought it necessarie to be done, and therefore all with one consent agreed to saile North-ward, not to fall South-ward vpon *Nova Guinea*, being an vncertaine way, but rather North-ward, to hold a certaine course: which was presently put in effect, and we set our course North North-west.

The nineteenth, the wind South, and our course North, at noone wee saw two Ilands, North-East and by East, about eight leagues from vs, which seemed to lye about a Canon shot distant one from the other. Then we went North-East, to saile about the land, with faire weather, but no great gale.

The twentieth, the wind was North-East, and wee did the best by labouring to get to the land.

The one and twentieth, the wind was East, with a small gale: and when wee were about a league from the land, there came twentie Canoes to our ship, to whom wee shewed all signes of friendship, but one of them with a wooden *Affagay* (sharpe at the point) in his hand, threatened to shoot at one of our men, and cryed aloud, as they did in the other Iland, which we thought was a signe among them, to fall vpon vs, whereupon we discharged two of our great Peeeces, and therewithall some of our Muskets, whereby two of them were hurt, and the rest presently made away, as they fled throwing a shirt over-board, which they had stolne out of our Gallerie.

The two and twentieth day there came diuers Canoes to our ship, bringing some Cocos Nuts, and Vbas Roots; others brought a liue Hog, and two rosted Hogs, for the which we bartered, and gaue them slight Kniues, Beades, and Nailes. Those people also were theeuish, and would swim and dwe exceeding well, as those in the other Ilands could doe, their houses stood along the strand, which were round and made of leaues sharpe on the top and close like a paint-house, to let the water fall downe, about five and twentie foot in Compasse, and ten or twelue foot high, with a low hole to go in stooping: in them there was nothing to be seene, but some dried herbs, like hay, to sleepe vpon, and an Angling Rod or two, and in some a wooden club or staffe, that was all their house-hold stuffe, the both best and worser sort, for the King himselfe had no more. Here wee found a conuenient watering place.

The foure and twentieth day, *Aris Clauson*, *Reymie Simonson Snocke*, and *Cornelison Schouten* went on land to be Hostages, to make friendship with the Indians, and for them wee had fixe of their principall men in our ship, whom wee vsed friendly, giuing them meate and drinke, and some presents, as they did to our men, giuing them Cocos, and Vbas Rootes to eate, and water to drinke. The King shewed our men great reuerence, and gaue them foure little Hogs: that day our men fetcht five fatts full of water peaceably without quarrelling, for when any of the Indians came neere our Boat, the King himselfe came thither and draue them thence, or sent one of his men to doe it. His men were very obedient vnto him: for as it chanced that one of our Courtelasses was stolne away from vs, and we told one of the King's Gentlemen thereof, hee gaue some of the Indians charge to fetch it againe, and presently hee that had taken it, was fought for, and although he was gone a good way of, they brought him backe; who being come, the Courtelasse was laid downe at our feet, and hee was beaten with staues, they making signes vnto vs with their fingers vpon their throats, that if the *Herico* (that is the King) knew of it, his head should be cut off: and after that, we had nothing stolne from vs, neither on the shore, nor in the ship, nor else-where: neither durst they take a fish that we angled for. Those people were very fearefull of our shooting, for when we shot off a Musket, they all ranne quaking and shiuering away, and we put them in more feare, when we shewed them that we could shoot with the great Peeeces, which the King desired vs once to do; which being done, they were all so fearefull and abasht thereat, that all of them, as also the King, (sitting vnder his Belay, or Canopie, notwithstanding



all that we could say or doe to perswade thew,) fore amazed ranne into the Woods, and left our men sitting there alone. But not long after they came againe, scarce halfe well assured.

The five and twentieth day, *Aris Clawson*, *Claus Johnson*, and *Daniel le Maire*, went on land againe, to barter for hogs, but they would not barter. But after the King had said his Prayers, (which he vsed to doe every time that we went on shore,) shewed vs great friendship, and we the like to him.

The six and twentieth day, *Jacob le Maire* our Marchant and *Aris Clawson* went on shore but could get no Hogs of the Indians, because they themselves had great need of them, hauing little else to eate but Vbas Roots, Cocos Nuts, a few Hogs, and some Bananas: our men were very welcome vnto them, and had great reuerence shewed them, for they trod vpon Mats, and the King and his Lieutenant gaue them their Crownes, which they tooke off from their owne heads, and set them on their heads, in recompence whereof, *Jacob le Maire* gaue them some presents of little worth, wherewith they were very well pleased.

Crowns made  
of Feathers.

The Crownes were made of long small white Feathers and vnderneath and aboue mixt with some red, and greene Feathers, for they haue many Parrots, and some Doues, whereof they make great account: for every one of the Kings Councill had a Doue by him sitting vpon a sticke, those Doues are white on their backes, and all the rest blacke sauing their brefts, which are reddish: all that day we fetcht water, and bartered for good store of Cocos Nuts, and Vbas Roots.

The seuen and twentieth, and eight and twentieth dayes, we got all our water into the ship, then *William Cornelison Schouten* our Master, and *Aris Clawson* went on land with the Trumpets, which the Kings tooke great pleasure to heare, and with much adoe got two Hogs.

The Kings Lieutenant putting a string about his feet, or his hands, climed quickly vp a smooth high Tree, and in a trice fetched down ten Cocos Nuts, which at one crush with a stick or a piece of wood, he so soone opened, that our men wondred to see it. They told vs that they alwayes had warre with the men of the other Iland, and shewed vs many Holes and Caues in the Hill, and Bushes and Groues in the way, from whence they issued out, and spoiled and killed each other: and would gladly haue had vs goe with our ship, to the other Iland to helpe them there, to fight against those Indians with our Peeces, but it being no profit vnto vs, we refused it.

They were in great feare of vs, (although we shewed them all the friendship we could,) and doubted that wee would take their Countrey from them. The King promised vs that if wee would goe thence in two dayes, he would giue vs ten Hogs, and a great number of Cocos Nuts, which they called *Ali*.

When he entred into the ship, he fell downe vpon his face, and prayed, then we led him into the hold, and there againe he prayed, he wondred much at that hee saw, as wee also did at his behauiour: his men kist our feet, and tooke them in their hands, and laid them on their heads and their neckes, in signe of submission.

In the Euening by Moone-shine, *Aris Clawson* went out to fish, and hauing taken a great shole of fish, went to the King; there he found a number of yong Wenches dancing before him, one played on a hollow piece of wood like a Pumpe, which made a noyse, whereat the yong Wenches danced after their manner, very finely, and with a good grace, according to the measure of the noyse of the Instrument.

The thirtieth day in the morning, the King sent vs two little Hogs for a Present: the same day, the King of the other Iland came to see the King of that Iland, and with him brought sixteene Hogs, and three hundred men in his Companie, all of them hauing certaine greene herbes hanging about their midles, whereof they make their drinke. When the King was neere vnto the other King, he began as farre off with strange Ceremonies and Reuerence to bow downe his bodie, falling with his face vpon the ground, and praying with a great noyse, and much zeale, as we thought. The other King went to meet him, and likewise with a great noyse and strange gestures, vsed him very reuerently, and after much adoe, they both rose vp on their feet, and went and late together vnder the Kings Belay, and there were assembled together at least nine hundred men. When they went to sit downe they prayed againe, according to their manner, hanging downe their heads, and bowing downe to the ground, holding their hands one in another, which we admired. After noone, *Aris Clawson* being on shore, *Jacob le Maire*, *Claus Johnson* Ban, were sent for, who went a shore, with foure Trumpets and a Drumme, to the two Kings, there the Trumpets blew, and the Drumme played before them, wherein they tooke great pleasure: after that came a companie of Pefants, bringing with them a quantitie of greene herbes, which they called *Cana*, such as the three hundred men aforesaid had about their middles, and all together at once began to chaw the herbes in their mouthes, which being chawd they tooke it out of their mouthes, and laid it all in a wooden vessell, like a Tray, or Trough, and when they had chawd a great deale, they powred water into it, and so stirred and prest it together, and gaue the liquor thereof to the Kings to drinke, who dranke thereof with their Gentlemen: they also presented that notable Drinke (as a speciall and a goodly Present) to our men, but they had enough, and more then enough of the sight thereof. They also brought a great number of Vbas Rootes, which they had roasted, and sixteene Hogs that were onely ript, and the guts taken out, but

Homely drink.



but all bloody, and not washt, and hauing certaine hot stones put into their bellies, and outwardly their haire singed off by the fire, were wel roasted after their manner, and they eat them as sauourly and with as good an appetite, as we could do when they are well sodden or roasted after our manner. Those people yeeld great reuerence and respect vnto their Kings, for all the meate which they brought before their King, (who in their Language they call *Herico*) they laid it vpon their heads, and kneeling on their knees, set it downe before the King. Of those sixteene Hogs aforesaid, each King gaue vs one, presenting vs therewith in this sort, first they laid them vpon their heads, and kneeling laid them with great humilitie at our feet, and with them gaue vs eleuen little liue Hogs, and some indifferent great. And wee gaue them three Copper Beakers, foure

10 Knives, twelue old Nayles and some Beades, wherewith they were well pleased.

Those people were men of good vnderstanding, and of great stature, for the least man of them was as big as the tallest of vs, and the tallest of them was farre higher then any of vs, they were strong men, and well proportioned of bodie and limbes, they went very fast, and swamme and dined vnder the water excellent well, their colour was altogether browne yellow, they were very curious in the dressing and trimming of their haire, some had it curled, some frizled, some wore it bound vp in long folds, foure, fve, or six, together, as our women doe in Haire-laces, and some (which was strange to see) had their haire standing vpright vpon their heads, about a quarter of an elle long like Hogs bristles. The King had a long Locke of haire on the left side of his head, that hung downe beneath his hips, bound vp with a knot or two. His Gentlemen had two such

20 Lockes, on each side of their heads one, they went naked all alike both men and women, onely some little thing handsomely tyed before their priuie members. The women were very vnslightly both in face and bodie, of small stature, Their haire cut close to their heads, as our mens in *Holland*, their breasts long hanging downe to their bellies like lether Satchels. They are very lecherous, for they suffer themselues to be vsed by their men openly in all mens sight, and in the Kings owne presence, only vnder a Mat. We could not perceiue that they worshipped God, or any Gods, or vsed any deuotion, neither the one nor the other, but liued without care, like Birds in the Wood. They had no skill of buying or selling, but with flags they deliuered vs some-what, and we in like sort to them againe. They neither sowe, nor reape, nor doe any

30 worke, There the Earth of it selfe yeelds all that they need to sustaine their liues: as Cocos, Vbas, Bananas, and such like fruit. When the water falls, The women looke vpon the shore on the Sea side for fishes, and when they will, they take them with their Hooke, and eate them raw, so that there men may plainly behold and see the golden World, whereof the Poets write. When we left that Island, we called it *Horne Island*, after the name of the Towne from whence we came, and the Bay wherein we anchored, the *Unities Bay*, after our ships name: that day for the most part, we were busie to get out, and to hoys vp our Anchors, one of our Cables was fretted in peeces with the sharpnesse of the ground where it lay, so we lost that Anchor, and the Cable fretting vpon a Cliffe, brake as we wound it vp and lost that Anchor also. This Bay lyes on the South side of the land, in a Docke vnder fourteene degrees fiftie six minutes. We departed the first of Iune; the one and twentieth we made towards land which we saw very low and go-

40 ing neere vnto it, found many sands which stretch North-west of from the land, there were three or foure Islands, all very small but full of Trees. There a *Canoe* boarded vs, being of the same fashon as afore, but somewhat greater, able to hold fve or sixe men. The men in all respects as the former, and spake the same Language, but somewhat blacker hauing some thing before their priuie members. Their armes were Bowes and Arrowes, which were the first Bowes that we saw among the Indians in the South Sea, we gaue them some Beades and Nayles, but they pointed towards the West to tell vs that there was more land, where their King dwelt, and many things to be had. Therefore we held our course West-ward againe, finding no fit place to anchor in. This Island lay South South-west, and West from vs, vnder foure degrees, fortie seuen minutes.

50 The two and twentieth the wind East South-East, we sayled West, and West and by North, vnder foure degrees, fortie fve minutes, that quarter we had a good gale of wind, and faire weather, and that day saw at least twelue or thirteene Islands, one close by another, West South West from vs, reaching South-East, and North-west about halfe a league, but sayled along by them, leauing them on Lar-boord.

The foure and twentieth the wind South, at noone we saw land on Lar-boord, being three low Islands, that lay South-west from vs, very greene and full of Trees, two of them were two miles long a piece, the third very little: the shore was hard cliffe ground, there likewise wee could find no anchoring: we called them the *Greene Islands*. We also saw a high Island that had seuen or eight houels forth right, lying West and by North from vs, in the night wee held off and

60 on, staying till day.

The fve and twentieth in the morning, as we were all sailing by the aforesaid Island, we saw otherland before vs, in the South-west, which was exceeding high, which wee thought to bee the point of *Noua Guinea*, we made towards it, leauing the other high Island that lay Westward, which we called *Saint Johns Island*, because it was *Saint Iohn Baptists* day. About noone

It is likely they haue some Religion by the Images, which M. Candish saw in other Islands of the *Ladrones*, and by the prayers before mentioned. *Horne Island*.

Iune.

*S. Johns Island*.



we got to it, and sailed along by it with an East South-East wind, but could find no anchor ground, we sent out our Shalop to sound the depth, and went along by the shore betweene the Ship and it, and being somewhat neere the shoare, there came two or three Canoas to it, with blacke Indians in them all naked, without any thing before their members, which fiercely cast stones at our men with slings, but as soone as our men began to shoote at them they fled away. The Shalop came on board againe, without finding any ground, telling vs that the peoples language was cleane contrary to the former. Wee sayled along by the coast, vvvhich vvvas verie high and greene, pleasant to behold where vve savv much land as it had beene houses; at euening vve got about the point into a Bay, there vvee anchored at fve and fortie fathome, vnfit and vneuen ground. The same euening there came two Canoas to the Ship, and spake to vs, but vvee vnderstood them not all that night they held vvatch against vs, vvwith fire all along their coast: vve lay about a Cannon-shot distant from the shoare, against a running riuier: that night it was very still calme moone-shine vveather, the vvind on the land, there came some Canoas close vnder the Gallery of our Ship, from vvhen vve threw them some beades, shewing them all the friendship wee could, vvwithall making signes vnto them, to bring vs some Cocos nuttes, hogges, oxen or goates, if they had any, but they stayed still most part of the night by vs, crying and hollovving after their manner. They vvvere vvild, blacke, and rude men. This land as vve ghest, lay distant from the coast of *Pern*, one thousand eight hundred fortie leagues.

The fixe and twentieth in the morning, there came eight Canoas about our Shippe, whereof one had eleuen men in it, the others foure, fve, fixe and seuen men. They rowed close about our shippe, and were well furnished with armes after their manner, as *Assagayes* or Clubs, wooden Swords and Slings, we shewed them what friendship wee could, and gaue them Beades and other trash, making signes to them to goe on shoare to fetch vs Hogges, Hennes, Cocos nuttes, and other fruit, such as they had, but they had another meaning, and altogether began fiercely to Sling with their Slings and other weapons, thinking to master vs, but wee standing vpon our guard, shot with our Muskets and great shot amongst them, and slew at least tenne or twelue of them. They left the great Canoa, and three other, and leaping into the Sea swamme to land: we put out our Shalop, and rowed it among those that swamme away, and slaying some of them, brought three of them prisoners into our shippe, that were sore wounded, and foure of their Canoas, which we hewed in peeces, to make fire for the Cooke. The hurt men were cured, but one of them died, about noone our men rowed with the two wounded men to the land, along the shore: thre the prisoners cryed to their fellowes to bring vs Hogs, Bananas and Cocos nuttes, where-with one Canoa came aboard, that brought a little Hog, and a bunch of Bananas, wee set one of the men at tenne Hogs ranfome, the other that was sore hurt, wee let goe in the Canoa, because we doubted he would not liue, those men had two holes bored in their noses, on either side one, wherein they ware rings, strange to behold. There wee saw another Island lying North from that great Island.

The seuen and twentieth, wee fild our emptie vessels full of water, and that day wee got a Hog from the land, and there saw diuers red Birds.

The eight and twentieth, there came certaine Canoas aboard our Shippe, but brought nothing with them, neither would they ranfome their man, therefore wee let him goe on shore againe. We thought those people to bee Papoos, for all their haire was short, and they eate Betell and Chalke mingled with it, that night wee hoyfied Anchor, and set sayle, with a small gale of wind.

The nine and twentieth, the wind was variable, and our course was North-west, and North-west and by North, with faire weather till noone, then it calm'd. At euening wee were still in the sight of the Point of the Island, and yet we sayled along by the land, which reached North-west, and North and by West, with many Bayes and Crookes. The same day we saw three high Islands more, that lay North-ward from the great Island, about fve or fixe miles. Then we were vnder three degrees, twentie minutes.

The thirtieth in the morning, driuing in a calme, diuers Canoas, with blacke Indians came aboard our Ship, who in signe of peace, as they entred, brake their *Assagayes* ouer their heads: they brought vs nothing, but desired something of vs. They seemed to be better and friendlier people then the other, for they couered their priue members with leaues, and had better kind of Canoas, set out before and behind with some carued workes; they are very proud of their beades, which they paint with chalke, and the haire of their heads also. Vpon the three or foure Islands, from whence those Canoas came, there was great store of Cocos trees.

July.

The first of Iuly in the morning, we anchored betweene an Island of two miles long, and the firme land of *Guinea*: about noone there came twentie fve Canoas toward our Ship, with many men well armed: being the same people, who the day before brake their *Assagayes* ouer their heads, and made a friendly shew vnto vs, but with intent to abuse vs, as after it appeared, who seeing vs to lie in a calme, thought to take our Ship from vs. We had two Anchors hanging out before at the bough, a little puld vp, whereon they sate, on each Anchor a man, with a *Pin-gay* or Girdle in their hands, wherewith they vse to hold or draw forth their Canoas, and so thought



thought to draw the Ship to shore: the rest hung fast vpon the ship, wee still standing vpon our guard: at last, they began fiercely to throw at vs with stones and other weapons, and thereby hurt one of our men, being the first that was hurt in all our voyage, but wee shot among them with our Muskets, and with our vpper tyre of Ordnance, and kild at least twelue or thirteene of them, and hurt many more: and while they fled away, our men rowed with the Shalop, (well armed) after them, and tooke one prisoner, being a young man about eightene yeeres old, whom we named *Moses*, after our mans name that was hurt. Those people eate bread made of rootes of trees. After this fight we sayled all along by the land, with a good gale, West North-west, and North-west and by West.

- 10 The second, wee were vnder three degrees, twelue minutes, and that day saw low-land on Lar-boord, and also a great high hill, and right before vs a low Island, wee sayled softly West North-west, with slight water East North-east.

The third, we saw high land againe, West from vs, about fourteene leagues from the other Island, vnder two degrees and fortie minutes.

The fourth, as we were busied to passe by the aforesaid foure Islands, we saw at least twentie two or twentie three others, great and small, high and low, which we left on Star-brood, onely *Many Islands*, two or three on Lar-boord. They lay close one by the other, some a league, or a league and a halfe, and some more then a Cannon shot, distant one from another, vnder two degrees twentie five or thirtie minutes little more or lesse.

- 20 The sixth, sometimes we had a hard wind, and sometimes calme with raine, lightening and thunder, and before noone saw a very high hill, being South-west from vs which we sayled vnto: our Master was of opinion that it was *Banda*, by reason it was very like to the hill called *Geomenapi* in *Banda*, and very like for height, but going neere vnto it, wee might see two or three hills more like vnto it, that lay on the North side of the first hill, about fixe or seuen leagues distant, whereby we knew that it was not so. Behind that hill, we saw very much land, east and Westward, which was so long, that on either side wee could not see an end thereof, sometimes high, and then low, reaching East South-east, whereby wee ghest it to bee *Noua Guinea*, and for that night came vpon vs wee held off from it.

- 30 The seventh in the morning, before day we wound againe towards the high hils, which was a burning Island, casting fire and flame from the top thereof, and therefore we called it *Vulcans Island*, the wind then was South-west with faire weather. This Island was well inhabited, and had many Cocos trees in it, the people came with some Canoas to our Ship, but were very fearefull of vs: they called vnto vs, but wee vnderstood them not, neither could our blacke Moores tell what they said: they were all naked, onely their priue members couered, their haire some short, some long. There we found no ground, and so could not anchor. In the North and North-west we saw more Islands, at which time wee went North-west and by West to a low Island that we saw before vs, which in the euening we got vnto. Then we took in our sayles, and let the Ship driue. There we found diuers colours of water, greene, white and yellow, which wee ghest to be water coming out of riuers, for it was sweeter then the Sea-water. There many trees,

- 40 leaues, and boughs draue in the water, whereon some Birds and Crabs fate.

- The eighth, the wind beeing variable, we held our course West South-west, and West North-west, with faire weather, and a reasonable gale of wind, hauing on Starre-boord a high, and on Lar-boord a low Island, reasonable high, we made toward the land, which about Euening we got vnto, and found good sandy ground at seuentie fathome deepe, about a Cannon shot from the land. There certaine Canoas came to vs, with a kind of ill-fauoured people, all *Papoos*, their haire short, and curled, hauing Rings in their noses & eares, and strings about their heads or armes, and Hogs teeth hanging about their neckes, for an ornament. They also eate Betel, and were all defectiue persons, some great legs, others swolne armes, and so forth; whereby it is to bee thought, that thereabout it is vnwholesome land, and the rather, because their houses stood vpon

- 50 stakes, about eight or nine foote from the ground, there wee had three degrees fortie three minutes, and found a little shew of Ginger.

The ninth in the Morning, lying at Anchor, our Shalop rowed to looke for a fit place to anchor the shippe in, and returning told vs, that they had found a fit Bay, where vnto wee went, and anchored at twentie fixe fathome good sandy ground mixt with clay. There about stood two small Villages, from whence there came many Canoas aboard our Ship, that brought a few Cocos nuts, but they esteemed them very deare, for foure nuts asking a fathome of linnen cloth, whereof they were very desirous. They also had some Hogges, which they held at a deerer rate, and what neede soeuer we said we had thereof and made signes to them to bring vs some, they would not doe it. That day euery man in our Ship had allowance of five pound of bread, and

- 60 a measure and a halfe of oyle a weeke, a cup and a halfe of Sacke a day, and a Niperkin of *Aquavita*, all our Pottage, as Pease, Beanes, Gurts, and our Flesh, Bacon, and Fish beeing spent, and we knew not where we were, beeing vncertaine whether we were far or neere to the Indian Islands, as also what place we were in, though we sayled continually by the land, not knowing whether it was *Noua Guinea* or no: we onely ghest at it, for all the Cardes that we had did not

agree,



agree, nor were like to the land that we saw. That land for the most part reacheth North-west and by West, sometimes some what more Westerly, and sometimes againe more Northerly. The twelfth, we sayled still West North-west, along by the Coast with faire weather, and without Sunne-shine, at noone beeing vnder two degrees fiftie eight minutes, with helpe of the streame, that set vs about the West, as it did all along the Coast of *Nova Guinea*.

The thirteenth and foureteenth, we sayled along by the afore-said Coast, sometime by high and then by low land. The fifteenth, we had the wind, and held our course as afore-said, along by the Coast, with good weather, after noone we came to two low inhabited Islands, about halfe a league from the maine land, which stood full of Cocos trees. We made towards them, and there found good anchor ground, at forty, thirty, twentie five, and twenty, to sixe and five fathome deepe, and there anchored at thirteene fathome good ground. The Master rowed with the Boate and the Shalop well armed, to the land, thinking to get some Cocos nuts, which there were vpon the land in great abundance: but going on shore, the Indians lay in ambush right against the place where we came to land, and watching for vs, shot so fiercely at vs with their Bowes, that they hurt at least sixteene of our men, some in the arme, others in the legge, necke, and hands, and other places. And we shot at them with Muskets and Slings, but at last by reason that the Indians shot so thicke, we were forced to retire, there we were vnder two degrees fiftie foure minutes.

The sixteenth in the morning, we sailed in with our Ship betweene both the Islands, and anchored at nine fathome, where we had good lying, after noone our Boat and Shalop rowed to the lesser Island, to fetch some Cocos, and burnt two or three of the Indians houses: about Euening our men came aboard againe, and brought so many Cocos nuts, that euery one of vs had three nuts for his part. Those people are cleane naked, their priue members and all.

The seuenteenth in the morning, there came two or three Canoas towards our shippe, and threw Cocos nuts into the water, making signes to vs to fetch them, whereby they sought to be friends with vs. We made signes to them to come aboard, at last taking better courage, they came close to the Shippe, and brought vs as many Cocos nuts, and Bananas as we desired, which we drew vp by ropes into the gallery, giuing them old nayles, rustie kniues, and beads in barter; they also brought vs a little greene Ginger, and yellow Rootes, which are vsed in stead of Saffron, bartered also with vs some of their Bowes and Arrowes, so that at last wee were great friends with them.

The eighteenth, wee bartered still for Cocos nuts and Bananas, and some Cassaue and Papede, which is also to be had in East India. There we saw some Iarres or earthen pots, which as we thought came from the Spaniards. Those people were not so inquisitiue to looke into our ship as others were; for they knew what shooting with great Pieces meant, and called the Island wherein they dwelt *Moa*, which lay most Easterly, the other ouer against it they called *Inson*, and the vttermost (beeing a very high Island) lying about five or sixe leagues from *Nova Guinea*, they named *Arimoa*. We bought as many Cocos nuts and Bananas as we desired, so that euery man had fiftie nuts, and two bunches of Bananas. Those people vse Cassaue for their bread, but it is nothing like to that of the West Indies, they bake it also in round cakes.

The twentieth in the morning we set sayle, after we had againe bartered for more victualls, they made signes to vs to lie still, and they would bring vs more.

The one and twentieth, we sayled along by the land West North-west, and at noone were vnder one degree thirteene minutes. Then we saw a number of Islands, whereunto the streame draue vs, and about noone we got to them, and anchored at thirteene fathome. That euening we had much raine, thunder, and lightning.

The three and twentieth in the morning we set sayle, with good weather and a good gale, and beeing a little from the land, sixe great Canoas followed vs, (and yet wee saw no men on land) bringing dried fish, (which wee tooke to be Steenbrasses,) Cocos nuts, Bananas, Tabacco, and some small fruits like Prunes. There also came some Indians from an other Island that brought vs some Victualls, that also had some China porcelaine, for we bartered for two dishes, whereby we were perswaded that many Christian shippes had been there, for they wondered not, as others did, at our shippe. They were another kind of people then the former, of a yellower colour, and greater of body; some of them had long haire, some short, and also vsed Bowes and Arrowes, whereof wee had some in barter. They were very desirous of beads, and iron-worke, and had greene, blew, and white glasse rings, sticking in their eares: which we ghesst they had from the Spaniards.

The foure and twentieth we were vnder halfe a degree, with a little gale, and sayled North-west, West and South-west, along by a faire great Island, very greene and pleasant to behold, which we called *William Schoutens Island*, after our Masters name, and the West point thereof, the Cape of *Good Hope*.

The five and twentieth, we saw much land on Larboord lying South South-west from vs, some very high, and some very low. The seuen and twentieth we saw three Islands more, the Coast reacht North-west and by West.

*Moa* Island.  
*Inson*  
*Arimoa*.  
Cassaue.

*Schoutens* Island.

The



The seven and twentieth, we were vnder nine and twentie minutes South-ward of the line, and saw much land South-ward from vs, some high, and some very low, and past West North-west along by it.

The eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth the weather was variable, that night wee had an Earthquake, which made our men for feare to runne out of their cabbins, our Shippe seeming as if it stroke against the ground, but we cast out our lead, and found no ground. An Earth-quake.

The thirtieth, we sayled in a great Bay or hollow place, so that we seemed to be round about inclosed with the land; wee did our best to find an opening, but could not, and therefore sayled North-ward againe: that day it thundred and lightened so sore, that our Shippe shooke therewith, and sometime seemed to be on a light fire, wherewith we were in no small feare, and after it ensued so great a shower of raine that we neuer had seene the like before.

The one and thirtieth we perceiued that we were entred into a place where wee had the land round about vs, therefore we held our course North, and that Euening past the Equinoctiall line the second time, and heeing closed by the land, anchored at twelue fathome good ground, about a Cannon shot from an Island, that lay close by the firme land, but there we saw no men nor any thing growing.

The first of August, wee hoysed anchor with great labour, for it lay vnder a Cliffe, but at last we got it vp, we were then fifteene minutes North-ward of the line, in the Euening with the hard streame, we went close to the land, and by reason it was calme, anchored in vneuen ground, and not deepe. August.

The second it was very calme, and we draue with the streame West and West and by North, with rainy weather.

The third, vvee held our course as before, vvith a calme, and found a Banke, so farre in the Sea that vvee could scarce see the Land, in some places being fortie, in an other tvventie, fifteene, and tvvelue fathom sandie ground, vvee anchored at tvvelue fathom, because it vvaxt night, and the Master desired to see hovv the streame vvent, it vvas West South-vvest. The same day vvee vv ere vnder five and thirtie minutes North-vvard of the line, and savv many Whales, and Tortices. Wee ghest by the height, that vvee vv ere at the end of the land of *Nova Guinea*, having sayled along by the Coast two hundred and eightie leagues, that day we sawe two Islands more West-ward from vs. Raynes and Calmes troubled vs.

The fift, in the morning, as our Shalop rowed to land, wee saw first two, and then three Canoas more come off from the land, and made towards our Shalop, and being hard by it, put out a Flagge of Peace, and our men the like, and then went aboard: the Canoas followed them and also came aboard, they brought vs nothing but a muster, or shew of Indian *Bounties* and *Erties*, with some Rice, Tabacco, and two Paradise Birds: wee bartered for one of them that was white and yellow. Wee could vnderstand them reasonable well, for they spake Tarnata words, and one of them spake good Malaian, which language *Aris Clawson* our Marchant could speake well, some of them spake some Spanish, and among them they had a Spanish Felt. They wore faire clothes, about their middles, and some had Silke Breeches on of diuers colours, some also had Wreathes about their heads, which they say were Turkes or Moores in Religion. They ware Gold and Siluer Rings vpon their fingers, their haire was all coale blacke. They bartered their ware with vs for Beades, but rather desired Linnen: They were very warie and fearefull of vs. Wee askt them what the name of this Countrie was, but they would not tell vs, but by many circumstances vvee iudged and verily beleueed, that vvee vv ere at the East end of *Gilolo*, on the middle-most Point of the Land, (for *Gilolo* reacheth out vvith three Points to the East) and that they vv ere men of *Tidore*, friends to the Spaniards, as vve also found it so to be, vv hich made vs all reioyce, that after so many vvindings and turnings, and troubles endured, vve vv ere come to the place which vvee knevv, and hoped in short time to come among our Country-men, a thing vv hich vvee so long, and so much had hoped for and desired. Beans or Pease.

The sixth day in the Morning we hauing a good gale, South South-east, and bad lying there, hoysed Anchor to goe on our Voyage to the *Moluccos*, and held our course North, with a good gale to goe North, about the North point of *Gilolo*. The seventh it rained, and we saw the North-east point of *Gilolo*, called *Moratay*, which lay South-east from vs. Moratay.

The eighth about noone, we were vnder foure degrees three minutes North-ward of the line, that night it rained hard with thunder and lightening, there we found the streame to go North-ward. The ninth and tenth the Wind was variable, with rainie weather, and we were vnder the height of three degrees fiftie minutes. The eleuenth in the Morning, we sawe the land of *Gilolo* called *Moratay* againe, on the North-east point of *Gilolo*, we did the best wee could to reach it, but the streame put vs off from the land towards the North, and could not reach it that day. The Current.

The twelfth and thirteenth, we were vnder two degrees fiftie eight minutes, with variable winds, and much raine; and the like the foureteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth. The seuenteenth with



with great labour and much trouble we got vnder the land, late in the Euening, and draue along by the Coast with faire weather: that night we saw many fires vpon the land.

Soppy.

The eighteenth it was still weather, and we draue along by the Land: about noone two Canoes came to vs with a flag of Peace, from the Village called Soppy; they were *Tarnataens*, with whom we could speake well, and some of them were of *Gammacanor*: they shewed vs, that a Pinace of *Amsterdam* had laine there three moneths to lade Rice, and that about a moneth or two before, also an English ship had beene there. How glad we were then when we were so well assured, that wee were come to so good and long desired a place, after so much paine and trouble that we had endured, with eightie fve sound men, when we had spent all our victuals, euery man may iudge that hath proued the like aduventure. There we were vnder two degrees, fortie seuen minutes, and anchored at eight and twentie fathome: some of those men stayed that night with vs, the next day to bring vs to the Road of Soppy.

The nineteenth we sayled into the Bay, and there anchored at ten fathome sandie ground, about a Canon shot from the shore. That day we bartered for some Sagow, some Hennes, two or three Tortoyes, and a little Rice.

September.

The seuenteenth of September we had a good gale, and did our best to get to *Tarnata*: that morning besides we saw a sayle to loofeward from vs, which also made towards *Tarnata*, being the *Morning Starre* of *Roterdam*, of three hundred Tunnes burthen, hauing in her sixe and twentie great Peeces. At noone our Shalop came from that ship, where she had lyen three nights, they being in the Creeke of *Sabon*, found there the Admirall *Verbaghen* there, in one of the Admirall *Speilberg* his ships, by whose men we vnderstood of *Speilberg* his Acts and Voyage.

They also told vs, that there were ten ships well furnished at the *Manillas*, their Generall being *John Dirickson Lam* of *Horne*, to set vpon the Spanish fleet, that were comming to *Tarnata*. We also vnderstood, that *Peter Bot* sayling home with foure ships, was cast away, vpon *Mauricius* Island, with three ships, by meanes of a storme that cast him vpon the Clifles, where many of his men and himsele also was drowned, the fourth ship scapt.

October.

The three and twentieth of October we set sayle, and the eight and twentie went by *Iacatra*, where we anchored without the Island: there we found three ships of *Holland*; the *Horne*, the *Eagle*, and the *Trou*, and three English ships. The next night one of our men dyed, which was the first man that dyed that voyage, in the *Unitie*, besides two more that dyed in the *Horne*: the one *John Cornelison Schouten*, our Masters brother, in the South Sea, by the *Dogs Island*, and one about the Coast of *Portugall*: so that vntill then, there dyed but three men in both the ships, and then we had left eightie foure men liuing, all indifferently well.

The one and thirtieth, the ship called *Bantam*, with *John Peterson Koeuen* of *Horne*, President of *Bantam*, for the East India Company, came before *Iacatra*.

The first of Nouember, the President *John Peterson Koeuen* sent for *William Cornelison Schouten* our Master, and the Marchants, to come on land, where being come (in the presence of his Councell there assembled) he told them in the name of the East Indian Companie, that they must leaue their ship and goods there, and deliuer it vp into his hands: and although our Master shewed him many reasons, to perswade the contrarie, saying, that they did them great wrong, they were forced to doe as the President appointed them, who told them, that if they thought they did them wrong, that they should right themselves in *Holland*: and so our ship and goods was stayed and attached there. To receiue the ship and all her furniture, the President appointed two Masters of ships, and two Marchants, which was deliuered by Inuentory vnto them, by our Master & the Marchant. This was done vpon Munday the first day of Nouember, after our reckoning; but vpon a Tuesday the second of Nouember, by our Countreimens reckoning there. The reason of the difference of the time fell out thus: as we sayled Westward from our owne Countrey, and had with the Sunne compassed the Globe of the World, wee had one night, or Sun-setting, lesse then they: and they that come out of the West, and sayle to the East, thereby had one day or Sun-setting more then wee, which make a quarter difference, and so as we made our reckoning of the time then with our selues, and did the like with our Countreimen, that weeke wee lost the Tuesday, leaping from Munday to Wednesday, and so had one weeke of six dayes.

A day difference in computation of time, now caused.

Our ship being in this manner taken from vs, some of our men put themselves into seruice with the East Indian Company. The rest were put into two ships, (that were to goe home into *Holland*) called the *Amsterdam*, and the *Zeland*: their Generall, being *George van Speilberghen*. The Master *William Cornelison Schouten*, *Iacob le Maire*, and ten of our men, went with the Generall in the *Amsterdam*, the Masters name *John Cornelison May*, alias *Menscheater*: and *Aris Clawson*, and the Pilot *Claus Peterson*, with ten others, in the *Zeland*, the Masters name *Cornelis Riemlande* of *Middleburgh*, which set sayle from *Bantam* the fourteenth of December.

The two and thirtieth our Marchant *Iacob le Maire* dyed.

The first of Ianuary, 1617. we lost the sight of the *Zeland*.

The foure and twentieth, we were vnder the Island *Mauricius* at anchor, where wee refreshed our selues; and the thirtieth set sayle from thence.

The



The sixt of March, as we ghest, we past the Cape, but saw it not.

The one and thirtieth, we were vnder the Iland of Saint *Helena*. Where we found the *Zeland*, which arriued there certaine dayes before vs.

The sixt of Aprill after we had retreshed our selues, and taken in fresh water, both our ships set sayle, and the fourteenth of Aprill saw the Iland of *Ascension*.

The three and twentieth we saw two ships to loofe-ward from vs vnder one degree Southward of the Line, but because we could not reach them, wee held on our course. The foure and twentieth in the morning, we were the fift time vnder the Equinoctiall Line, and the eight

and twentieth we saw the North-starre, which wee had not seene in twentie  
moneths before. The first of Iuly we came with the *Amsterdam* into  
*Zeland*, where the day before the *Zeland* likewise was  
arriued : And so performed our Voyage in  
two yeares, and eightene  
dayes.

F I N I S.





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NAVIGATIONS AND  
VOYAGES OF ENGLISHMEN,  
ALONGST THE COASTS OF  
AFRICA, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from  
thence to the RED SEA, the ABASSINE,  
ARABIAN, PERSIAN, INDIAN,  
Shoares, Continents, and  
ISLANDS.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

*Of the first English Voyages to the East-Indies, before the establishment  
of the East-Indian Societie.*

§. I.

*Of SIGHELMVS, MAMDEVILE, STEVENS, FITCH, and diuers other  
English-men, their Indian Voyages.*



Having now taken Sea-view of the Vniuerse, and encompassed the whole Circumference of the Globe, in the former six Voyages; the first of Portugalls and Spaniards, the second and third of English, the three last of Hollanders, therein not a little furthered by English Pilots, and their Notes, as is before obserued of *Melis*, *Adams* and others: Wee are in the next place, to take more exact suruey of the world in the principall Navigations, to the most famous and remote Regions thereof. Glorious and happy were those six Worthies, which procured themselves true Sonnes of the Sunne and *Tethys*, a farre more Germane and Genuine issue, then that daring *Phaeton*, who asked and attempted his Fathers Chariot, but exchanged it and himselfe for this miserable Epitaph.

*Quem si non cecidit, magnis tamen excidit ansis.*

But these haue attained what they sought, and what hee in his Vulcanian Chariot lost, these in Neptunian Chariots gained, and followed the Sunne round about the world; at once seeming to imitate the heavenly Orbes (as so many Terrestrial Planets) and to rule the Elements, spurring the Ayre, bridling the Ocean, contemning the narrow limits of known Earth, & filling the world with their Fame. But Others also, for their Marine adventures are worthy honour, if not compassing that honour of those First Worthies (worthy to be reputed *First*, and *Worthies*) yet in another kind, attempting as great a designe, of as dangerous hazard, long Perigrination, costly expence, and profitable aduantage, as the former. Such were those which haue passed the blacke Guineans, and doubled the \* Hopefull Promontory, from thence piercing into

The English Generalls, *Drake* and *Candish*, first Compassers of the world, and the most fortunate *Magellans* ship, nor himselfe effected amore renowned then happy Voyage, whom the Hollanders followed, guided by English instructions, and Marriners not their fortune.

\*Cape of Good Hope



the Erythrean and Indian Seas, Lands, Islands, enriching our World, vvith a vvork of rarities for contemplation and vse.

Praise of  
Queene Eli-  
zabeth.

Sighe-  
lmus his  
trauells to  
India.  
W. Malm. de  
gestis Regum  
Anglorum & de  
geji. Ep. sc. Aug.

To leaue to other Nations *Sua premia laudi*, the English exploits in this kind are the subiect of this Booke, especially theirs, vvhich since the establisshing of the East Indian Company, or Societie of Marchants, haue traded those parts; vvhich was begun in the happy and flourishing Reigne of that Glorious ELIZABETH, vvhose Name could not end with her life, but as then it filled the Christian, Turkish, Persian, American, Indian, *worlds of Place*; so still it seemes to begin, renue, and flourish in glorious verdure, and to promise a perpetuall Spring thorow all *Worlds and Ages of Time*. Before Her times I confesse diuers of our Nation haue merited honour in this attempt, as *Sigheilmus*, Bishop of *Shire-borne*, sent by that famous and religious King *Alfred*, to Saint *Thomas* his Sepulchre in *India*, whence hee brought precious Spices and Jewels, Anno 883. twice recorded by *William of Malmesbury*: as likewise a certaine English-man mentioned by *Matthew Paris*, Anno 1243. which trauelled the East part of the world with the Tartars in their famous expeditions: That I say nothing of Sir *John Mandenill* his many yeeres trauell through all the East, written by himselfe; and by that famous Geographer *Ortelius*, commended for his Geography (I feare, corrupted by some leaden Legendary spirit in other passages) and many Others, which Histories dignifie in the time of the Holy-land warres, for their Easterne traueells, and many more, no doubt, buried in the ruines of Time, by Obluion and Obscuritie.

In her time wee haue record of diuers Indian Voyages by English-men, before that Societie began.

Thomas Steuens.

First, the Voyage of *Thomas Steuens*, from *Lisbone* to *Goa*, by the Cape of *Good Hope*, was witten by himselfe from *Goa*, the tenth of Nouember, 1579. and is extant in Master *Hakluis* second Tome of Voyages.

Ralph Fitz.

Likewise the Voyage of Master *Ralph Fitz*, by *Syria* and *Babylonia*, to *Ormus*, and thence into, and through many Countries of the *East Indies*, begunne 1583. and continued till 1591. is to be read in the said second Tome of Master *Hakluis*, and in *Linschoten*.

George Raymond  
and James Lan-  
caster.

Also a Voyage, 1591. with three tall Ships, the *Penelope*, Admirall; the *Marchant Royall*, Vice-Admirall; and the *Edward Bonauenture*, Rere-Admirall; to diuers Islands and Regions of the *East Indies*, by Master *George Raymond*; of which the *Marchant Royall*, was sent backe from *Soldanba*, neere the Cape *Bona Esperanza*, which both the other Ships doubled, and neere the Cape *Dos Corientes* were seuered by a storme, and the said Voyage was onely accomplished by Master *James Lancaster* in the Rere-Admirall. For these I referre the desirous Reader to Master *Hakluis* Printed Booke. This last Voyage I haue by mee, written by *Henrie May*, Purser of the said Ship; but because his relations are principally touching the accidents in their returne, wherein he was cast away in a French Ship on the *Bermudas*, I haue refer'd that discourse to a fitter place.

English-men  
in Dutch Voy-  
ages.

In the fourth place, wee may reckon those English-men in diuers of those Dutch voyages about the Globe, *Timothy Shotten*, *Thomas Spring*, *John Cald-well*, and others. Yea the name of English-men were so famous in the East, that the Hollanders in their first trade thither, varnished their obscuritie with English lustre, and gaue out themselves English.

John Newbury.

Moreouer, Master *John Newbury*, was not onely companion with Master *Ralph Fitz* in his said Voyage, and prisoner with him at *Goa*: but before that, in the yeere 1580. had trauelled to *Ormus*, and thence into the Continent (as by his Iournall, which I haue, in fitter place may appeare) passing through the Countries of *Persia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, *Natolia*, to *Constantinople*, and thence into *Danubius*, *Valachia*, *Polonia*, *Prussia*, *Denmarke*, and so into *England*.

## ¶ II.

### The Voyage of Master BENIAMIN WOOD, into the East Indies, and the miserable disastrous successe thereof.



IN the yeere 1596. by the charges principally of Sir *Robert Dudley*, was set forth a Fleete of three Ships, the *Beare*, the *Beares Whelpe*, and the *Beniamin*, committed vnto the command and conduct of Master *Beniamin Wood*. The Marchants imployed in this Voyage, were, Master *Richard Allot*, and Master *Thomas Bromfield*, of the Citie of *London*. These men for their better furtherance, intending to pierce as farre as *China*, obtained the gracious Letters of Queene *Elizabeth* of famous memory, to the King of *China* in their behalfe, which begin in this manner.

See the whole  
Letter. Hak.  
To. 3. pag. 53.

ELIZABETHA, Dei gratia, Anglia, Francia, & Hibernia Regina, vera & Christiana fidei contra omnes falso Christi nomen profitentes inuictissima Propugnatrix, &c. Altissimo, Serenissimo, Principi, Potentissimo Magni Regni China Dominatori, summo in illis Asia Partibus, Insulifq;



*fulisq; adiacentibus Imperatori, & Magno in Orientalibus Mundi Regionibus Monarcha, salutem, multosq; cum omni optimarum rerum copia & affluentia letos & felices annos. Cum honesti & fideles subditi nostri, qui has literas nostras ad Serenitatem vestram perferunt, RICHARDVS ALLOT & THOMAS BROMFIELD, &c. Data in Palatio nostro Grenonici XI. Mens. Iulij Anno Christi 1596. annoq; nostri Regni XXXVIII.*

This their honourable expedition, and gracious commendation by her Maiestie to the King of *China* in their marchandizing affaires, had not answerable successe; but hath suffered a double disaster; first, in the miserable perishing of the Fleet, and next in the losse of the Historie and Relation of that Tragedie. Some broken Plankes, as after a shipwracke, haue yet beene  
10 encountered from the West Indies, which giue vs some notice of this East Indian disadventure. *Qua Regio in ipsis nostri non plena laboris?* This intelligence wee haue by the intercepted Letters of *Licentiate Alcasar de Villa Señor*, Auditor of the Royall Audience of Saint *Domingo*, and Iudge of Commission in *Puerto Rico*, and Captaine Generall of the Prouinces of New *Andalusia*, written to the King and his Royall Councell of the Indies. An extract whereof, so much as concerneth this businesse, here followeth. Wherein, let not the imputation of Robbery or Piracie trouble the Reader, being the words of a Spaniard, and the deeds of English in the time of warre twixt vs and *Spaine*.

20 **A**N other Commission your Royall Audience committed vnto mee, to punish offenders that did vsurpe a great quantitie of goods of your Maiesties, in the Island of *Vtias*. Of the state that I had in the end of the last yeere, I sent relation to your Maiestie, inserting a declaration of one *Thomas* an English man, of the goods that in the said Island hee and his companions had, and for this onely I will make a summarie relation of the Case, and the state of the Suite, by the which will appeare, that out of *England* went three Shippes for the *India* orientall of *Portugall*, which tooke three *Portugall* Shippes, subiects to your Maiestie, whereof one of  
30 them came from the Citie of *Goa*, and from the Captaine they tooke a great rich stone, which he said hee carried for your Maiestie, the proportion whereof went in the said Relation. They had in them also many bagges of Royalls of eight and foure, for the pay of the Souldiers, which your Maiestie hath in Garrison, in a Castle Frontire of the said *India*; and the said English-men rob'd them of it, and much more goods appertaining to your Maiesties subiects: and by sicknes of the English-men, remained only foure, which in a boat put all the goods they could, which they had robbed from your Maiestie and your subiects, and with it chanced to a River in the Island of *Vtias*, three leagues from this Island: where they tocke out their goods on land, where their Boat was sunke and lost: so they remained on th' Island, with only one small Boat made of boords, which they had taken from certaine Fisher-men, at the head of Saint *John* of this Island: with the which they came for water hither, and left one *George* an English-man, one of the foure that arriued in the said Island of *Vtias*. Who being found by *Don Rodrigo de Fuentes*, *Iuan Lopez de Aliceda*, *Iuan Morales*, *Iuan Martinis*, *Iuan Ruiz*, *Pedro Chamacho*; He gaue them notice of the things aboue said, and of the Stone, Stones, Gold, Plate, Testones,  
40 and other goods that was in the said Island, and the parts and place where the three English-men and their goods they might find. Whereupon they consulted and agreed, to passe to the said Island of *Vtias* to possesse and benefit themselues with the goods that they should there find, and so they past ouer, and carried with them a Letter of *George* the English-man, that his companions should deliuer themselues to them, with their weapons and goods. And being come neere to the place where the English-men were, they set vp a white Flagge of Peace, and the English-men seeing this, set vp another, and so came peaceably to speake together, where they promised them their Faith and Friendship: whereupon the English-men yeelded themselues, with their armes and goods to the said *Don Rodrigo*, and his consorts: who tooke possession of all, and parted among themselues the money, and hid and kept secret the Stone, and Stones, Gold,  
50 Plate and other goods, leauing a small quantitie of Plate in barres, and Silkes to make this small part manifest, that the truth might not be knowne what quantitie of Stones, Gold, Plate, and the rest of the goods they vsurped. They consulted and agreed to murder the English-men, with whom they had eaten, drunke, and slept in company of peace: who hauing kil'd *Richard* and *Daniel*, and would haue kil'd *Thomas*, hee escaped into the mountaine from them, and the said *Don Rodrigo* and his consorts came backe againe to this Island, with intent to kill, as they did kil *George* the English-man with poyson, & sent backe againe to the said Island of *Vtias*, to seeke *Tomas* for to kill him also; who with a piece of Timber passed ouer to this Island with great admiration. They hauing knowledge thereof, sought all the meanes they could to kill him. Here the said *Don Rodrigo*, and *Iuan Lopez, de Aliceda*, came to this Citie and before the  
60 *Gouernour* manifested and made denuntiation of a small quantitie of goods that they found in *Vtias*, and the rest of their complices presented themselues for witnesse, falsly prouing that they had found no more goods; then that little that they there manifested, and that they had kil'd three English-men in fight to get it. And thus they plotted many false informations, before *Christo vall de Mercado*, a chiefe Officer, which was sent with Commission of your Go-

An extract of a Spanish Letter which I found amongst Master Hak-luits papers.

Three Portugall Shippes taken by the English.



uernour, to fetch the Plate and goods so manifested, and by their perswasion many false witnesses haue deposed, who haue vsed many tricks, inuentions, cauills & false deuises to couer the truth; and they sent by three passages to the Island of *Utias*, to approue the so killing of the three Englishmen, and that their manifestation was true, intending to remaine with the rest, which they vsurped, who vnderstanding that there were diligences done to approue their delict, some of them haue broken the Prisons and Goales, and fled out of them, especially the sayd *Don Rodrigo de Fuentes*. Who being in prison with a chaine and bolts, and two Souldiers for guard, hee tyled off his Irons, broke the prisons, and fledde away by night, and carried with him two Blackemoores of his that were attached for your Maiestie, and went to the Riuer of *Ton* two leagues from the Citie, where hee remained a long time in sight of this Citie, with a Horse, Lance, Pistol and Sword, whom being fauoured of many kinsfolkes and friends of his wife, I cannot apprehend, although I did many diligences, in the meane while I tooke the examination of his complices who haue confest the deed, and that the said *Don Rodrigo* is Actor of all; by whose counsell and direction they were all gouerned. But they haue not declared all the Stones, Gold, Plate, and Amber, saying that they were in the Island separated and deuided, that the one might hide his things without the priuie of the other. The proouances and likelihoods doe much charge the said *Don Rodrigo*, and therefore I haue proceeded against him, for Absence and Rebellion, and they discouered in their confessions all their Complices; whom I haue examined for witnesses one against another, being a case wherein Complices may serue for witnesses. This cause being concluded by an extraordinarie diligence, I haue apprehended him, and for that the suite is of two thousand leaues, I haue made a memoriall to take his confession of more then two hundred questions, and he hath confessed almost as much as his Complices, and denieth to haue the great stone and the rest; the said *Don Rodrigo* hauing taken from *Daniel* the Englishman two chaines of Gold, the one hanged with an *Agnus Dei*, and the other with a Crucifixe of Gold, and with it a collar of Gold, which *Thomas* the Englishman declareth to haue fiftie pieces Ameled, to bee worne for a womans chaine, with certaine Brallets and Rings of Gold with many small Stones: which declareth the said *Iuan Martines*, one of his Complices, and the said *Don Rodrigo* onely confesseth two Chaines and three Rings, which he saith were stolne from him, and his said Complices, hauing declared that three bags of Testones, of eight and foure Royalls which fell to the part of him and *Iohn Ruiz*, they had past to this Island, which the said *Iohn Ruiz* hath confest, and as witnesse hath declared that hee brought them, and carried them by the order of the said *Don Rodrigo* vnto his house, which hee will not deliuer, saying, That they were stolne from him in the mountaine where hee did hide them: and his Complices hauing declared that he tooke in the said Island, a great masse of broken Siluer, which *Thomas* the Englishman declareth to be fiftie pound weight, the said *Don Rodrigo* denieth the same. And hauing taken more two sackes of Plate in barres, which by witnesse I did prooue to weigh more then two hundred pound weight each of them; hee hath deliuered of all this onely tenne pound and a halfe, and saith that he spent and sold twelue pound, and a pound and a halfe was stolne out of his house, and that hee gaue to *Christopher de Mercado* twentie and six pound, when he went with Commission from your Gouvernour to fetch the Plate manifested: he denieth all the rest, affirming that he brought from the Island of *Utias* a Pot full of Plate, which hee saith fell from him into a Riuer. And hauing prooued that he carried tokens from *George* the Englishman where he should find the great Stone in a Presse, made vp betweene two Boords, hee denieth the same: and hauing prooued that the first time that hee went to the Island, hee brought thence a Purse of Veluet, without telling or shewing to his companions what was in it at the mouth thereof, did appeare certaine Boords of the *Volume* of two hands together, and it is presumed it was that whereinto *Thomas* the Englishman declareth the Stone was put, and hee will not deliuer the said Purse, saying, that it was stolne from him: he declareth and manifesteth some little pieces of wood that he brought in it, and two witnesses his Complices declare that those small pieces that he manifesteth he brought out of the same Island many dayes after, being sent thither by order of the said *Christopher de Mercado*. Many other tokens and presumptions concur that hee hath the said Stone and the rest, and the rest of the Stones. It is likewise prooued, presently after they returned from the said Island, the first time that they passed thither, it was publicly said and famed, that the said *Don Rodrigo* had found a Stone of great value, and to couer the truth hee was furnished with many Informations, which I haue prooued to bee false, which were past before *Christopher de Mercado*, when hee went with the said Commission to bring the goods manifested: for the which the said *Don Rodrigo* gaue him the said twentie six pound of Plate, and hee and his Complices one hundred two and twentie Crownes of Gold, and foure hundred and fiftie Royalls of Foure, and other things of the goods that they vsurped in the said Island. The said *Don Rodrigo* directed his Complices what they should say and do, and therefore they told not the truth in many examinations that I tooke of them, till such time that the said *Don Rodrigo* was fled out of the prison: so saying of his counsel, they presently declared and confessed the fact, will serue for witnesses, and it doth appeare by many other witnesses that they before denyed the truth, and after his escape they declared the same, and concealed the same before



before at the request and perswasion of the said *Don Rodrigo* also appeareth, that hee sent three small Caruels to the Iland, to the place where they said they had killed three English men in fight, and he confesseth he did the same, to the end that his first Declaration might seeme to bee true, that he sent them by order of the said *John Lopez de Alyceda*, Constable of the vale of *Coa, mo*; which hath no Iurisdiction Ciuill nor Criminall. So I apprehended him and committed him- and hauing brought the said *Thomas* English man, to this Citie who declaring before your Go- uernour by Interpreter the fact of this Sute, the said *Don Rodrigo* procured to kill him, and for the same he requested of the Licentiate *Antonio de Robles* Physician, a proportion of Poyson, which both he and the said *John Martine* haue declared: and appearing that the said *John Lopez* did not  
 10 passe to the said Iland as Constable, nor carryed with him any Scriuener of two that were pre- sent when they embarked themselues, and hauing confest, and as a witnesse declared that he past to the Iland, not as an Officer, but as a companion, and therefore tooke his share of the Te- stones, the said *Don Rodrigo* holdeth for his principall defence, to haue passed to the Iland with a Constable, and that all was done by his order, and that the said Informations were false. I haue charged the said *Don Rodrigo*, of these and other offences that by the Processe appeare, and commanded that he might haue a Copie of them that with in the space of fiftene dayes, hee might alleage and proue what was conuenient in his right, with all charge of publication, con- clution and icitation for all the acts and sentences, leauing the Processe in Rebellion made ag ainst him in his force and vigor. He let passe the said Terme, and I granted him other three Termes of  
 20 fiftene dayes, which likewise he let passe, and in the end of them hee refused me, and generally all the Inhabitants in this Citie, and thirtie leagues about it, excepting only sixe friends of his, and your Royall Officers they refused. So I accompanied my selfe only with one Bailiffe for the time of tryall, reseruing to haue power to accompanie my selfe for the sentence with your Au- ditor which is looked for heere, and commeth to this Port for your Royall Audience of *Santo Domingo*, and I granted him the fourescore dayes of the Law, and hee hath made no prooffe nor can make none. For all that were in the said Iland of *Vtiar* haue declared the delicts of the which the said *Don Rodrigo* is charged, and there will bee found no other by whom to make prooffe of any thing to the contrary: and the cause being concluded, the said Audites past without entring into this Port. And the said Bailiffe and other persons that I pretended to accompany mee refu-  
 30 sed me, saying, that if they did Iustice, the Kindred of the Wife of the said *Don Rodrigo*, which haue taken his part would doe them harme, and in not doing the same, they did charge their con- sciences: and notwithstanding any person with whom I might be accompanied, that might not be without suspect, and the refusall was so generall and auailable, I accompanied my selfe at the last with Batcheler *Ioseph Durebolledone*, Naturall of the Iland of the Canaries, which chanced to come to this Port. Likewise the said *Iuan Ruiz* being Prisoner, brake his Prison and Gaole, and withdrew himselfe into the Cathedrall Church of this Citie, and made himselfe strong in the Tower from whence I gate him, and a Sute was followed before the Iudge Ecclesiasticall, where I defended your Maiesties right, and made an Information in the which I alleaged all the said goods to belong to your Maiestie, hee hauing committed Robbery in the vsurpation of it, and o-  
 40 ther grievous Delicts, that they ought not to enioy the Immunitie Ecclesiasticall which hee pretended: and with many iudgements and opinions of Theologie, the Iudge Ecclesiasticall gaue sentence that he ought not to be releued of the said Immunitie Ecclesiasticall, for that by the said Information may be better vnderstood. This Sute and Iustice of your Maiestie, which I haue thought good to send; and if to the contrary the said *Don Rodrigo* doe write, may be vnder- stood the credit that may be giuen to one that hath done such Delicts; and made so many In- uentions and false Informations: to obscure and remayne without punishment with your Roy- all goods.

A conclusion of the Sute was made with them all, and I gaue and pronounced sentence, in the which I condemned the said *Iuan Lopez*, exaliced *Iuan Ruis*, *Ioan Martines*, *Pedro Camacho* to death, and losse of halfe their goods applyed for your Maiesties Chamber: and more I condem-  
 50 ned the afore-said *in solidum*, and that within fve dayes of the notification of this my sentence, they giue and deliuer the goods that they shared, all that yet remayneth vndeliuered to the accomplishment of that which *Thomas* the English hath declared, therefore said, and his compa- nions to haue taken in the Iland of *Vtiar*, of which they afore-said, and Complices were posselt of, hid and kept secret, that it might be put into your Maiesties Chests, whose it is and to whom it doth belong.

The same sentence I gaue with my Companion against the said *Don Rodrigo defuentes*, and re- maynes pronounced in secret, hauing others to sentence that they may come forth together in the pronuntiation. I command that within the fve dayes they deliuer the said goods: which not ac-  
 60 complishing, I did command a Mandate to be dispatched, that they may bee executed: with the which, I hope, to discouer these goods, and they shall be restored to your Maiestie, for the which I will doe all the diligence possible for my intention is not to execute them. And thus God keep the Catholike person of your Maiestie. From *Portorico* the second of October, 1601.



## p. III.

*The Trauailes of Iohn MILDENHALL into the Indies, and in the Countreyes of Persia, and of the Great Mogor or Mogull (where he is reported afterwards to haue died of \* Poyson) written by himselfe in two Letters following.*

\* See my Pilgrimage. lib. 3. cap. 7. S. 4.

Aprill 27.  
1599.

May. 1600.

Aleppo.

Iuly 7. 1600.

Bir.

Urfa.  
Caracmit.  
Bitelis.

Van.  
A great Lake  
off salt water.

Nacshian.  
Chiulfal.  
Sultania.  
Casbin.  
Com.  
Casban.

Yesd.  
Sigistam.  
Candabar.

**H**He twelfth of February, in the yeere of our Lord God 1599. I, Iohn Mildenhall of London, Merchant, tooke vpon me a Voyage from London towards the East-Indies, in the good Ship called the *Hector* of London, Richard Parsons being Master, which carried a Present to the *Grand Seigneur* in the same Voyage. The seuen and twentieth of April, 1599. we arriued at *Zante*, where I frighted a *Satca*, and went into the Island of *Cio*, from thence to *Smyrna*, and from thence to *Constantinople*, where I arriued the nine and twentieth of October, 1599. and there I staid about my Merchandize till the first of May, 1600. Sir Henry Lillo beeing then Embassader: vpon which day I passed from *Constantinople* to *Scanderone* in Asia, where in company of a *Chau*, and some fixe other Turkes, I tooke my Voyage for *Aleppo* our land, and arriued in *Aleppo* the foure and twentieth day of the said May in safetie, without any trouble or molestation by the way, and there abode two and fortie dayes, finding there Master *Richard Conlthrust* for Consull. And the seuenth of Iuly, 1600. I departed from *Aleppo*, in companie with many other Nations, as Armenians, Persians, Turkes, and diuers others, to the number of fixe hundred people in our Carrauan, and onely of English M. Iohn Cartwright, Preacher: from whence we went to *Bir*, which is within three dayes iourney, and stands vpon the edge of the riuer *Euphrates*. From thence we went to *Urfa*, which is five dayes iourney, which we found very hot. From thence we went to *Caracmit*, which is foure dayes iourney. From thence to *Bitelis*, a City vnder the gouernment of a Nation called the *Courdes*, yet vnder the subiection of *Constantinople*, which is seuen dayes iourney: and from thence to *Van*, which is three dayes iourney from *Bitelis*, a City of great strength, and by the side of the Castle is a great Lake of salt water, nauigable, and is in compasse nine dayes iourney about, which I my selfe haue rowed round about. And once a yeere, at the comming down of the snow waters from the Mountaines, there is abundance of Fish, which come of themselves to one end of the Lake, which I may compare to our *Herring*-time at *Termonth*, where the Countrey-people doe resort from diuers places, and catch the said Fish in great abundance, which they salt, and dry, and keepe them all the yeare for their food: the Fish are as big as Pilcherds. From thence we went to *Nacshian*, which is fixe dayes iourney: and from *Nacshian* to *Chiulfal*, which is halfe a dayes iourney, and there we stayed eightene dayes. From thence we went to *Sultania*, and from thence to *Casbin* in *Persia*, which is fifteene dayes iourney, and there we abode thirty dayes. From thence to *Com*, which is three dayes iourney: from thence we went to *Casban*, which was seuen dayes iourney. From thence M. Cartwright departed from vs, and went to *Spauhoan*, the chiefe Citie in *Persia*: from *Casban* to *Yesd*, which is tenne dayes iourney. From thence I went to *Curman*, which is tenne dayes iourney; and from thence to *Sigistam*, which is foureteene daies iourney: and from thence to *Candabar*, which is also foureteene dayes iourney.

*The second Letter of Iohn MILDENHALL to M. RICHARD STAPER, written from Casbin in Persia, the third day of October, 1606.*

Labora.

He arriueth at  
Agra, 21 dayes  
iourney from  
Labora.  
His present to  
the King of  
Mogor.

**V**VOrshipfull Sir, my duty remembred: Not hauing any other of more auncient loue then your selfe, I haue thought good to remember the manifold curtesies receiued, and partly to requite them with the first newes of the successe of this my Voyage, vnto the Court of the Great King of *Mogor* and *Cambaia*. At my arriuall in *Labora* the of 1603. I dispatched a Poste for the Kings Court with my Letters to his Maiestie, that I might haue his free leaue to come vnto him, and treat of such businesse as I had to doe with him from my Prince. Who forthwith answered my Letters, and wrote to the Gouernour of *Labora*, to vse mee with all honour and curtesie, and to send a garde of horse and foote with me to accompanie me to *Agra*, where his Court was, beeing one and twentie dayes iourney from *Labora*; and beeing neere arriued, I was very well met; and an house with all things necessarie was appointed for mee by the King: where reposing my selfe two dayes, the third day I had audience, and presented his Maiestie with nine and twentie great Horles, very faire and good, such as were hardly found better in those parts: some of them cost me fiftie or threescore pounds an horse, with diuerse Jewels, Rings, and Earerings, to his great liking. And so I was dismissed with his great fauour and content.

The



The third day after, hauing made before a great man my friend, he called me into his Councell: and comming into his presence, He demanded of me, what I would haue, and what my businesse was. I made him answere, That his greatnesse and renowned kindnesse vnto Christians was so much blased through the World, that it was come into the furthestmost parts of the Westerne Ocean, and arriued in the Court of our Queene of *Englands* most excellent Maiestie; who desired to haue friendship with him, and as the *Portugals* and other Christians had trade with his Maiestie, so her Subiects also might haue the same, with the like fauours; and farther, because there haue beene long Warres betweene her Maiestie and the King of *Portugall*, that if any of their ships or Portes were taken by our Nation, that he would not take it in euill part, but suffer vs to enioy them to the vse of our Queenes Maiestie. All this the King commanded to be written downe by his Secretarie; and said, that in short space he would giue me answere. With that I withdrew my selfe with leaue and went to my house. Within eight or ten dayes after hee sent me home in money to the value of fise hundred pound sterling, the first time with very comfortable speeches. Shortly after, as I was informed, hee sent to certaine Iesuities, which liued there in great honour and credit, two in *Agra*, and two others in *Lahora*, and shewed them my demands: whereat the Iesuities were in an exceeding great rage. And whereas before wee were friends, now we grew to be exceeding great Enemies. And the King asking their opinion in this matter, They flatly answered him, That our Nation were all Theeues, and that I was a Spye sent thither for no other purpose to haue friendship with his Maiestie, but that afterward our men might come thither, and get some of his Ports, and so put his Maiestie to much trouble: saying withall, that they had eleuen yeares serued his Maiestie, and were bound by their Bread and Salt that they had eaten to speake the truth, although it were against Christians. With these and many more such speeches, The King and his Councell were all flat against mee, and my demands; but made no shew thereof to me in any respect: but I knew it by friends, which I had in his Court. Afterward they caused fise Commandements to bee drawne and sent them mee, withall things that I had written: sauing, they had left out the taking of the ships, and the Ports of the *Portugals*. Which when I had read, I presently went to the Court, and made demand of the other Articles. The King answered, that hee would againe speake with his Councell, and make answere. In this manner rested my businesse, and euery day I went to the Court, and in euery eightene or twentie dayes I put vp *Ars* or Petitions: and still he put mee off with good words, and promised that this day and to morrow I should haue them. In this manner, seeing my selfe delayed, and being at exceeding great expenses of eightene or twentie Seruants, Horsemen and Foot, I withdrew my selfe from going to the Court, in so much that in thurtye dayes I went not. At length the King remembring me, sent to call for me: At my comming he asked the cause why I came not, as I was wont? I answered, that I had come into his Countrey only vpon the great renoume of his Excellencie, and had wasted fise yeares in trauaile, and could not obtaine so much as a Commandement at his hands, which was wholly for his profit, and nothing for his losse: adding, that if I had asked some greater reward of him, hee would much more haue denyed me. With that he presently called for Garments for me of the Christian fashion very rich and good, and willed me not to be sad, because euery thing that I would haue should be accomplished to mine owne content. So with these sweet words I passed fixe monethes more: and then seeing nothing accomplished I was exceeding wearie of my lingring, and could do nothing; and the rather for that I was out of money.

This Voyage was made in *Q. Elizabeths* Reigne.

The Iesuities calumination of our Nation.

Fise yeares spent in trauel.

Rich garments bestowed by the grand *Mogor* vpon Master *John Mildenhall*.

The sundry practices of the Iesuities.  
1.

2.

An *Armenian* serued him foure yeares for Interpreter.

He studied fixe monethes the *Perlian* tongue in *Agra*.

Many yeares delay.

I should haue declared before how the Iesuities day and night sought how to work my displeasure. First, they had giuen to the two chiefeest Counsellors that the King had, at the least fise hundred pounds sterling a piece, that they should not in any wise consent to these demands of mine: so that, when I came to present them, they would not accept of any thing at my hands, although I offered them very largely: and where I had any friendship, they would by all meanes seeke to disgrace me. But God euer kept me in good reputation with all men.

Moreouer, whereas I had hired in *Aleppo* an *Armenian* named *Seffur*, to whom I gaue twentie Duckets the moneth, which serued me very well for mine Interpreter foure yeares; now comming neere to the point of my speciall businesse, the Iesuities had soone wrought with him also in such sort, that he quarrelled with me and went his way: whereby I was destitute of a *Drugman*, and my selfe could speake little or nothing. Now in what case I was in these remote Countreies without Friends, Money, and an Interpreter, wisemen may iudge. Yet afterward I got a Schoolemaster, and in my house day and night I so studied the *Perlian* Tongue, that in fixe monethes space I could speake it something reasonably. Then I went in great discontentment to the King, and gaue him to vnderstand how the Iesuities had dealt with me in all points, and desired his Maiesties Licence to depart for mine owne Countrey, where I might haue redresse for mine iniuries receiued; and withall told him, how small it would stand with so great a Princes honour, as his Maiestie had report to be, to delay me so many yeares only vpon the reports of two Iesuities, who, I would proue were not his friends, nor cared not for his profit, nor honour; and desired a day of hearing, that now I my selfe might make plaine vnto his Maiestie (which for want of a *Drugman* before I could not doe,) the great abuses of these Iesuities in this his Court:



Court: beseeching you againe to grant mee licence to depart, and that I might not bee kept any longer with delayes. At these words, the King was moued against the Iesuities; and promised that vpon the Sunday following, I should bee heard, and that the Iesuities should be present. This speech I had with the King vpon the Wednesdai. Comming before the place of Councell the Sunday following, there were met all the great States of the Court to heare the controuersie betweene vs.

The Queenes  
Ambassadour  
Leiger at Con-  
stantinople.

At the first the King called me, and demanded what iniuries I had receiued of the Iesuities: I answered, That they had abused my Prince and Countrey, most falsly, calling vs all *Theemes*; and if they had beene of another sort and calling, I would haue made them eate their words, or I would haue lost my life in the quarrell. Secondly in saying, That vnder colour of marchandise wee would inuade your Countrey, and take some of your Forts, and put your Maiestie to great trouble. Now that your Maiestie may vnderstand, the vnt ruth of these mens false suggestions; know you all, that her Maiestie hath her Ambassadour Leiger in *Constantinople*, and euerie three yeeres most commonly doth send a new, and call home the old, and at the first coming of euery Ambassadour shee sendeth not them emptie, but with a great and princely present: according whereunto her Highnesse intent is to deale with your Maiestie. This profit of rich presents and honour, like to redound to your Maiestie by hauing league of amitie, and entercourie with Christian Princes, and to haue their Ambassadours Leigers in your Court, these men by their craftie practices would depriue you of. And our Ambassadours being resident, as pledges in your Court, what dare any of our Nation doe against your Highnesse, or any of your subjects. Vpon these and other such like speeches of mine. The King turned to his Nobles and said, That all that I said was reason; and so they all answered. After this I demanded of the Iesuities before the King; In these twelue yeeres space that you haue serued the King, how many Ambassadours, and how many presents haue you procured to the benefit of his Maiestie: With that the Kings eldest sonne stood out, and said vnto them, naming them, That it was most true, that in a eleuen or twelue yeaes, not one came either vpon Ambassage, or vpon any other profit vnto his Maiestie. Hereupon the King was very merrie, and laughed at the Iesuities, not hauing one word to answer. Then I said, If it please your Maiestie, I will not onely procure an Ambassadour, but also a present at my safe returne againe into your Countrey. Diuers other demands and questions were at that time propounded by the King and his Nobles vnto me: and I answered them all in such sort, as the King called his Vice-Roy, (which before was by the Iesuities bribes made my great enemy) and commanding him, that whatsoeuer priuiledges or commandements I would haue, hee should presently write them, seale them, and giue them me without any more delay or question. And so within thirtie dayes after I had them signed to my owne contentment, and, as I hope, to the profit of my Nation. Afterwards I went and presented them vnto the Prince his eldest sonne, and demanded of him the like commandements: which he most willingly granted, and shortly after were deliuered vnto me. And so departing from the Court, I brought them with me into *Persia*: which are here in *Casbin* with my selfe, readie to doe you any seruice: and I would haue come my selfe when I wrote this Letter, saue that there were two Italian Marchants in *Agra*, that knew of all my proceedings: whom I doubted, as I had good cause, least they would doe mee some harme in *Bagdet*, or some other places; they alwayes being enemies to our Nation, that they should find any new trade this way, as to you it is well knowne: And within foure moneths I meane to depart by the way of *Mosconia*; where arriving I will not faile but satisfie you at large of all matters.

The great  
Mogor granted  
large priuiledges  
to Master Iohn  
Mildenhall.  
He departeth  
from *Agra*.  
Iohn Milden-  
hall returned  
homeward by  
*Casbin*.  
The Italians  
are our ene-  
mies for see-  
king trade in  
those parts.

Your Worships to command,  
JOHN MILDENHALL.

#### ¶. IIII.

*The Voyage of Captaine JOHN DAVIS, to the Easterne India, Pilot in  
a Dutch Ship; Written by himselfe.*

TO THE RIGHT HONOVABLE, MY EXCEEDING  
good Lord and Master, ROBERT Earle of Essex, &c.

**R**ight honourable, and mine exceeding good Lord, my dutie must aduise mee, to present this Iournall of mine East Indian Voyage, to your Lordships most iudiciall view. 60  
Wherein I haue vsed my best diligence to discharge my duty, as neere as my slender capacitie could effect the same, according to those directions which your Lordship gaue mee in charge at my departure; when it pleased you to imploy mee in this Voyage, for the discouering of these Easterne parts of the world, to the seruice of her Maiestie, & the good of our Country.



Country. What I have seene, I doe signifie in this Iournall to your Lordship: and that which I have learned by the report of other Nations (when it shall please God to make me happie by your Lordships fauourable presence) I will make farther knowne to your Lordship, aswell of the King of Portugall his places of Trade and strength, as of the enterchangeable trading of those Eastern Nations among themselves: beginning at *Cesala*, which is his first footing beyond the Cape of *Buena Esperanza*, and so proceeding to *Mosambique*, *Ormuz*, *Diu*, *Goa*, *Conlam*, *Onor*, *Mangalor*, *Cochin*, *Columbo*, *Negapatan*, *Porto Grande* in *Bengala*, and *Malacca*: As also to the Citie of *Macao*, in the Prouince of *Canton* in the famous Kingdome of *China*. and to the Ilands of the *Moluccos*, and *Amboyno*. Which places are all in the Portugals possession seruing for his securitie and refuge. Moreouer he hath trade in *Monomotapa*, *Melinde*, *Aden*, *Arabia*, *Cambaia*, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, *Balaguete*, and *Orixa*. Of all which Nations there bee some dwelling in *Achen* in the Ile of *Sumatra*, trading in marchandize, where I have met with Arabians, and a Nation called *Rumos*, who haue traded many hundred yeares to *Achen*. These *Rumos* \* come from *Constantinople* is called New Rome, and thence in the East, the Turkes are called *Rumos*, of that their chiefe Citie.

10 and refuge. Moreouer he hath trade in *Monomotapa*, *Melinde*, *Aden*, *Arabia*, *Cambaia*, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, *Balaguete*, and *Orixa*. Of all which Nations there bee some dwelling in *Achen* in the Ile of *Sumatra*, trading in marchandize, where I have met with Arabians, and a Nation called *Rumos*, who haue traded many hundred yeares to *Achen*. These *Rumos* \* come from *Constantinople* is called New Rome, and thence in the East, the Turkes are called *Rumos*, of that their chiefe Citie.

20 which is in viall payment. That of Gold is named a *Mas*, and is nine pence halfe penie neere. Those of Lead are called *Caxas*: whereof a thousand sixe hundred make one *Mas*. Good my Lord, remember the poore Widowes Mite. For surely, if I could doe more in this seruice; or otherwise, it should not be omitted. From *Middleborough* this first of August, 1600.

Your Lordships most dutifull Seruant,

JOHN DAVIS.

30

A briefe Relation of Master JOHN DAVIS, chiefe Pilot to the Zelanders in their East-India Voyage, departing from Middleborough the fifteenth of March, Anno 1598.

THE fifteenth hereof we departed from *Flushing* with two ships in Consort, the *Lion*, and *Lionesse*: the *Lion* being foure hundred tuns, had in her a hundred three and twentie persons: the *Lionesse* two hundred and fiftie tuns, had a hundred persons. *Mulbrom*, *Clarke*, and *Monef* of *Middleborough* Owners and only Aduenturers thereof. *Cornelius Howteman* chiefe Commander of both ships, hauing a Commission from *Graue Maurice*, by the name Generall. The two and twentieth we anchored in *Tor Bay* with bad winde.

The seuenth we set saile, the twentieth we had sight of *Porto Santo*, the three and twentieth we fell with *Palma*: the last hereof we came with the Ilands of *Cape Verde*.

The first we anchored at *Saint Nicholas*, one of the said Ilands in latitude sixteene degrees, sixteene minutes. Here wee watered the seuenth, wee departed the ninth, wee fell with *Saint Iago*.

The ninth we fell with the Coast of *Brasill*, in seven degrees of South latitude, not being able to double *Cape Saint Augustine*: for being about the Line we had very vnconstant weather, and bad windes, being in this desperate case we shaped our course for a small Ile named *Fernando Lonronha*, in foure degrees of South latitude, the fifteenth we anchored vpon the North-side thereof in eightene fathomes. We found in this Ile twelue Negroes, eight men, foure women. It is a very fruitfull Ile, and hath exceeding good water, it aboundeth with Goates, it hath also Beefes, Hogs, Hens, Mellons, and Ginnie Corne: with plentie of fish and Sea-birds. These Negroes were placed here by the Portugals to manure the Ile. Three yeeres past in which there hath no ships bene with them.

The six and twentieth we departed from this Ile, the wind at East North-East, the last hereof we doubled *Cape Saint Augustine*.

The tenth we passed the *Abrollos*, which was the greatest of our feare (the shoals lye from the Coast of *Brasill*, farre off into the Sea, in one and twentie degrees and are dangerous. Wherevpon our *Baase*, (for so a Dutch Captaine is called) chose a Master of Mis-rule by the name *Kesar*. Now the authoritie of Riot lay in this disordered Officer, who after Dinner could neither salute his friends, nor vnderstand the Lawes of Reason. And those that ought to haue bene most respectiue, were both lawlesse and witlesse. In this dissolute manner we wasted three dayes, which being ended, and hauing againe recovered our former discretion, wee shaped our course for *Cape*

Aprill.

May.

Iune.

Fernando Ls.  
ronha.

August.

September.  
Abrollos.

Bona



*Bona Esperanza*, sayling towards the Court of *Bacchus*, vnto whom this Idolatrous Sacrifice was made, as by the end appeareth.

November.  
Bay of *Saldania*.

The eleuenth we anchored in the Bay of *Saldania*, in thirtie foure degrees of the South Pole, ten leagues short of Cape *Bona Esperanza*, where there are three fresh Riuer. The people came to vs with Oxen and Sheep in great plentie, which they sold for pieces of old Iron, and spike Nailes. The best of that we bought, cost not more then the value of one penie in old Iron. Their Cattell are large, and vnder seuerall markes, hauing vpon the backe by the fore shoulders a great lumpe of flesh like a Camels backe. Their Sheepe haue exceeding great tailes only of fat, weighing twelue or fourteene pounds: they haue no wooll but a long shag haire. The people are not circumcised, their colour is Oliue blacke, blacker then the Brasilians, their haire curled and blacke as the Negroes of *Angola*, their words are for the most part in-articulate, and in speaking they clocke with the Tongue like a brood Hen, which clocking and the word are both pronouced together, verie strangely. 10

They goe all naked, hauing only a short Cloke of Skinnes and Sandals tyed to their feet, they paint their faces with diuers colours, they are a strong actiue people, and runne exceedingly, and are subiect to the King of *Monomotapa*, who is reported to be a mightie King, their weapons are only hard Darts. The Flemmings offering them some rude wrong, they ablated themselves three dayes, in which time they made great fires vpon the Mountaines in the Countrey. The nineteenth hereof there came great troupes of them to vs, bringing very much cattell with them, and in the time of bartering suddenly, taking their aduantage they set vpon vs, and slue thirteene 20 of our people with hand Darts, which at foure Pikes length could not offend. Notwithstanding the Flemmings fled before them like Mice before Cats, throwing away their weapons most basely. And our *Baase*, to saue himselfe, stayed aboard, and sent vs Corislets, Two-hand-swords, Pikes, Muskets, and Targets, so we were armed and laden with weapons, but there was neither courage nor discretion. For we stayed by our Tents being beleegred with Canibals and Cowes, we were in Muster, Giants, with great armed bodies, but in action Babes, with Wrens hearts. Hereupon Master *Tomkins* and my selfe vndertooke to order these Fellowes, from that excellent methode, which we had seene in your Lordships most honourable Actions. Some consented to vs, but the most part vnwilling, and diuers ranne to the Pottage Pot, for they swore it was dinner time. This night we went all aboard, only leauing our great Mastiue Dogge behind vs, who by 30 no meanes would come to vs. For I thinke he was ashamed of our Companie.

M. *Tomkins*  
Englishman,

This land is a good soile, and an wholesome Aire, full of good herbes, as Mints, Calamint, Plantaine, Ribwort, Trifolium, Scabious, and such like. The seuen and twentieth wee set sayle, the last hereof we doubled Cape *Bona Esperanza*.

December.

The sixt we doubled Cape *das Agulios* which is the most Southerly Promontorie of *Africa*, where the Compasse hath no variation. This Cape lyeth in thirtie fve degrees of the South Pole.

January.  
1599.

1599.

Madagascar.  
February.  
Bay of Saint  
*Augustine*.

The sixt we feil with the Ile *Madagascar*, short of Cape *Romano*: we spent this moneth to 40 double that Cape, not being able wee bore roome with the Bay Saint *Augustine*, which lyeth vpon the South West part of *Madagascar* in three and twentie degrees fiftie minutes.

The third wee anchored in the same Bay, where wee saw many people vpon the shore, but when we landed they fled from vs: for the other Voyage our *Baase* was in this Bay, where hee greatly abused the people, and tooke one of them, bound him to a Post, and shot him to death, with other shamefull disorders. After seuen dayes by much meanes that we made, some of them came to vs, and brought vs Milke and one Cow which wee bought, and after would no more abide vs. They are a strong, well-shaped people, and cole blacke, their Language sweete and pleasing: their weapons halfe-Pikes, headed with Iron as a Harpon, which they keepe very bright, they goe wholly naked.

The Countrey seemeth to be very fruitfull, and hath great store of *Tamaryn* trees: we found 50 Beanes growing vpon a high tree, the Cods being two foot long, with answerable bignesse, and are very good meate, here are many Camelions. It was no small miserie that wee English indured especially in this Bay. But God the euer-living Commander was our only succour.

March.  
Hungry Bay.  
Iles *Comoro*  
fue.

The eight wee came aboard Dog hungry and meatlesse, the fourteenth wee set saile from this place, which we named *Hungry Bay*, shaping our course vpon the North side of the Ile. The nine and twentieth we came with the Ilands *Comoro*, lying betweene twelue and thirteene degrees, and are fve Ilands, *Mayotta*, *Ausname*, *Magliaglie*, Saint *Christophero*, *Spirito Santo*. The thirtieth we anchored at *Mayotta* close by a Towne, where we found many people that seemed to reioyce at our comming, they came aboard our shippes with presents of Victu- 60 alls. The King sent to haue our Chiefe come ashore, promising him kindnesse. So our *Baase* went, the King met him with many people, hauing three Drummes beating before him. He was richly apparelled so were his followers, with long filke Garments imbrodred, after the Turkish manner. The King hauing vsed vs with such kindnesse as we required, wrote a Letter in our behalfe to the Queene of *Ausname*, for there is no King. The



The seuenteenth we departed : the nineteenth we anchored at *Ansuame*, before a City named *Ansuame*. *Demos*: which hath beene a strong place, as by the ruines appeare. Their houses are built with free hewed stone and lime. the walls of the Citie are most ruinated, that which remaineth is as bigge as *Pimmoth*. This Queene vied vs exceeding friendly; but she would not be seene. In these Islands we had Rice, Oxen, Goats, Cocos, Bonanas, Oranges, Limons, and Citrons. The Inhabitants are Negroes, but smooth haired, in Religion Mahometists, their weapons are Swords, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. These Islands are pleasing in sight, and fruitful in nature. Here we found Merchants of *Arabia* and *India*, but what Commodities the Islands yeeld, I could not learne. They desire Weapons and Yron; they greatly regard Paper. The eight and twentieth, wee departed, passing through the Islands *Mascarenhas*, by the shooldo *Almirante*.

Aprill.  
*Ansuame*.

May.  
*Maldinia*.

June.

*Achin*.

\* Englishmen  
abused by  
Hollanders.

July.

\* England  
famous.  
State,

The three and twentieth, we fell with the Islands of *Maldinia*, which are very low close by the water, wholly couered with Cocos trees, so that we saw the trees but not the shore. Here we anchored, and refreshed our selues: Many of the Countrey Boats passing by vs, but none would come to vs: whereupon our *Baase* sent out the ships boats to take one of them. The foure and twentieth, they brought a Boat aboard vs couered with Mats, like a close Barge. In this Boat was a Gentleman and his Wife, he was apparelled in very fine white Linthen, after the Turkish manner. In his rings were rich stones, his behauiour was so sweete and affable, his countenance so modest, and his speech so gracefull, as that it made apparant shewe he could not be lesse then a Noble-man. He was vnwilling to haue his Wife seene: notwithstanding our *Baase* went with him into his Boat, to see her: he also opened her Casket, wherein were some Jewels and Ambergreese. He reported that she sate with mournfull modestie, not vying one word: what was taken from them I knowe not; but in departing this Gentleman shewed a Princely spirit. His colour was blacke, with smooth haire, a man of middle stature. In these Islands there is great trade by reason of the Cocos: for they make Ropes, Cables, Sayles, Wine, Oyle, and a kind of bread of that tree, and his fruit. They report that there be 11000. of these Islands. The seuen and twentieth wee set sayle: this morning there came an old man aboard vs that spake a little *Portugall*, he was our Pilot through the Chanell, for by chance we fell with the true passible Chanell named *Maldinia*, in latitude foure degrees, fiftene minutes of the North-pole, where the Compasse is varied seuentene degrees Westerly. In missing this Chanell it is a dangerous place. The trade of shipping through this Chanell is very great of diuers Nations, from most places of *India*, as I hope in your Lordships preface at large to enforme your Honour.

The third we fell with the Coast of *India*, in eight degrees and forty minutes of Northerly latitude, neere about *Cochin*, and coasting this shore, we shaped our course East for *Camorsin*, and from thence to the Island *Sumatra*. The thirteenth, we saw the coast of *Sumatra*, in five degrees forty minutes of Northerly latitude. The sixteenth, we spake with the people, staying at an Island by the shore to take in water. The one and twentieth we anchored in the Bay of *Achin*, in twelue fathome. Being here, the King sent his Officers to measure the length and breadth of our ships, to take the number of our Men and Ordnance, which they did. With those Officers, our *Baase* sent two of his people with Presents to the King, a Looking-glasse, a Drinking-glasse, and a Bracelet of Corall. The one and twentieth, our men came aboard, whome the King had apparelled after his Countrey manner, in white Calicut cloth: they brought newes of Peace, Welcome, and plenty of Spicery. We found foure Barks riding in the Bay, three of *Arabia*, and one of *Pegu*, that came to lade Pepper. Here was also a *Portugall*, named *Don Alfonso Vincent*, that came with foure Barks from *Malacca*, to preuent our trade, as the sequell doth shew. The three and twentieth at mid-night, the King sent for our *Baase*, and sent a Noble man for his Hostage: hee went presently on shore, whom the King vied very kindly, promising him free trade. He apparelled him after the Countrey manner, and gaue him a Cryse of Honour: This Cryse is a kind of Dagger, whose haft and handle (for it hath no crosse nor hilt) is made of a kind of mettall, which the King esteemeth farre beyond Gold, and is set with Rubies. This mettall hath a fine lustre: it is death to wear this Cryse, but from the Kings gift: and hauing it, there is absolute freedom to take Victualls without money, and to command the rest as slaues. The sixe and twentieth, our *Baase* came aboard with a Boat-load of Pepper; reporting words aboue credit, how the King had vsed him, of his mightie fortune, and of the wonderfull trade that he had procured, with no small *Gaudeamus in superbia nostra*: he further said, that the King did often demand of him, if he were not of *England*, which he did strongly denie, vying some vnfit speeches of \* our Nation. Further, said he, beeing aboard, I wish I had giuen a thousand pound that we had no English among vs: thus we, poore soules, were thrust into the Corner. The seuen and twentieth, our Merchants went on shore with their Merchandize, hauing an house by the Kings appointment.

The twentieth, our *Baase* beeing with the King was exceeding well entertained, the King very importunate to know if he were English: Tell me truely, (said the King) for I loue soldiers; and I must further tell you, *Alfonso* hath been earnest with me to betray you, but it shall not be; for I am your friend: and therewith gaue him a Purse of Gold. He giuing thanks, answered that he was not of *England*, but of *Flanders*, and at the Kings seruice. I haue heard of \* *England*, said the King, but not of *Flanders*: what Land is that? He further enquired of their King,



\* Diuerse Eng-  
lishmen in this  
Voyage.

State, and Government; whereof our *Baase* made large report, refusing the Authoritie of a King, relating the gouernment of *Aristocratie*. He further made sute to the King, to giue commandement that his subiects should not call him English: for it was a bitternes vnto him: which the King granted. Againe, he required to know if there were no Englishmen in the ships: he answered, there be some English in the ships, but they haue been bred vp in *Flanders*. I vnderstand, said the King, that there be some that differ both in apparell, language, and fashion: what are those? he answered, English; of which my cheife Pilot is one. Well, said the King, I must see those men. As touching your Merchandize it shall be thus: I haue warres with the King of *Ior* (this Kingdome of *Ior* is the South-point of *Malacca*) you shall serue me against him with your ships: your recompence shall be your lading of Pepper; this was agreed. The twenty eighth, our *Baase* 10 came aboard, accompanied with one of the *Sabandars*, the Secretary, Merchants of *Mecca*, Turks, Arabians, and *Dan Alfonso*, with some Portugalls; all which departed passing drunke.

August

\* *Danis* his en-  
tert: inement  
with the King  
of *Achin*.

The King began to shew an altered countenance the twentieth hereof; saying to our *Baase*, Wherefore doth not that English Pilot come to me? (for he would not suffer me nor *M. Tomkins* to goe on shore) I thinke when you haue your Pepper, you will runne away without doing me seruice, as you haue promised: whereupon I was presently sent for. The one and twentieth, I came on shore. The two and twentieth, I went to the King early in the morning, who did vse me very friendly. I stayed with him foure houres or better, banqueting and drinking. After an houre, he caused the *Sabandar* to stand vp, and bad me likewise stand vp. The *Sabandar* tooke off my Hat, and put a Roll of white linnen about my head; then he put about my middle a white 20 linnen cloth that came twice about me, hanging downe halfe my legges, imbroydered with Gold: then againe he tooke the Roll from my Head, laying it before the King, and put on a white garment vpon me, and vpon that againe one of red. Then putting on the Roll vpon my Head, I fate downe in the Kings presence, who dranke to me in *Aquanita*, and made me eate of many strange meates. All his seruice is in Gold, and some in fine Porcellane. Hee eateth vpon the ground, without Table, Napkins, and other linnen. Hee enquired much of *England*, of the Queene, of her *Basbas*, and how she could hold warres with so great a King as the Spaniard? (for he thinketh that *Europe* is all Spanish.) In these his demands he was fully satisfied, as it seemed to his great good liking.

The three and twentieth, the Prince sent for me; I rid to his Court vpon an Elephant: hee 30 vsed me exceeding well. Excessiue eating and drinking was our entertainment. During the small time of my beeing on shore, I met with a very sensible Merchant of *China*, that spake Spanish, of whom I learned some things, which I hope will giue your Lordship good contentment. Here are many of *China* that vse trade, and haue their particular Towne: so haue the Portugals, the *Gufarates*, the Arabians, and those of *Bengala* and *Pegu*. Our *Baase* disliking that I so much frequented the *Chinaes* company, commanded me aboard. The next day hauing some fowre lookes of the King, he came aboard with a dull spirit.

September.

A strange seed,  
and strange  
treachery.

The first hereof, the King made shew that we should receiue in Ordnance for the battery of *Ior*, and take in souldiers to depart for that seruice. There were many Gallies manned, and brought out of the River, riding halfe a mile from our ships; the Sea full of Prawes and Boats all manned: 40 there came aboard vs the Secretary, named *Corcoun*, & the cheife *Sabandar* named *Abdala*, with many souldiers weaponed with Courtelalles, Hand-darts, Cryses and Targets. They brought with the many kinds of meat, & a great Iar of *Aquanita*: herewith they made shew of friendship with banqueting. We mistrusting some treachery, filled our tops with stones, made fast our gratings, and prepared our weapons: whereat our *Baase* was exceeding angry, commanding all to be dissolved, but we would not. There is in this Countrey a kind of Seed, whereof a little beeing eaten, maketh a man to turne foole, all things seeming to him to be Metamorphosed; but aboue a certaine rate it is deadly poyson: with this all the meate and drinke which they brought was infected. In banqueting, the *Sabandar* and Secretarie sent for me, *M. Tomkins* keeping me company, and vsed some words to one of his company, but what I knowe not; in short time we were 50 foole-frolicke, gaping one vpon an other like Antiques, our *Baase* beeing prisoner, and knewe it not. Suddenly when a token was giuen from the other Ship (for there the like treachery was vsed by the Secretary, who went from our ship thither to act the same) they set vpon vs, murdered our *Baase*, and slew diuers others, *M. Tomkins*, my selfe, and a French-man defended the Poope, which if they had recouered, our ship had been lost: for they had the Cabin, and some were belowe among the Ordnance, by creeping in at the Ports. The Master of our ship which they call Captaine, leapt into the Sea, so did diuers others; but recouered the ship againe, and came aboard when all was done. In the end we put them to flight, (for our tops plagued them fore) which when I saw, I leapt from the Poope to pursue them, *M. Tomkins* leaping after me, there came a Turke out of the Cabin, and wounded him grieuouly, they lay together tombling 60 each for his life: which seeing, I ranne the Turke in with my Rapier; and our shipper presently with a halfe Pike thrust him downe the throat into the body. In the other ship all the cheifest were murdered, and the shippe taken: we cut our Cables, and draue to her, and with our shot made the Indians flie: so we recouered the ship: the Gallies durst not come neere vs. In this great misery



miserie it was some pleasure, to see how the base Indians did flye, how they were killed, and how well they were drowned. The Sea was couered with Indian heads: for they swamme away by hundreds, The *Sabandare Abdala*, and one of the Kings neere Kinsmen were slaine, with many others; and the Secretarie hurt. The King being by the Sea-side with many people, when the newes came of the *Sabandars* death and their great ouerthrow, the furious Infidels murthered all our men a shore, only eight excepted, whom the King fettered for Slaues. We lost in this misfortune threescore and eight persons, of which we are not certaine how many are captiued: only of eight wee haue knowledge. Wee lost two fine Pinnasses of twentie tunnes a piece, and our ship Boate.

10 This day we departed and anchored before the Citie *Pider*, where we had sent a Pinnasse for Rice, hoping to haue newes of her, but had not. The second there came eleuen Gallies with Portugals (as we thought) to take our ships. Wee sunke one and beate the rest: so they fledde. This after-noon came aboard vs the sonne of *Lafort* a French Marchant dwelling in *Seething-Lane*, who was one of the eight Prisoners, with this Message from the King. Shame you not to be such drunken beasts, as in drunkenesse to murder my people, whom I sent to you in kindnesse. Therefore he required our best ship for satisfaction, and for the reliefe of our men. Doe this said he to *Lafort*, and I will make you a great Nobleman, but wee would not, and being distressed of water, departed to the Ilands *Pulo Botum* vpon the Coast of *Quedia* in six degrees fifty minutes, where we refreshed and watered.

20 During the time of our abode in *Achien*, we receiued into both our ships a hundred and fortie tuns of Pepper, what stones or other Marchandize I know not. But at the day of Treason our Marchants lost all the Money and Marchandize a-shore, which they report to bee of great value, and many young Aduenturers were vtterly ruinated: among which I doe most grieue at the losse of poore *John Danis*, who did not only lose my friendly Factor, but also all my *Europe* Commodities, with those things which I had prouided to shew my dutie and loue to my best Friends.

So I may conclude, that although *India* did not receiue mee very rich, yet she hath sent mee away reasonable poore.

30 The Ile *Sumatra* is a pleasing and fertile Soyle, abounding with many rare and excellent Fruites, of Graine they haue only Rice which is their Bread. They plowe the ground with Buffs, of which there are great plentie, but with small skill and lesse diligence. The Rice groweth in all respects as our Barley. Rice.

40 Of Pepper they haue exceeding plentie, Gardens of a mile square, it groweth like Hops from a planted Root, and windeth about a stake set by it vntill it grow to a great bushie Tree. The Pepper hangeth in small clusters, three inches long, and an inch about, each cluster hauing fortie Pepper Cornes, it yeeldeth increase equall with Mustard Seed. They bee able to lade twentie ships yearly; and more might, if the people were industrious and laboursome. The whole Countrey seemeth to be a Garden of pleasure. The Ayre is temperate and wholsome, hauing euerie morning a fruitfull dew, or small raine. The Hauen that goeth to the Citie of *Achien* is small, hauing but six foot at the barre. And there standeth a Fort made of stone, round without couering, battlements, or flankers, low walled like a Powne, a worse cannot bee conceiued. Before this Fort is a very pleasant Road for ships, the wind still comming from the shore, a shippe may ride a mile off in eightene fathomes close by, in foure and sixe fathomes. Of Beasts, heere are Elephants, Horses, Buffes, Oxen and Goates, with many wild Hogs. Pepper.

The Land hath plentie of Gold and Copper Mines, diuers kinds of Gummes, Balmes, and many kinds of Drugges, and much Indico. Of Stones there are Rubies, Saphires, and Garnets: but I know not that they grow there. They haue passing good Timber for shipping. Mines of Gold and other commodities.

50 The Citie of *Achien*, if it may be so called, is very spacious, built in a Wood, so that wee could not see a house till we were vpon it. Neither could wee goe into any place, but wee found houses, and great concourse of people: so that I thinke the Towne spreadeth ouer the whole land. Their houses are built eight foote or better from the ground vpon posts of wood, with free passage vnder, the wals and couering of Mats, the poorest and weakest things in the World. I saw three great Market places, which are euery day frequented as Faires with all kinde of Marchandize to sell. Achien Citie.

60 The King is called *Sultan Aladin*, and is an hundred yeares old, as they say, yet hee is a lustie man, but exceeding grosse and fat. In the beginning of his life he was a fisher-man: (of which this place hath very many; for they liue most vpon fish:) and going to the Warres with the former King shewed himselfe so valiant and discreet in ordering the Kings Gallies, that gaining the Kings fauour, he was made Admirall of his Sea-forces and by his valour and discretion the King so imbraced him that he gaue him to Wife one of his neere Kinswomen. The King hauing one only Daughter, married her to the King of *Ior*, by whom shee had a sonne: this Childe was sent to *Achien* to bee nourished vnder his Grand-father, being Heire to the Kingdome: Sultan Aladin.



the King that now is, was now chiefe Commander both by Land and Sea. The olde King suddenly dyed, this King tooke the protection of the Childe, against which the Nobilitie resisted, but he hauing the Kings force and taking oportunitie, ended the liues of more then a thousand Noblemen and Gentlemen: and of the rascall people made new Lords and new Lawes. In fine, the Childe was murdered, and then he proclaymed himselfe King by the right of his Wife. Hereupon arose great Warre betweene him and the King of *Ior*, which continueth to this day. These twentie yeares he hath by force held the Kingdome, and now seemeth to bee secure in the same.

His Court is from the Citie halfe a mile vpon the Riuer, hauing three Guards before any can come to him, and a great Greene betweene each Guard, his house is built as the rest are, 10 but much higher, hee sitteth where hee can see all that come to any of his Guards, but none can see him. The wals and covering of his house are Mats, which sometime is hanged with cloth of Gold, sometime with Veluet, and sometime with Damaske. Hee sitteth vpon the ground crosse-legged like a Taylor, and so must all those doe that be in his presence. He alwayes weareth foure *Cressis*, two before and two behind, exceeding rich with Diamonds and Rubies; and hath a Sword lying vpon his lap. He hath attending vpon him fortie women at the least, some with Fannes to coole him, some with Clothes to dry his sweat, some giue him *Aqua vita*, others water: the rest sing pleasant Songs. He doth nothing all the day but eate and drinke, from morning to night there is no end of banquetting: and when his belly is readie to breake, then hee eateth *Arecca Betula*, which is a fruit like a Nutmeg, wrapped in a kind of leafe like *Tabacco*, with 20 sharpe chalke made of Pearle Oyster-shells: chawing this it maketh the spittle very red, draweth the Rhume exceedingly, and procureth a mightie stomacke: this maketh the teeth very blacke, and they be the brauest that haue the blackest teeth. By this meanes getting againe his stomacke, he goeth with a fresh courage to eating. And for a Change with a Cracking Gorge, hee goeth into the Riuer, where he hath a place made of purpose, there getting a stomacke by being in the water. Hee, his great men and women doe nothing but eate, drinke, and talke of Venerie. If the Poets Fables haue any shew of truth, then vndoubtedly this King is the great *Bacchus*. For he holdeth all the Ceremonies of Gluttonie.

As in all places of *Europe*, the Custome is by vncouering the head to shew reuerence, in this place it is wholly contrary. For before any man can come to the Kings presence, he must put of 30 his hose and shooes, and come before him bare-legged, and bare-footed, holding the palmes of the hands together, and heauing them vp about his head, bowing with the bodie must say, *Donlat*: which done dutie is discharged. And so hee sitteth downe crosse-legged in the Kings presence. Hee doth onely spend the time in eating with women, and Cock-fighting. And such as is the King, such are his Subiects; for the whole Land is giuen to no other contentment.

His State is gouerned by five principall men, with their inferiour Officers, his Secretarie, and foure called *Subandars*, with these resteth all authoritie. The Kings will is their Law. For it seemeth there is no Free-man in the Land: for the life and goods of all is at the Kings pleasure. Hee will make no Offenders happie by death, but cutteth off their hands and feete, and banisheth them to an Ile named *Polo-wey*. If he put any to death, the Elephants teare him to pieces, or they driue a stake into his fundament, and so he dyeth. There are Gaoles and many fettered Prisoners that goe about the Towne.

His women are his chiefe Counsellors, hee hath three Wiues, and very many Concubines, which are very closely kept.

Hee hath very many Gallies, I thinke an hundred, some that will carrie foure hundred men, made like a Wherrie, very long and open, without Decke, Fore-castell, Chase, or any vpper building. Their Oares are like Shouels of foure foote long, which they vse only with the hand not resting them vpon the Galley. They beare no Ordnance, with these hee keepeth his Neighbours in obedience. A woman is his Admirall, for hee will trust no men. Their Weapons 50 are Bowes, Arrowes, Iauelings, Swords, Targets, they haue no defensue Armes, but fight naked.

Hee hath great store of Brasse Ordnance, which they vse without Carriages, shooting them as they lye vpon the ground. They be the greatest that I haue euer seene, and the Metall is reported to be rich of Gold. The trust of his land force standeth vpon his Elephants.

These people boast themselves to come of *Ismael* and *Hagar*, and can reckon the Genealogie of the Bible perfectly. In Religion they are *Mahometists*, and pray with Beades as the Papists doe. They bring vp their Children in Learning, and haue many Schooles. They haue an Archbishop and Spirituall Dignities. Here is a Prophet in *Achien*, whom they greatly honour, they say that hee hath the spirit of Prophecie, as the Ancients haue had. He is disguised from the rest 60 in his Apparell, and greatly imbraced of the King.

The people are generally very cunning Merchants, and wholly dedicated thereunto. Of Mechanicall Artesmen, they haue Gold-smithes, Gun-founders, Ship-wrights, Taylors, Weuers, Hatters,



Hatters, Pot-makers, and *Aquaui* Stillers, which is made of Rice (for they must drinke no Wine) Cutlers, and Smithes.

As touching their Burials, every Generation or Kinred haue their particular place to burie their dead; which is in the Fields. They lay the Corps with the head towards *Mecha*, ha- uing a free Stone at the head, and another at the feete curiously wrought; thereby signifying the worthinesse of the person.

But in the place of the Kings Burials every graue hath a piece of Gold at the head, and another at the foot, weighing at the least five hundred pound weight, cunningly imbossed and wrought. This King hath two such Peeces in making and almost finished, which wee saw, that are a thou- sand pound weight a piece, and shall bee richly set with stones. I did greatly desire to see the Kings Burials, because of the great wealth therein; but could not. I doe almost beleue it to be true, because this King hath made two such costly monuments.

The people that trade in this place are of *China*, *Bengala*, *Pegu*, *Iana*, *Coromandel*, *Gusarate*, *Arabia*, and *Rumos*. *Rumos* is in the Red Sea, and is the place from whence *Salomon* sent his ships to *Ophir* for Gold, which is now called *Achien*, as by tradition they doe affirme. And the *Rumos* people from *Salomons* time to this day haue followed the same trade.

They haue diuers termes of payment, as *Casbes*, *Mas*, *Compan*, *Pardaw*, *Tayell*; I only saw two pieces of Coine, the one of Gold, the other of Lead; that Gold is of the bignesse of a penny, it is as common as pence in *England* And is named *Mas*, the other is like a little leaden Token: such as the Vintners of *London* vse called *Caxas*. A thousand fixe hundred *Casbes* make one *Mas*. Foure hundred *Casbes* make a *Compan*. Foure *Compan*s are one *Mas*. Five *Masses* make foure shil- lings sterling. Foure *Masses* makes a *Perdaw*. Foure *Perdawes* makes a *Tayel*, so a *Mas* is nine pence  $\frac{1}{4}$ . of a *Pennie*.

They sell their Pepper by the *Bhar*, which is three hundred and threescore of our pounds, for three pound foure shillings their pound they call a *Catt*, which is one and twentie of our ounces. Their ounce is bigger then ours by so much as sixteene is bigger then ten.

The weight by which they sell Precious Stones is called; *Masse*, 10.  $\frac{1}{4}$ . whereof make an ounce.

Once every yeare they haue a custome that the King with all his Noblemen and whole pompe of his land must goe to the Church to looke if the *Messias* bee come, which happened at our being here. There were many Elephants, I thinke foure, very richly couered with Silke, Vel- let, and cloth of Gold: diuers Noblemen riding vpon each Elephant, but one Elephant about the rest was exceeding richly couered, hauing a golden little Castle vpon his backe, this was led spare for the *Messias* to ride in. The King riding alone likewise in a little Castle, so they pro- ceede with a very solemne procession, some had Targets of pure massie Gold, others great halfe Moones of Gold, with Stremers, Banners, Ensignes, Drummes, and Trumpets with other Musicke, very pleasing to see. Comming to the Church with great Solemnitie, they at length looked in, and not finding the *Messias*, vied some Ceremonies. Then the King comming from his owne Elephant, roade home vpon the Elephant prepared for the *Messias*: where they end the day with feasting and all pleasing sports.

The Ile is diuided into foure Kingdomes, *Achien*, *Pider*, *Manancabo*, and *Aru*. *Achien* is the chieftest, the rest are tributarie to him. *Aru* holdeth with the King of *Ior*, and refuseth subiection. I haue only hard of five principall Citie to be in this Ile. *Achien*, *Pider*, *Pacem*, *Daia*, *Manan- cabo*.

Returning to our proceedings after the slaughter of *Achien*, seeking reliefe, the tenth hereof September.

we anchored at the lands *Pulo Lotum*, in fixe degrees fiftie minutes, by the Kindome of *Queda*: where we watred and refreshed. There were in our ship three Letters close sealed, superscribed, *A. B. C.* Which vpon the death of our *Baase* were to be opened. By *A.* one *Thomas Quymans* was appointed our Chiefe, who was slaine at *Achien*. Then *B.* was opened, whereby *Guyan Lo- fort* who escaped Captiuitie by being the Kings Messenger, was appointed our Chiefe, whom we so receiued. The letter *C.* was not opened. The last hereof wee set sayle our course againe for *Achien*, with hope by some meanes to recouer our men.

The sixth we came in sight of *Achien*, the twelfth wee came into the Bay, where wee found ten Gallies set out against vs. Wee came vp with one of them, and gaue her diuers shot, but in a calme vnder the land she escaped. The rest durst not come neere vs: for they are very Cowards, proud and base.

The eightene hereof wee shaped our course for the Citie *Tanassarim*, for it is a place of great trade, the five and twentieth we anchored among the Ilands in the Bay in eleuen degrees, twen- tie minutes, of the Pole Articke. Being here we were very much crossed with bad winds, so that wee could not recouer the Citie, for it standeth twentie leagues within the Bay: being in verie great distresse of victuals we departed hence, shaping our course for the Ilands *Nicobar*, hoping there to find reliefe.

The twelfth we anchored at the Ilands *Nicobar* in eight degrees of North latitude where the people brought vs great store of Heus, Oranges, Limons, and other Fruit, and some Amber- greece,

The *Turkes* are called *Rumos* in the *Indies*. The reason of that name is their Metropolitan and Imperiall Citie *Constantinople* called *New Rome*: of which *Rome* they call them *Rumos*. Their tradition of *Ophir* is rather to be marked then this Ety- mologie and conceit of *Ru- mos* in the Red Sea.

\* The promi- sed returne of *Mahomet* ex- pected.

October.

November, *Nicobar*.



greec<sup>e</sup>, which we bought for pieces of linen-cloth, and Table Napkins. These Iles are pleasant and fruitfull, low land, and haue good road for ships. The people are most base, only liuing vpon fruites, and fish, not manuring the ground, and therefore haue no Rice. The sixteenth wee departed shaping our course for the Ile *Zeilon*: for wee were in great distresse, especially of Rice.

December.

\* *Matecalon* in  
*Zeilan* a Citie  
of great trade.

Prise dischar-  
ged.

The sixt by Gods great goodnesse we tooke a ship of *Negapatan*, which is a Citie in the Coast of *Coromandell*, shee was laden with Rice bound to *Achien*. There were in her threescore persons; of *Achien*, of *Iana*, of *Zeilon*, of *Pegu*, *Narsinga*, and *Coromandel*. By these people wee learned that in *Zeilan* there is a Citie named \* *Matecalon*, a place of great Trade, and that there wee might load our ships with Sinamon, Pepper and Cloues. They also said that in *Zeilon* were great store of precious stones and Pearles: that the Countrey doth abound with all kind of Victuals, and that the King is an exceeding Enemie to the *Portugals*; they also told vs of a Citie named *Trinquanmale*, where was the like Trade. So they promised to lade our ships, and royally to victuall vs, for little money. Hereupon we laboured by all possible meanes to recouer the said places, but could not, for the wind was exceeding contrary. Then these *Indians* told vs that if we would stay vntill Ianuary, we should haue more then a hundred ships come close by that shore laden with Spicerie, Linnen-cloth, and *China* Commodities; besides stones and other wealth. To stay there as a man of Warre our Gouvernour would not agree: but to stay and in taking any thing to pay for the same he was content, for so was his Commission. to this the Company would not agree. Whereupon the eight and twentieth hereof we shaped our course homeward, hauing beaten sixteene dayes vpon this Coast to recouer *Matecalon*. We discharged our Prise the eighteenth hereof, hauing taken the best part of her Rice, for which our Chiefe payed them to their content. But the Companie tooke away the Money and Merchandize from the *Indians* with much disorder: we tooke with vs twelue of the *Indians* of seuerall places: who after we could a little vnderstand them, told vs that the Marchants had great store of precious stones in the ship, which they had hid vnder the Timbers. Of what truth that report is I know not. They would not suffer Master *Tomkins* nor me to goe aboard the Prise: for what reasons I know not.

1600.

30

March.  
1600.

The fift hereof our meate was poysoned, but God preserued vs, for one tasting the same by chance or greedinesse (for it was fresh fish) was presently infected: before the meate came to vs it was strongly poysoned, for our Surgeon tooke almost a spoonfull of Poyson out of one fish, but this is not the first time, if the griued would complaine. The tenth wee fell with Cape *Bona Esperanza*, where wee had a great storme: the fixe and twentieth wee doubled the same.

Aprill.  
\* *S. Helena*.

\* *Il. Ascension*

The thirteenth we anchored at the Ile Saint\* *Helena*, which is rockie and mountanous, lying in sixteene degrees of South latitude, here wee found good water, figs, and fish in plentie: there be Goats, but hard to get. The fifteenth at Sun-set there came a Carauell into the Road, who anchored a large Musket-shot to wind-ward of vs. She was vtterly vnprouided, not hauing one Peece mounted: we fought with her all this night, and gaue her, as I thinke, better then two hundred shot. In eight houres shee neuer made shot nor shew of regard, by midnight shee had placed fixe Peeces which she vied very well, shot vs often through, and slew two of our men. So the sixteenth in the morning we departed, hauing many sick men shaping our course for the Ile \* *Ascension*, where we hope to haue reliefe. This three and twentieth we had sight of *Ascension*, in eight degrees of South latitude, this Ile hath neither wood, water, nor any greene thing vpon it, but is a fraitleffe greene Rocke of fve leagues broad. The foure and twentieth at midnight wee agreed to goe for the Ile *Fernando Loronio*, where wee are acquainted and know that there is reliefe sufficient. For at this Ile wee stayed ten weekes outward bound, when we could not double Cape Saint *Augustine*.

May.

The sixt we arriued at the Ile *Fernando Loronio*, where wee stayed fixe dayes to water and refresh our selues. The thirteenth we departed, shaping our course for England.

Iuly.

The nine and twentieth of Iuly we arriued at *Middleborough*.



## p. V.

WILLIAM ADAMS his Voyage by the Magellan Straights to \*Iapon,  
written in two Letters by himselfe, as followeth.

\* This Voyage, though not by the Cape of Good Hope, yet because it was to Iapon, I here deliuer. See before, pag. 78.

**H**aving so good occasion, by hearing that certaine English Marchants lye in the Island of *Iana*, although by name vnkowne, I presumed to write these few liues, desiring the Worshipfull Companie being vnkowne to me, to pardon my boldnes. The reason that I write, is first, for that conscience bindeth me to loue my Country, & my Countrymen. Your Worships therefore shall vnderstand, to whom these presents shall come, that I am a Kentish-man, borne in a Towne called *Gillingam*, two English miles from *Rocheſter*, one mile from *Chattam*, where the Kings ships lye: and that from the age of twelue yeares, I was brought vp in *Lime-house* neere *London*, being Prentise twelue yeares to one Master *Nicholas Diggines*, and haue serued in the place of Master and Pilot in her Maiesties ships, and about eleven or twelue yeares serued the Worshipfull Company of the Barbarie Marchants, vntill the Indian Trafficke from *Holland* began, in which Indian Trafficke I was desirous to make a little experience of the small knowledge which God had giuen me. So, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1598. I was hired for chiefe Pilot of a Fleete of five sayle, which was made readie by the chiefe of the Indian Company *Peter Vanderhag*, and *Hance Vanderneke*: the Generall of this Fleet, was a Marchatt called *Iaques Mayhay*, in which ship, being Admirall, I was Pilot. So, it being the three and twentieth or foure and twentieth of Iune before we set sayle, \* it was somewhat too late ere we came to the Line, to passe it without contrarie winds: for it was about the midst of September, at which time we found much Southerly winds, and many of our men were sick, so that we were forced to goe to the Coast of *Gynny* to *Cape de Lopo Gonſalues*, where wee set our sicke men a land, whereof many dyed: and of the sicknesse, few bettered, hauing little or no refreshing, and the place being vnhealchy. Therefore, to fulfill our Voyage, wee set our course for the Coast of *Brasill*, determining to passe the Straights of *Magellan*, and by the way came to an Island called *Ilha da Nobon*, at which Iland we landed, and tooke the Towne, which contained about eightie houses, in which Iland we refreshed our selues, hauing Oxen, Oranges, and diuers other fruits. But the vnwholsomenesse of the Aire was such, that as one bettered, another fell sicke: we spent vpon the Coast of the *Cape Gonſalues*, and of *Annobon* about two moneths time till the twelfth or thirteenth of Nouember. At which time, wee set sayle from *Annobon*, finding the winds still at the South by East, and South South-East, till wee got foure degrees by South the Line: at which time the windes fauoured vs comming to the South-East, and East South-East, and East, so that we were vp betweene the Iland of *Annobon*, and the Straights of *Magellan*, about five monethes. One of our five sayle spent her maine Mast, by which we were much hindred; for with much trauell we set a new Mast in the Sea. Then, the nine and twentieth of March, we saw the Land in the latitude of fiftie degrees, hauing the wind two or three daies contrary: so, in the end, hauing the winds good, we came into the Straights of *Magellan*, the sixt of April, 1599. at which time, the Winter came, so that there was much Snow: and our men, through cold on the one side, and hunger on the other, grew weake: wee had the wind at North-East, some five or six dayes, in which time wee might haue passed through the Straights. But, for refreshing of our men, we waited, watering and taking in of wood, and setting vp of a Pinnace of fiftene or sixteene tunnes in bignesse. At length, wee would haue passed through but could not by reason of the Southerly winds, with wet, and also very cold, with abundance of Snow and Ice. Wherefore, we were forced to winter and stay in the Straights from the sixt of April, vntill the foure and twentieth of September, in which time the most part of our provision was spent, in so much that for lacke of victuals many of our men dyed through hunger. Now, hauing passed through the Straights, and comming into the South Sea, wee found many hard streames, being driuen to the South-wards in fiftie foure degrees, being then very cold. At length we found reasonable winds and weather, with which wee followed our pretended Voyage, towards the Coast of *Pernu*: but in long trauels we lost our whole Fleet, being separated the one from the other. Yet before the disperling of our Fleet, wee had appointed, if wee lost one another with stormes and foule weather, that in *Chili* in the latitude of fortie fixe degrees, wee should stay one for another the space of thirtie dayes. In which height according to agreement, I went in fixe and fortie degrees, and stayed eight and twentie dayes where we refreshed our selues, finding the people of the Countrey good of nature: but by reason of the Spaniards, they would not haue dealt with vs at the first. They brought vs Sheepe and Potatoes, for which we gaue them Bels and Kniues, whereof they were very glad: but in the end, the people went vp from their houses into the Countrey, and came no more vnto vs. Wee stayed there eight and twentie dayes, and set vp a Pinnasse which we had in our ship, in foure parts, and in the end departed and came to the mouth of *Baldinia*, yet by reason it blew much wind we entred not, but directed our course out of the Bay, for the Iland of *Mocha*, vnto the which wee came the next day,

\* Adams chiefe Pilot of a fleete of five sayles.

Cape de Lopo Gonſalues.

The Ile of Nobon taken.

April. 6. 1599.

They wintered in the Straights of Magellan.

Many of their men dyed for want of food. They stay in fortie fixe degrees, and refresh themselves. The mouth of Baldinia. The Ile of Mocha.



day, finding none of our Fleet. So not finding them, wee directed our course for the Island of *Sancta Maria*; and the next day we came by the Cape, which is a league and an halfe from the Island, and seeing many people tossed about the Cape, and finding good ground, anchored in fiftene fathom in a faire sandie Bay.

A faire sandie Bay.

We went with our boats hard by the water side, to parlee with the people of the land, but they would not suffer vs to come a land, shooting great store of Arrowes at our men. Neuerthelesse, hauing no victualls in our Ship, and hoping to find refreshing, wee forcibly landed some seuen and twentie or thirtie of our men, and droue the wild people from the water side, hauing most of our men hurt with their Arrowes. They being on land, we made signes of friendship, and in the end came to parlee with signes and tokens of friendship, which the people vnderstood. So, wee made signes, that our desire was to haue victualls for Iron, Siluer and Cloth, which we shewed them. Wherefore they gaue our folke Wine, with Batatas to eate, and other fruits, and bid our men by signes and tokens to goe aboard, and the next day to come againe, and then they would bring vs victualls: so, being late our men came aboard, the most part of them being hurt more or lesse, and yet we were very glad that we had come to a parlee with them, hoping that we shoud get refreshing.

The ninth of November, 1599.

The next day, being the ninth of November, 1599. our Captaine, with all our Officers prepared to goe a land, hauing taken counsell to goe to the water side, but not to land more then two or three men: for there were people in abundance, and were also vknowne; our men therefore were willed not to trust them. This counsell being concluded, the Captain himselfe went in one of our Boats, with all the force that we had: and being by the shore side, the people of the countie made signes that they should come a land; but that did not like our Captaine well. In the end the people comming not neere vnto our Boats, our Captaine, with the rest resolved to land, against that which was concluded in our Ship, before the going on land. At length three and twentie men landed with Muskets, and marched vp towards foure or five houses, and when they were about a Musket-shot from the Boates, more then a thousand Indians who lay intrenched, immediately fell vpon our men with such weapons as they had, and killed them all to our knowledge. So our Boats waited long to see if any of them would come againe; but seeing no hope to recouer them, our Boates returned with this sorrowfull newes, that all our men that landed were slaine, which was a lamentable thing to heare: for we had scarce so many men left as could winde vp our Anchor. The next day wee waited, and went ouer to the Island *Sancta Maria*, where we found our Admiral, who had arriued there foure daies before vs, and departed to the Ile from *Mucha* the day before we came from thence, hauing the Generall, Master, and all his Officers wounded on land: and God had so plagued vs, that all our Officers were slaine, so that the one of vs bemoaned the other. Neuerthelesse being glad that we were come together, my good friend *Timothy Shotten* was Pilot in that Ship. Being at the Island of *Sancta Maria*, which lieth in the Latitude of thirtie seuen degrees, twelue minutes by South the Line on the Coast of *Chili*, wee tooke counsell to take all things out of one Ship, and to burne the other: but the new Captaines could not agree, which of the Ships they should burne, and so could not conclude it. Hauing much cloth in our Ships, it was agreed that wee should leaue the Coast of *Pern*, and direct our course for *Iapan*, vnderstanding that cloth was good marchandise there: and also vpon that Coast of *Pern*, the Kings Ships hauing knowledge of our being there, sought for vs, vnderstanding that wee were weake by reason of the losse of our men, which was all too true: for one of our Fleet, as wee vnderstood afterward, was forced to yeeld themselves into the enemies hand in Saint *Iago*. For which reason, hauing refreshed our selues in the Island *Sancta Maria*, more by policie then by force, we departed the twentie seuen of November, from the Road, or Island of *Sancta Maria*, with our two Ships, and for the rest of our Fleet we heard no newes of them. So we tooke our course directly for *Iapan*, and passed the Line Equinoctiall together, vntill we came in twentie eight degrees to the Northward of the Line: in which Latitude, the twentie second & twentie third of February 1600. we had a wonderfull storme of wind, as euer I was in, with much raine, in which storme wee lost sight of our greatest ship, whereof we were very sorry being left alone; yet wee hoped in *Iapan* to find one another. Then according to wind and weather, we followed our former intention for *Iapan*, and in the height of thirtie degrees, sought the North Cape of the forenamed Island, but found it not, by reason that it lieth false in all Chartes, and Globes, and Maps: for the Cape lyeth in thirtie five degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ . which is a great difference. In the end wee came in thirtie two degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ . and then had sight of the Land, being the nineteenth of Aprill, so that betweene the Cape of *Sancta Maria* and *Iapan*, we were foure moneths, and twentie two dayes: at which time there were no more then fixe besides my selfe, that could stand vpon their feet. Now being in safetie, we let our Anchor fall about a league from a place, called *Bungo*. At which time many Boats came vnto vs, and we let them come aboard, being not able to resist them: yet the people did vs no harme, we not vnderstanding each other, but by signes and tokens. After two or three dayes space, a Iesuite came vnto vs from a place called *Langasacke*, to which place the Carake of *Macao* is yeerely wont to come, which with other Iaponers, that were Christians, were our Interpreters; which was ill for vs, they being our mortal enemies. Neuerthelesse the King of *Bungo*, the

Twentie three men slaine.

The Isle of *Sancta Maria*.

*Timothy Shotten* of London, Pilot of the Admirall.

Cloth good merchandise in *Iapan*.

One of their Fleet yeilded to the Spaniard, at Saint *Iago* in thirtie three degrees.

See before in the Voyage of *Oliver Noe*.

They take their course from *Iapan*, from the Road of the Isle of *Sancta Maria*, November 27.

The North part of *Iapan*, lieth in 35. degrees,

$\frac{1}{2}$ .

They were foure months,

& twentie two dayes between the Isle of *Sancta Maria*, and *Iapan*.

*Bungo*.

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the place where we arrived, did vs great friendship. For he gave vs an house on shore for our sick men, having all refreshing that was needfull. We had when we came to anchor in *Bungo* foure and twentie men, sicke and whole, of which number the next day three dyed, the rest for the most part recovered, saving three which lay long time sicke, and in the end also died. The Emperour hearing of vs, sent presently five Gallies or Frigots vnto vs, to bring mee to the Court, where his Maiestie was, which was distant from *Bungo*, about eightie English leagues. Now, when I came before him, he demanded of me, of what Countrey we were; so I answered him in all points: for there was nothing that he demanded not, both concerning warre, and peace betweene Countrey and Countrey; the particulars whereof were too long to write. After this  
 10 conference, I was commanded to prison being well vsed, with one of our Mariners, that came with me to serue me.

Sixe of them men died.

This was at the citie of *Osaka*, which is eighty leagues from *Bungo*.

He was called the second time.

Some two dayes after, the Emperour called me againe, demanding the reason of our comming so farre: I answered, We were a People that sought all friendship with all Nations. and to haue trade of Merchandize in all Countries, bringing such Merchandizes as our Countrey had, and buying such Merchandizes in strange Countreys, as our Countrey desired; through which our Countreys on both side were enriched. He asked much concerning the warres betweene the Spaniards and Portugals, and vs, and the reasons: the particulars of all which I gave him to vnderstand, who seemed to be very glad to heare it. After this, I was commanded to prison againe, but my lodging was bettered in an other place. So, I continued nine and thirty dayes in prison, hearing no  
 20 more newes, neither of our ship, nor Captaine, whether he were recovered of his sicknesse, nor of the rest of the company: in which time, I looked euery day to be *Crossed*, as the custome of Iustice is in *Iapan*, as hanging is in our Land. Now in this long time of imprisonment, the Iesuites and the Portugals gave many evidences to the Emperour against vs, alleading that wee were theues and robbers of all Nations, and if we were suffered to liue, it should be against the profit of his Maiestie, and the Land: for then no Nation could come there without robbing: but if Iustice were executed on vs, it would terrifie the rest of our Nation from comming there any more. And to this intent they sued to his Maiestie daily to cut vs off, making all the Friends they could to this purpose. But God was mercifull vnto vs, and would not suffer them to haue their wills of

Thus farre goeth his first letter to his wife. Crucifying the v. uall punishment of Malefactors in *Iapan*. The Iesuites & Portugals accusations.

The Emperours answer.

30 vs. At length, the Emperour gave them this answer, That as yet wee had done no hurt or damage to him, nor to any of his Land; and therefore that it was against reason and Iustice to put vs to death: and if our Countreys and theirs had warres one with the other, that was no cause that he should put vs to death. The Emperour answering them in this manner, they were quite out of heart, that their cruell pretence failed: for the which, God be praised for euer and euer. Now in this time that I was in prison, the ship was commanded to bee brought so neere to the Citie where the Emperour was, as she might, the which was done. So the one and fortieth day of my imprisonment, the Emperour called me before him againe, demanding of mee many questions more, which were too long to write. In conclusion, he asked me whether I were desirous to goe to the ship to see my Countrey-men: I answered, that I would very gladly do it: so he bade me goe. Then I departed, and was freed from imprisonment. And this was the first newes that I  
 40 had, that the ship and company were come to the Citie. Wherefore, with a reioycing heart I tooke a Boat, and went to our ship, where I found the Captaine and the rest, recovered of their sicknesse. But at our meeting aboard, we saluted one another with mourning and sheadding of teares: for they were informed that I was executed, and long since dead. Thus, God be praised, all we that were left aliue, came together againe. All things were taken out of the ship, together with all my instruments, &c. and I had nothing left me, but my clothes on my backe: likewise whatsoever the rest of the company had, was also taken away, vnkowne to the Emperour: which when he vnderstood, he gave order that they should be restored to vs againe. But being so disperfed abroad, they could not be had: yet fiftie thousand Rials in ready money, were commanded to be given vs, the Emperour himselfe seeing the deliuey thereof to the hands of one that  
 50 was made our Gouvernour, who kept them in his hands to distribute them vnto vs as wee had neede, for the buying of Victualls for our men, with other particular charges, &c. So in the end of thirtie dayes, our ship lying before the City called *Sakay*, three leagues, or two leagues from *Osaka*, where the Emperour at that time lay, commandement came from the Emperour, that our ship should be carried to the Easter part of the land, called *Quanto*, whither according to his commandement we were carried, the distance being about an hundred and twenty leagues. Our passage thither was long by reason of contrary windes, so that the Emperour was there long before vs. Comming to the land of *Quanto*, and neere to the Citie *Eddo*, where the Emperour was: being arrived, we sought all meanes by supplications to get our ship cleare, and to seeke our best profit, to come where the Hollanders haue their trade: in which suit we spent much of the money  
 60 given vs. Also, in this time, three or foure of our men rebelled against the Captaine, and me, and made a mutinie with the rest of our men, so that we had much trouble with them. For they would not abide me any longer in the ship, but euery one would be a Commander: and they would euery one haue their parts of the money that was given by the Emperour. It would bee too tedious to write the particulars of all that passed herein. Therefore for quietnesse sake, wee  
 diuided

He was called the third time before the Emperour.

The ship was brought to he City of *Sakay*.

Fiftie thousand Ryals in ready money were given vnto them. The Citie *Sakay*. *Quanto*.

*Eddo* about 120. leagues from *Sakai*.



He builded a ship of 80. tunnes for the Emperour.

The Emperour bestoweth a yeerely reuenue on him of 70. Ducats, and two pounds of Rice a day.

He obtained libertie for the captaine.

The Captaine slaine at Malacca.

He builded another ship for the King of 120. tunnes. 1609.

The S. Francisco a Spanish ship of 1000. tunnes cast away on the coast of Japan in 35. degrees 50. min.

A new and greater pension giuen vnto him.

diuided the money to euery one as his place was: and this was after we had beene two yeeres in *Japan*. After which time, when we had receiued a deniall, that we should not haue our ship, but must abide in *Japan*, our companie hauing their parts of the money, disperfed themselues euery one where he thought best. In the end, the Emperour gaue euery man (to liue vpon) two pounds Rice a day, and yeerely so much as was worth eleuen or twelue Ducats a yeare: my selfe, the Captaine, and Mariners all alike. So in proceffe of foure or five yeeres the Emperour called me, and as he had done diuers times before, so one time he would haue me to make him a small ship: I answered that I was no Carpenter, and had no knowledge thereof: Well, doe it so well as you can, saith he, if it be not good, it is no matter. Wherefore at his command I built him a ship of the burthen of eightie tunnes, or there abouts: which ship being made in all proportions as our manner is, he comming aboard to see it, liked it very well; by which meanes I came in more fauour with him, so that I came often in his presence, who from time to time gaue me presents, and at length a yeerely reuenue to liue vpon, much about seuentie Ducats by the yeere, with two pounds of Rice a day also. Now beeing in such grace and fauour, by reason I learned him some points of *Geometry*, and the *Mathematickes*, with other things: I pleased him so, that what I said could not be contradicted. At which my former enemies, Iesuites and Portugals, did greatly wonder, and intreated me to befriend them to the Emperour in their businesse: and so by my meanes, both Spaniards and Portugals haue receiued friendship from the Emperour; I recompencing their euill vnto me with good. So, to passe my time to get my liuing, it hath cost mee great labour and trauell at the first; but God hath blessed my labours.

In the ende of five yeeres, I made supplication to the King to goe out of this Land, desiring to see my poore Wife and children according to conscience and nature. With the which request, the Emperour was not well pleased, and would not let me goe any more for my Countrey, but that I must continue in his Land, &c. Yet in proceffe of time, beeing in great fauour with the Emperour, I made supplication againe, by reason we had newes that the Hollanders were in *Achen* and *Patania*; which reioyced vs much, with hope, that God should bring vs to our Countrey againe, by one meanes or other. Then I made supplication againe, and boldly spake my selfe with him, at which he gaue me no answer. I told him, if he would permit me to depart, I would bee a meanes, that both the English, and Hollanders should come and traffique there in his Land. He answered, that he was desirous of both those Nations company for traffique, but would not part with me by any meanes: but bade me write to that purpose. Seeing therefore I could not preuaile for my selfe, I sued that my Captaine might depart, which suit hee presently granted me. So hauing gotten his libertie, he imbarqued in a *Japans* Iunck, and sayled to *Patane*: but he tarried there a yeers space, waiting for *Holland* ships. And seeing none came, he went from *Patane* to *Ior*, where he found a Fleet of nine saile: of which Fleet *Matleef* was General, and in this Fleet he was made Master againe, which Fleet sailed to *Malacca*, and fought with an Armado of Portugals: in which battel he was shot, and presently died: so that as yet, I think, no certain newes is knowne, whether I be liuing or dead. Therefore my desire is, that my wife and two children may heare, that I am here in *Japan*: so that my wife is in a manner a widdow, and my children fatherlesse: which thing only is my greatest griefe of heart, and conscience, &c. I am a man not vnknown in *Ratcliffe* and *Lime-house*: to my good Master *M. Nicholas Diggins*, and *M. Thomas Best*, and *M. Nicholas Isaac*, and *William Isaac*, brothers, with many others; also to *M. William Jones*, and *M. Becker*. Therefore may this Letter come to any of their hands, or the copy of this Letter: I know that Companies mercy is such, that my friends and kinred shall haue newes, that I doe as yet liue in this vale of my sinfull pilgrimage: the which thing againe and againe I do desire for Iesus sake.

You shall vnderstand, that the first shippe that I did make, made a Voyage or two, and then the King commanded me to make an other, the which I did, beeing of the burthen of an hundred and twentie tunnes. In this ship I haue made a Voyage from *Meaco* to *Edo*, beeing about the length as from *London* to the *Lizarde* or Lands end of *England*. In the yeere of our Lord 1609. the King lent this ship to the Gouvernour of *Manilla*, to goe with eightie of his men, to saile to *Acapulco*. In the yeere of our Lord 1609. a great ship called the *S. Francisco*, beeing about a thousand tunnes, was cast away vpon the coast of *Japan*, in the latitude of thirty five degrees and fiftie minutes: by distresse of weather she cut ouer-board her maine Mast, and bore vp for *Japan*, and in the night before they were aware, they ranne the ship vpon the shore, which was cast away, in the which one hundred thirtie and sixe men were drowned, and three hundred fortie, or three hundred fiftie saued: in which ship the Gouvernour of *Manilla* as a Passenger, was to returne to *Nova Spania*. But this Gouvernour was sent in the bigger ship of my building, in *Ann.* 1610. to *Acapulco*. And in *Ann.* 1611. this Gouvernour returned another ship in her roome, with a geeat present, and with an Embassadour to the Emperour, giuing him thanks for his great friendship: and also sent the price of the Emperours ship in goods and money: which shippe the Spaniards haue now in the *Philippinas*. Now for my seruice which I haue done and daily doe, being employed in the Emperours seruice, he haeh giuen me a liuing, like vnto a Lordship in *England*, with eightie or ninetie husbandmen, who are as my seruants and slaues: the like President was



was neuer done to any stranger before. Thus God hath provided for mee after my great miserie, his name hath and haue the prayse for euer, *Amen*.

Now, whether I shall come out of this Land I know not. Vntill this present there hath been no meanes, but now, through the Trade of the Hollanders there is meanes. In the yeere of our Lord, 1609. two Holland Ships came to *Iapan*. Their Intention was to take the Caracke, that yeerely came from *Maçao*, and being some five or six dayes too late, neuertheless, they came to *Firando*, and came to the Court to the Emperour: where they were in great friendship receiued, conditioning with the Emperour yeerely, to send a Ship or two: and so they departed with the Emperours Passe. Now, this yeare 1611. there is a small Ship arriued, with Cloth, Lead, Elephants teeth, Dammaske, and blacke Taffities, raw Silke, Pepper, and other commodities: and they haue shewed cause, why they missed the former yeare 1610. according to promise yeerely to come. This Ship is well receiued, and with great kindnesse intertaine. You shall vnderstand that the Hollanders haue, here, an Indies of money: for, they need not to bring Siluer out of *Holland* in to the East Indies. For in *Iapan*, there is much Siluer and Gold to serue their turnes in other places where need requireth in the East Indies. But the merchandise, which is here vendible for readie money, is, raw Silke, Damaske, blacke Taffities, blacke and red Cloth of the best, Lead, and such like goods. So, now vnderstanding by this *Holland* Ship lately arriued here, that there is a settled Trade driuen by my Countrey-men in the East Indies: I presume that amongst them, some, either Merchants, Masters, or Mariners, must needs know mee.

Therefore I haue emboldned my selfe to write these few lines, in short, being desirous, not to be ouer-tedious to the Reader. This Iland of *Iapan* is a great Land, and lyeth to the Northwards in the Latitude of eight and fortie degrees, and the Souther-most part of it, in five and thirtie degrees, and the length of it East by North, and West & by South (for so it lyeth) is two hundred and twentie English leagues. The breadth South and North of it thirteene degrees twenty leagues to the degree, is two hundred sixty leagues, & is almost square. The people of this Iland of *Iapan* are good of nature, curteous aboue measure, and valiant in warre: their Iustice is seuerely executed without any partialitie vpon transgressors of the Law. They are gouerned in great ciuilitie, I thinke, no Land better gouerned in the world by Ciuill Policie. The people are verie superstitious in their Religion, and are of diuers opinions. There are many Iesuites and Franciscan Friars in this Land, and they haue conuerted many to be Christians, and haue many Churches in the Iland. Thus, in short I am constrained to write, hoping that by one meanes or other, in proesse of time I shall heare of my wife and children: and so with patience I wait the good will and pleasure of God Almighty, desiring all those to whom this my Letter shall come, to vse the meanes to acquaint my good friends with it, that so my wife and children may heare of me: by which meanes there may be hope, that I may heare of my wife and children before my death: The which the Lord grant to his glorie, and my comfort, *Amen*.

Dated in *Iapan* the two and twentieth of October, 1611.

By your vnworthy friend and seruant, to command in what I can,

WILLIAM ADAMS.

Endorsed,

To my unknowne Friends and Countrey-men, desiring this Letter, by your good meanes, or the Newes or Copie of this Letter, may come to the hands of one, or many of my acquaintance in Lime-house, or elsewhere, or in Kent in Gillingham by Rochester.

A Letter of WILLIAM ADAMS to his Wife  
from Iapan.

LOving Wife, you shall vnderstand how all things haue passed with mee from the time of mine absence from you. We set saile with five ships from the *Texel* in *Holland*, the foure and twentieth of Iune, 1598. And departed from the Coast of *England*, the fift of Iuly. And the one and twentieth of *August*, we came to one of the Isles of *Cape Verde*, called *Sant Iago*, where we abode foure and twentie dayes. In which time many of our men fell sicke through the vnwholsomenesse of the Aire, and our Generall among the rest. Now the reason that we abode so long at these Ilands was, That one of the Captaines of our Fleet made our Generall beleue, that at these Ilands we should find great store of refreshing, as Goats and other things which was vntrue.

The Isles of  
*Cape Verde*.

Here I and all the Pilots of the fleet were called to a Councell: in which wee all shewed our iudgements of disliking the place: which were by all the Captaines taken so ill, that afterward it was agreed by them all, that the Pilots should be no more in the Councell, the which was executed. The fiftenth day of September we departed from the Isle of *Sant Iago*, and passed the Equinoctiall Line. And in the latitude of three degrees to the South our Generall dyed: wherewith many contrarie windes and raine, the season of the yeare being very much past, wee were

Their Generall  
dyeth.



*Cabo de Spiritu Sancto in Guiney.*  
*Cape de Lopo Consalues.*  
*Ilha da Nobon taken by the Hollanders.*

April 3. 1599.  
 The Straight of Magellan.

A good Harbour.

The 24. of August, 1599. they came into the South Sea.

They arrive on the Coast of Chili the 2. of October.

They trade with the people of the country in 46 degrees.  
 The Ile of Mocha.

23 Men slaine  
 Thomas Adams slaine.

The Ile of Santa Maria.  
 They meete with their Admirall.  
 The Generall and 27. men slaine at Mocha.

were forced vpon the Coast of *Guiney*, falling vpon an head-land called *Cabo de Spiritu Sancto*. The new Generall commanded to beare vp with *Cape de Lopo Consalues*, there to seeke refreshing for our men, the which we did. In which place we landed all our sicke men, where they did not much better, for wee could find no store of victuals. The nine and twentieth of December wee set saile to goe on our Voyage; and in our way we fell with an Island called *Ilha da Nobon*, where we landed all our sicke men, taking the Island in by force. Their Towne contayned some eightie houles. Hauing refreshed our men, we set saile againe. At which time our Generall commanded, that a man for foure dayes should haue but one pound of bread, that was a quarter of a pound a day; with the like proportion of Wine and Water. Which scarcitie of Victuals brought such feebleness, that our men fell into so great weaknesse and sicknesse for hunger, that they did eate the Calues skinned, wherewith our Ropes were couered. The third of Aprill 1599. we fell with the Port of *Saint Iulian*: And the sixt of Aprill we came into the Straight of Magellan to the first narrow. And the eighth day we passed the second narrow with a good wind, where we came to an Anchor, and landed on *Penguin Island*: where we laded our Boate full of Penguins, which are fowles greater then a Ducke: wherewith we were greatly refreshed. The tenth we weighed anchor hauing much wind, which was good for vs to goe thorow. But our Generall would water, and take in prouision of wood for all our fleet. In which Straight there is enough in euery place, with anchor ground in all places three or foure leagues one from another.

In the meane time, the wind changed, and came Southerly, so we sought a good harbour for our ship on the North-side, foure leagues off *Elizabeths Bay*. All Aprill being out wee had wonderfull much Snow and Ice, with great winds. For in April, May, Iune, Iuly, and August is the Winter there, being in fiftie two degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ . by South the Equinoctiall. Many times in the Winter we had the wind good to goe through the Straights, but our Generall would not. We abode in the Straight till the foure and twentieth of August, 1599. On the which day wee came into the South Sea: where sixe or seuen dayes after in a greater storme we lost the whole fleet one from another. That storme being long we were driuen into the latitude of fiftie foure degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ . by South the Equinoctiall. The weather breaking vp and hauing good wind againe, the ninth of October we saw the Admirall, of which we were glad, eight or ten dayes after in the night hauing very much wind, our fore-sayle flew way, and wee lost companie of the Admirall. Then according to wind and weather, we directe our course for the Coast of *Chili*: where the nine and twentieth of October, we came to the place appointed of our Generall in fortie sixe degrees, where wee set vp a pinnesse and stayed eight and twentie dayes: In this place wee found people, with whom wee had friendship five or sixe dayes: who brought vs sheep; for which we gaue them Bels and Knives, and it seemed to vs they were contented. But shortly after they went all away from the place where our ship was and we saw them no more. Eight and twentie dayes being expired, we set saile minding to goe for *Baldinia*. So wee came to the mouth of the Bay of *Baldinia*. And being very much wind our Captaines minde changed, so that we directed our course for the Ile of *Mocha*.

The first of Nouember we came to the Ile of *Mocha*, lying in the Latitude of eight and thirtie degrees. Hauing much wind we durst not anchor, but directed our course for *Cape Santa Maria*, two leagues by South the Island of *Santa Maria*: where hauing no knowledge of the people, The second of Nouember our men went on land, and the people of the Land fought with our men, and hurt eight or nine; but in the end, they made a false composition of friendship, which our men did beleue.

The next day our Captaine, and three and twentie of our chiefe men went on land, meaning for marchandize to get victuals, hauing wonderfull hunger. Two or three of the people came straight to our Boat in friendly manner, with a kind of Wine and Rootes, with making tokens to come on land, making signes that there were Sheep and Oxen. Our Captaine with our men, hauing great desire to get refreshing for our men, went on land. The people of the Countrey lay intrenched a thousand and aboue, and straight-way fell vpon our men, and slew them all; among which was my brother *Thomas Adams*. By this losse we had scarce so many men whole, as could weigh our Anchor. So the third day in great distresse, we set our course for the Island of *Santa Maria*, where we found our Admirall: whom when we saw, our hearts were some-what comforted: we went aboard them, and found them in as great distresse as we; hauing lost their Generall with seuen and twentie of their men slaine at the Island of *Mocha*: from whence they departed the day before we came by. Here we tooke counsell what we should doe to get Victuals. To goe on land by force we had no men: for the most part were sicke. There came a Spaniard by composition to see our Shippe. And so the next day he came againe, and we let him depart quietly. The third day came two Spaniards aboard vs without pawne, to see if they could betray vs. When they had seene our Shippe, they would haue gone on land againe: but we would not let them, shewing that they came without leaue, and we would not let them goe on land againe without our leaue; wherewith they were greatly offended. We shewed them that we had extreame neede of Victuals, and that if they would giue vs so many Sheepe, and so many Becues, they should goe on land. So against their wils they made composition with vs, which within the time appoin-



appointed they did accomplish. Having so much refreshing as we could get, we made all things well againe, our men beeing for the moit part recovered of their sicknesse. There was a young man, one *Hudecope*, which knew nothing, but had served the Admirall, who was made Generall: and the Master of our Shippe was made Vice-Admirall, whose name was *Iacob Quaternak* of *Rotterdam*. So the Generall and Vice-Admirall called me and the other Pilote, beeing an Englishman, called *Timothy Shotten*, (which had been with *M. Thomas Candish* in his Voyage about the World) to take counsell what we should doe to make our Voyage for the best profit of our Marchants. At last it was resolved to goe for *Iapan*. For by report of one *Derrick Gerritson*, which had been there with the Portugals, woollen cloth was in great estimation in that Iland. And we gathered by reason that the *Malucos*, and the most part of the East Indies were hot Countreyes where woollen cloth would not be much accepted: wherefore we all agreed to goe for *Iapan*. So leaving the Coast of *Chili* from thirtie sixe degrees of South-latitude, the seven and twentieth of Nouember, 1599. we tooke our course directly for *Iapan*, and passed the line Equinoctiall with a faire wind, which continued good for diuerse moneths. In our way we fell with certain Ilands in sixteene degrees of North-latitude, the Inhabitants whereof are men-eaters. Comming neere these Ilands, and hauing a great Pinnesse with vs, eight of our men beeing in the Pinnesse, ranne from vs with the Pinnesse, and (as we suppose) were eaten of the wild men, of which people we tooke one: which afterward the Generall sent for to come into his Shippe. When wee came into the latitude of seven and twentie and eight and twentie degrees, we found very variable winds and stormy weather. The foure and twentieth of February we lost sight of our Admirall, which afterward we saw no more: Neuerthelesse we still did our best, directing our course for *Iapan*. The foure and twentieth of March, we saw an Iland called *Una Colonna*: at which time many of our men were sicke againe, and diuers dead. Great was the miserie we were in, hauing no more but nine or tenne able men to goe or creepe vpon their knees: our Captaine, and all the rest, looking euery houre to die. The eleuenth of Aprill, 1600. we saw the land of *Iapan* neere vnto *Bungo*: at vvhich time there were no more but five men of vs able to goe. The twelfth of Aprill, we came hard to *Bungo*, vvhether may Burkes came aboard vs, the people vvhetherof vvee vvolingly let come, hauing no force to resist them: at vvhich place vve came to an Anchor. The people offered vs no hurt, but stole all things that they could steale: for vvhich some paid deare afterward. The next day, the King of that land sent souldiers aboard to see that none of the Marchants goods were stolne. Two or three dayes after, our Shippe was brought into a good Harbour, there to abide till the principall King of the vvhole Iland had newes of vs, and vntill it was knowne vvhether his will was to doe vvith vs. In the meane time vve got fauour of the King of that place, to get our Captaine and sicke men on land, vvhich was granted. And vvee had an house appointed vs, in vvhich all our men were laid, and had refreshing giuen them. After vvee had bene there five or sixe dayes, came a Portugall Iesuite vvith other Portugals, vvho reported of vs, that vve were Pirats, and were not in the vvay of Marchandizing. Which report caused the Gouvernours and common-people to thinke euill of vs: In such manner, that vve looked alvvayes vvhen vve should be set vpon Crosses; which is the execution in this land for theeuery and some other crimes. Thus daily more and more the Portugalls incensed the Iustices and people against vs. And two of our men, as traytors, gaue themselues in seruice to the King, beeing all in all vvith the Portugals, hauing by them their liues vvarranted. The one was called *Gilbert de Conning*, vvhoose mother dwelleth at *Middleborough*, vvho gaue himselfe out to be Marchant of all the goods in the Shippe. The other was called *Iohn Abelson Van Owater*. These traitours fought all manner of wayes to get the goods into their hands, and made knowne vnto them all things that had passed in our Voyage. Nine dayes after our fall, the great King of the land sent for me to come vnto him. So taking one man with me, I went to him, taking my leaue of our Captaine, and all the others that were sicke, commending my selfe into his hands, that had preserved me from so many perils on the sea. I was carried in one of the Kings gallies to the Court at *Osaca*, where the King lay, about eightie leagues from the place where the Shippe was. The twelfth of May, 1600. I came to the great Kings citie: vvho caused me to be brought into the Court, beeing a wonderfull costly house guilded with gold in abundance. Comming before the King, he viewed me well, and seemed to be wonderfull fauourable. He made many signes vnto me, some of vvich I vnderstood, and some I did not. In the end there came one that could speake Portuges. By him the King demanded of me, of vvhat Land I was, and vvhat mooued vs to come to his Land beeing so farre off. I shewed vnto him the name of our Countrey, and that our land had long fought out the East-Indies, and desired friendship vvith all Kings and Potentates in vvay of marchandize, hauing in our Land diuerse commodities, vvich these Lands had not: and also to buy such marchandizes in this Land, vvich our Countrey had not. Then he asked vvether our Countrey had warres? I answered him yea, vvith the Spaniards and Portugals, beeing in peace vvith all other Nations. Further, he asked me, in vvhat I did beleue? I said, in God that made Heauen and Earth. He asked me diuerse other questions of things of Religion, and many other things: As vvhat vvay we came to the Countrey. Hauing a Chart of the vvhole vvorld, I shewed him, through the *Straight of Magellan*. At vvich he wondred, and thought me to lie.

*Timothy Shotten*  
an Englishman  
Pilot in the  
Admirall.  
*Derrick Gerritson*

They leaue the  
coast of *Chili*,  
and saile direc-  
tly for *Iapan*.  
They crosse  
the Equinocti-  
all line.

These Iles  
seeme to bee  
the *Ladroses*.  
8. of their men  
ran away vvith  
their pinnesse.  
They lost their  
Admirall the  
24. of Febru-  
ary, 1600.  
An Ile called  
*Una Colonna*.  
The 12. of A-  
prill, 1600.  
they discovered  
*Iapan* neere  
vnto *Bungo*.  
They came to  
an Anchor.

The Portugals  
accuse them  
for Pirats.

He was sent  
for to the great  
King.

He commeth  
to the Court.

The Kings  
questions.

Thus



He was sent to  
prison.  
He was sent for  
again.  
He was sent to  
prison the se-  
cond time.  
\* The lames re-  
turning home  
this yeere,  
1621.

Thus from one thing to another I abode with him till mid-night. And having asked mee, what marchandize we had in our shippe, I shewed him all. In the end, he beeing ready to depart, I desired that we might haue trade of marchandize, as the Portugals and the Spanyards had. To which he made me an answer: but what it was I did not vnderstand. So he commanded me to be carried to prison. But two dayes after he sent for me againe, and enquired of the qualities and conditions of our Countreys, of Warres and Peace, of Beasts and Cattell of all sorts, of the Hea- uens. It seemed that he was well content with all mine answers vnto his demands. Neuerthe- lesse I was commanded to prison againe: but my lodging was bettered in another place.

The rest of this letter (by the malice of the bearers was suppressed: but seemeth to bee in sub- stance the same with the former. I haue added this also, as containing diuers things not mentio- ned in the former. This *William Adams* lately died at *Firando*, in *Iapan*, as by \* the last Ship we received intelligence.

¶ VI.

*The second Voyage of Iohn Davis with Sir Edward Michelborne Knight, into the East-Indies, in the Tigre a ship of two hundred and fortie Tuns, with a Pinnaffe called the Tigres Whelpe: which though in time it be later then the first of the East-Indian Societie, yet because it was not set forth by them, I haue heere placed.*

29

**T**he fift of December, 1604. we set saile from the Cowes in the Ile of *Wight*. The three and twentieth we arriued at *Teneriffe*, in the road of *Aratana*. The fourteenth of Ianuary at night we were troubled with extreme heate, lightnings, thunder and raine all the night. The sixteenth we passed vnder the Equinoctiall Line, shaping our course for the Ile *Loronnah*, the wind being at South South-east, our course South South-west, & some three degrees South-ward of the Line, we met with such multitudes of fish, as it is incredible to report, so that with our Hooke, Lines and Harping Irons, wee tooke so many Dolphines, Bonitos, and other fishes, that our men were so wearie with eating of fish, that we could not tell what to doe with it. Moreouer there were fowles called *Pasharabones* and *Alcatrazes*. We tooke many of those *Pasharabones*, for it is a fowle that delighteth to come to a ship in the night: and if you doe but hold vp your hand, they will light vpon it. The other foule called *Alcatrazes* is a kind of Hawke that liueth by fishing. For when the Bonitos or Dolphines doe chase the flying fish vnder the water, so that he is glad to flee from them out of the water to saue his life, this *Alcatrazes* flyeth after them like a Hawke after a Partridge. Of these flying fishes I haue seene so many flee together, that you would haue thought them to be a great flocke of Birds as farre off. They are but little fishes, scarcely so big as an Hering.

*Pasharabones.*  
*Alcatrazes.*

The Ile of *Fernando de Loronnah*.

The two and twentieth we came to an anker at the Ile of *Loronnah*, being foure degrees to the South-ward of the Line, where, in going on shore, our Skiffe was ouer-set, by reason of the violent breach that the Sea made, at which time was drowned a Kinsman of our Generall called Master *Richard Michelburne*, and all the rest were saued.

The fve and twentieth, our long Boat going to fill some emptie Caske with water, came againe within the danger of that vnfortunate Sea, and was ouer-set, and two more of our men drowned. Here wee were very much troubled in getting wood and water aboard, because the landing was so dangerous, that wee were forced to pull our Caske on shore with Ropes, and so backe againe when it was filled. Not sixe dayes before we came hither, there was an *Hollander* here, which sent his Boat for water, which was broken all into pieces against the Rockes, and his mens braines beaten out, and their armes and legs cut from their bodies.

The sixe and twentieth, our Generall went on shore to see the Iland, and marching vp and downe in the same, wee found nothing but a wild Countrey, inhabited onely by sixe *Negros*, which liue like slaues. In this Iland haue beene great store of Goates, and some wild Oxen; but by reason the *Portugall* Carakes sometime vse to water here when they go into the *East-Indies*, and that these poore slaues are left there as their seruants, to kill and drie Goates against their comming thither, they haue destroyed both Goats and Oxen, so that wee could find but few. In this Iland are great store of Turtle-Doues, *Alcatrazes*, and other Fowle, which wee killed with our Pieces, and found them to be very daintie meate. Also heere is good store of *Maiz* or *Gwynie* Wheat. Here are likewise plentie of rotten Trees, whereon groweth the fine Bombast, and abundance of wild Goards, and Water-melons. When we were furnished with wood and water we came aboard.

A strange glittering of the Sea.

The twelfth of February, wee found our selues to bee in seuen degrees, fve minutes to the South-ward: in which place at night, I thinke I saw the strangest Sea, that euer was seene: which was, That the burning or glittering light of the Sea did shew to vs, as though all the Sea ouer had beene burning flames of fire, and all the night long, the Moone being downe, you might see to read in any booke by the light thereof.

The



The thirteenth day in the morning, wee descried an Iland, or rather indeed a Rocke. The name is *Ascension*, the height eight degrees thirtie minutes to the South-ward.

The first of Aprill, toward night, wee descried Land from the maine top, which bare off vs, April. South South-East, when according to our reckoning and accounts, wee were not neere by fortie leagues, but yet the variation of the Compasse, did tell vs that wee were on Land thirtie leagues before we saw Land.

The second day in the morning we were hard by the shore, which was ten or twelue leagues to the North-ward of the Bay of *Saldannab*.

The third day we sayled by a little Iland, which Captain *John Davis* tooke to be an Iland, that standeth some five or six leagues from *Saldannab*. Whereupon our Generall, Sir *Edward Michellburne*, desirous to see the Iland, took his Skiffe, accompanied with no more then the Masters Mate, the Purser, and my selfe, and foure men that did row the Boat, and so putting off from the Ship wee came on land : while wee were on shore, they in the Ship had a storme, which draue them out of sight of the Iland : and wee were two dayes, and two nights before wee could recover our Ship. Vpon the said Iland is abundance of great Conies, and Seales : whereupon we called it *Cony Iland*.

The eighth day, we came to an Anchor, in the Road of *Saldannab*.

The ninth wee went on shore, finding a goodly Countrey, inhabited by a most sauage and beastly people, as euer I thinke God created. In this place wee had excellent good refreshing : in so much that I thinke the like place is not to be found among sauage people. For wee neither wanted Beeffe, Mutton, nor Wild-Fowle all the time we lay there. This Countrey is very full of Oxen and Sheepe, which they keepe in great Heards and Flocks, as we do our Cattle in *England*. Moreouer, it doth abound with store of wild Beasts, and Fowles, as wild Deere in great abundance, Antelops, Babious, Foxes and Hares, Ostriches, Cranes, Pelicans, Herons, Geese, Duckes, Pheasants, Partridges, and diuers other sorts of excellent Fowles. Of which Fowles wee killed great store with our Pieces. It is also most pleasantly watered with wholesome springs, which haue their beginning from the tops of exceeding high Mountaines, which falling into the Vallies, make them very fruitfull. Also there is a kind of Trees, not much vnlike to Bay Trees, but of a farre harder substance, that grow close by the Sea side. The people of the Countrey brought vs more Bullockes and Sheepe, then wee could spend all the time wee stayed there. So that we carryed fresh Beeffe and Mutton to Sea with vs. For a piece of an old yron Hoop, not worth two pence, you might buy a great Bullocke : and for a piece of yron, not worth two or three good Horse Nayles, you might buy a Sheepe. They goe naked, saue onely they weare vpon their shoulders a Sheepe skin, and before their priuities a little flap of a skin, which couereth as much, as though they had none at all before them. In the time of our being there, they liued vpon the guts and filth of the meate, which we did cast away, feeding in most beastly manner : for they would neither wash nor make cleane the guts, but take them and couer them ouer with hote ashes, and before they were through hote, they pulled them out, shaking them a little in their hands, and so eate both the guts, the excrements, and the ashes. They liue vpon raw flesh, and a certaine kind of roote which they haue, which groweth there in great abundance. In this place we lay on shore, from the ninth of April vntill the third of May. By which good recreation and refreshing, wee found our selues in as good health, as when wee put to Sea at the very first.

The seuenth of May, wee were South off the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*, by estimation tenne leagues. This night we passed ouer the shoalds of Cape *Das Agulhas*.

The ninth day, rose a mightie storme, at which time we lost sight of our Pinasse, being driuen by violence of weather from her. This storme continued for the space of two dayes, and two nights most fearefull and dangerous, with raine, lightning, and thunder, and often shipping of much water. The *Portugals* call this place, *The Lion of the Sea*, by reason of the extreame fury and danger, which they find in doubling of this Cape. In the extremitie of our storme appeared to vs in the night, vpon our maine Top-mast head, a flame about the bignesse of a great Candle; which the *Portugals* call *Corpo Sancto*, holding it a most diuine token, that when it appeareth the worst is past. As, thanked be God, we had better weather after it. Some thinke it to be a spirit : other write that it is an exhalation of moyst vapours, that are ingendred by foule and tempestuous weather. Some affirme that the Ship is fortunate where it lighteth, and that shee shall not perish. It appeared vnto vs two nights together, after which time we had a faire wind and good weather.

The twenty fourth, the Ile *De Diego Roiz*, standing in the Latitude of nineteen degrees & fortie minutes to the South-ward, and in the Longitude of ninetie eight degrees, and thirtie minutes, bare North off vs about five of the clocke eight leagues off. Wee bare roome to haue landed, but the wind grew so stiffe in the night, that we altered our determination. About this Iland we saw great store of white Birds, hauing in their tayles but two long feathers. These Birds, and diuers others accompanied vs with such contrary winds and gusts, that wee often split our sayles, and

They land in the Road of *Saldannab*.

Exceeding high mountaines.

Their women some are well featured, some of their men haue but one stone. Copper is now in greatest request with them.

A certaine kind of roote.

May. The Cape de *Bona Esperanza*. Cape *Das Agulhas*.

The Lion of the Sea.

*Corpo Sancto*.

The Ile de *Diego Roiz* in 19. degrees 40. minutes.



boulting to and againe, we rather went to the Lee-ward, then gained any thing, the wind blew so stiffe at the East South East.

June 3.

The Ile of Diego Roiz is a verie dangerous place.

The Iles Dos Banhos.

The third day of Iune, standing our course for the Ile De Cirne, we descried the Ile De Diego Roiz againe, and bare roome with it, thinking to haue stayed there to attend a good wind: but finding it to be a very dangerous place, wee durst not come to an anchor there, for feare of the rockes and sholds that lye about it; and vpon better consideration wee altered our purpose, and stood for East-India.

The fifteenth of Iune, we had sight of Land, which was the Ile Dos Banhos, in sixe degrees, and thirtie seuen minutes to the South-ward, and in one hundred and nine degrees of Longitude. These Ilands are falsely laid in most Charts, lying too much to the West. Here we sent our Boats to see, if they could find any good ground to anchor in. But searching both the South and West shore, they could find none. There are five of these Ilands: they abound with Fowle, Fish, and Coco Nuts. Our Boats went on shore, and brought great store of them aboard vs, which wee found to be excellent meate. Seeing wee could find no good anchoring, by reason that in some places close vnder the shore it was so deepe, that wee could find no ground, and in other places were such sharpe rockes, and sholds, that wee durst not anchor, hauing but bad and contrary winds, we left these Ilands, and stood our course, as neere as we could lye for India.

Their Boates goe on shore. The Ile of Diego Graciosa.

The nineteenth of Iune, we had sight of Land, which was the Ile of Diego Graciosa, standing in the Latitude of seuen degrees, thirtie minutes South-wards, and in Longitude one hundred and ten degrees, fortie minutes by our accounts. This seemeth to be a very pleasant Iland, and of good refreshing, if there be any place to come to an anchor. Wee sought but little for anchoring there, because the wind was bad, and the tide forced vs to the shore: so that we durst not stay to search there any further. This Iland seemeth to bee some ten or twelue leagues long, abounding with Birds and Fish; and all the Iland ouer seemeth to be a mightie Wood, of nothing else but Coco-trees. What else this Iland yeeldeth we know not.

Iuly. They passe the Equinoctiall Line.

An Iland or Ilands in two degrees of Northerly Latitude, adioyning to Sumatra.

The eleuenth of Iuly, wee passed againe the Equinoctiall Line, where wee were becalmed with extreame heate, lightning, and thunder.

The nineteenth we descried Land, which was many Ilands, as we thought locked in one, which lay vnder the high Land, of the great Iland of Sumatra. Here wee sent off our Boat to get some fresh water: but the Sea went with such a violent breach vpon the shore, that they durst not land: The people of this Iland made great fiers also along the shore, with intent, as wee thought, to haue had vs come on Land. This Iland or Ilands, is in two degrees of Northerly Latitude.

The five and twentieth we came to an anchor, by a little Iland, where we sent our Boat on shore for water; but finding none, they returned with some Coco Nuts, affirming, that the Iland was very full of Coco Trees, which had very few Nuts vpon them. We saw three or foure people vpon this Iland: but they went away and would not come neere vs. Those people we imagined to be left there to gather the Cocos, and to make them readie against others should come and fetch them.

The Ile of Bata.

A great flying Squirrel, or Bat.

The sixe and twentieth, we came to an anchor, within a league of a great Iland, called Bata, lying in twentie minutes of South Latitude. Here we builded vp our Shalop, and named her the Batte. In this Iland are none Inhabitants: it doth exceedingly abound with wood, and fresh water Riuers, as also with Fish, Munkies, and a kind of Fowle, which they affirme to bee that Countrey Batte, whereof in our time of being there I killed one, which was greater then an Hare, and in shape very like a Squirrel, saue onely from each of his sides, did hang downe two great flaps of skin, which when hee did leape from tree to tree, hee would spread forth like a paire of wings, as though hee did seeme to flie with them. They are very nimble, and will leap from bough to bough oftentimes, taking hold with nothing but their tayles. Because our Shalop was builded in the kingdome of these beasts, hee was called after their name, The Bat.

Three Barkes.

The nine and twentieth day, trauieling along the shore, in this Iland I discovered a Roder, riding vnder a little Iland about foure leagues from mee: which made mee very glad, hoping it had bene our Pinnasse which wee lost in the great storme, neere vnder the Cape of Bona Esperança: with which newes by night I gate aboard our Generall; who in the morning sent mee, with Captaine John Davis, to see if wee could find her. But when wee came to the place, wee found three Barkes riding vnder the Iland. They made signes vnto vs to come aboard them, and told vs they had Hennes; we answered them that we would goe fetch some money, and would come againe the next morning, and buy. Some of them vnderstood Portuguese. Wee durst not goe aboard them, because wee were but euill provided. The next morning being better furnished, wee went, thinking to haue some better commodities of them: but they had waighed anchor, and were all gone. It seemed they were afraid of vs by their halting away.

August.

The fourth of August, we weighed anchor and stood for Priaman.

The ninth of August, our Generall manned the Shalop, and sent vs along the Coast, to see if wee could find any Roderes, and espying a Sayle, we gaue her chase, which when shee perceiued shee



shee could not goe from vs, shee came to an anchor, and forsooke their Barke, and rowed all on shore to an Iland in a small Boat, where wee could not come at them. Wee laid there Barke aboard, not finding any one man in it: the chiefe lading was *Cocos* Oyle, Nuts, and fine Mats. But seeing it was but such meane stuffe, and knowing that if we should haue taken it, our General would not haue liked of it; wee left her, not taking any thing from her worth the speaking of.

The tenth and eleuenth dayes we stood close along the maine land, whereas we espied eight Prawes, riding ouer against a place called *Tico*. Which whē we first espied, we were in good hope, that we might find our Pinnasse among them. When we came vp with them she was not there: but they put vs in comfort, telling vs there was an *English* Ship at *Priaman*, which was not past  
10 sixe leagues from this Towne of *Tico*. Then standing out to Sea we saw our Admiral, and in short time got aboard, telling our Generall the newes. Wee had not sayled a league further, but our Ship came on ground vpon a Rocke of white Corall: but God be thanked, hauing a great gale, in very short time we got her off againe without any hurt at all: And comming neere vnto the Road of *Priaman*, we descried our Pinnasse to be there, which wee had lost so long before in the great storme, in doubling the Cape of *Bona Esperança*. The Captaine and Master of the Pinnasse, met vs halfe a league from the Road in their Skiffe, and at our comming aboard of vs, our Generall did welcome them with a peale of great Ordnance: And after many discourses passed of what had happened, in the time of each others absence, wee came to an anchor in fise fathoms water, very good ground in the Road of *Priaman*, which standeth in fortie minutes of Souther-  
20 ly Latitude.

*Tico* a Towne  
in *Sumatra*.

Their Ship  
commeth on  
ground.

Th y meet  
with their  
Pinnasse, which  
they had lost  
so long before

*Priaman* in  
fortie minutes  
of Southerly  
Latitude.

The fourteenth, our General sent mee on shore with a Present to the Gouvernor, and to others, to see what price Pepper was at, and to buy fresh victualls, and to know whether our men might come safely on shore. But when we came on shore, the Gouverneur durst not speake with vs priuately, by reason of certaine warres that were among them: by which meanes they were growne ialous one of another. These warres grew vpon this occasion. The King of *Achen* hauing two sonnes, hee kept the eldest at home with him, to succeed him after his death, and the youngest he made King of *Pedir*: vvhreupon the eldest sonne tooke his father prisoner, affirming that he was too old to gouerne any longer, and afterward made warre vpon his younger brother. Thus seeing little good to be done in this place, hauing refreshed our selues with fresh victualls, we  
30 resolved to depart from thence.

The one and twentieth, we weighed anchor, and stood for *Bantam*, on which day we tooke two Prawes, hauing nothing in them but a little Rice. The one of these Prawes hurt two of our men very sore after they had entred her. For our men thought, because they saw some leap ouer-board, they had all leaped ouer-board; but they were deceiued. For the first two men that entred were sore hurt by two vvhich lay close hidden behind their Sayle: vvhich as soone as they had wounded them, most desperately leaped ouer-board, swimming away like water Spaniels. So taking such things as best fitted vs, wee left their Pravves, doing them no further harme.

The three and twentieth, wee tooke a Fisher-boat, hauing nothing of value in him, letting  
40 him goe without any hurt, sauing onely one of them was shot through the thigh at the first meeting, when they resisted vs.

The fise and twentieth, wee descried a Sayle, and sent our Shalop, Long-boat, and Skiffe to see what shee was: for our Ship and Pinnasse could not fetch her vp, because they were becalmed. These Boats comming vp with her, bid him strike sayle, but shee would not. So wee fell in fight with her, from three of the clocke in the afternoon, till ten of the clocke at night, by which time our Pinnasse had gotten vp to vs: then shee strooke her sayles and yeelded. So wee made her fast to our Pinnasse, and towed her along with vs all night. In the morning, our Generall sent for them to see what they were: and sent three of vs to see what she was laden withall. When hee had talked with them, they told him they were of *Bantam*: wherefore, knowing not  
50 what iniurie he might doe to the *English* Merchants, that had a Factorie in *Bantam* at that present; and vnderstanding by vs, that their loading was Salt, Rice, and *China* dishes, hee sent them aboard their owne Barke againe, not suffering the worth of a penny to be taken from them. They standing toward *Priaman*, and we toward *Bantam*, left each other. This Barke was of the burthen of some fortie Tuns.

A Ship of *Bantam*  
taken and  
freely dimis-  
sed.

The second of September, we met with a small Ship of *Guzarate*, or *Cambaya*, being about eightie Tuns: which Ship wee tooke and carried into the Road of *Sillibar*, standing in foure degrees of Southerly Latitude; into which Road many Prawes continually come to refresh themselves. For here you may haue Wood, Water, Rice, Buffles-flesh, Goates, Hens, Plants, and Fresh-fish, but all very deere.

They take a  
Ship of *Guzarate*.  
*Sillibar* in foure  
degrees of  
Southerly La-  
titude.

The eight and twentieth day, hauing dispatched all our businesse, wee weighed anchor, and stood for *Bantam*.

The three and twentieth of October, wee came to an anchor in the Road of *Marrab*, being in the straight of *Sunda*: here we tooke in Fresh-water. In this place are great store of Buffles,  
60 Goates,

October.  
The Road of  
*Marrab*.



Goates, Hens, Duckes, and many other good things for refreshing of men. They esteeme not so much of money as of Calicut clothes, Pintados, and such like stufes. The people being well vsed, will vse you well; but you must looke to them for stealing: for they thinke any thing well gotten, that they can steale from a stranger.

The twentieth  
eight.  
Bantam.

The eight and twentieth, we weighed anchor, and stood for *Bantam*, which standeth in sixe degrees and fortie minutes of Southerly Latitude. This day we came within three leagues of the Towne, where wee came to an anchor all night. Here wee thought to haue seene the *English* Fleet; but it was gone for *England* three weekes before we came. Neuerthelesse, those that remained in the Countrey, as Factors of our Nation, came aboard vs, being very glad to see any of their Country-men in so forraigne a place, and withall told our Generall, that the company of the *Hollanders* Ships that were in the Road, had vsed very slanderous repors of vs to the King of *Bantam*: The effect whereof was, That wee were theeuers, and disordinate liuers, and such as did come for nothing but to deceiue them, or vse such violence, as time would giue vs leaue to execute; and that we durst not come into the Road among them, but kept two or three leagues from thence for feare of them. After our Generall had heard this report; it so moued him, that hee weighed anchor, sending the *Hollanders* word, that hee would come and ride close by their sides, and had the prowdest of them all that durst to put out a Piece of Ordnance vpon him; and withall sent them word, if they did goe about, either to braue, or to disgrace him, or his Country-men, hee would either sinke them, or sinke by their sides. There were of these *Hollanders* five Ships, the one of them of seuen or eight hundred Tuns, the rest of a farre smaller burthen. But of this message (notwithstanding we came and anchored close by them) we neuer had answer. But whereas the *Hollanders*, were wont to swagger and keepe great sturre on shore, all the time before our being there, they were so quiet, that wee could scarcely see one of them on Land.

The second of  
Nouember,  
they depart  
from Bantam.  
Pedra Branca.  
Three Prawes.

The second of Nouember, hauing seene our Country-men, wee tooke our leaue, and stood our course for *Patane*. And in our way, as wee sayled betweene the *Chersonesus* of *Malacca* and *Pedra Branca*, wee met with three Prawes, which being afraid of vs, anchored so neere vnto the shore, that we could not come neere them, either with our Ship or Pinnasse. Wherefore our Generall manned his Shalop with eightene men, and sent vs to them, to request them, that for his money hee might haue a Pilot to carrie his Ship to *Pulo Timan*, which is about some five dayes sayling from the place where wee met with them. But they seeing our Ship and Pinnasse at anchor, about a mile from them, and that they were not able to come any neerer them, told vs plainly, that none of them would goe with vs, and being at anchor weighed, and were going away: Seeing that, we began a fight with them all three: one of them we tooke in lesse then halfe an houre, whose men, which were seuentie three in all gate out of her, and ranne on shore. The other fought with vs all night, and in the morning about the breake of day, shee yeelded vnto vs. Our Generall came to vs in his Skiffe a little before she yeelded. They were laden with Benjamin, Storax, Pepper, China Dishes, and Pitch. The third Praw got from vs, while wee were fighting with the other. Our Generall would not suffer vs to take any thing from them, but only two of their men to Pilote vs to *Pulo Timan*, because they were of *Iaua*. These people of *Iaua*, are very resolute in a desperate case. Their chiefe Weapons are Iauelings, Darts, Daggers, and a kind of poysoned Arrowes, which they shoot in Trunkes. They haue some Harcubushes, but they are nothing expert in vsing them. They also haue Targets. The most part of them be *Mahumetans*. They had beene at *Palimbam*, and were going backe againe to *Greece*, a Port Towne on the North-East part of *Iaua* where they dwelled.

Two Prawes  
taken.

Poysoned Ar-  
rowes shot in  
Trunkes.  
*Palimbam*.  
*Greece*, a Towne  
in *Iaua*.

Certain Ilands.

The twelfth of Nouember, we dismissed them, standing our course toward *Patane*.

The six and twentieth of Nouember, we saw certaine Ilands bearing off vs North-west, which neither we, nor our new Pilots knew. But hauing a very contrary wind to stand our course for *Patane*, we thought it very necessary to search those Ilands for wood and water, hoping by that time we had watered, to haue a better wind.

The seuen and twentieth, we came to an Anchor within a mile of the shore, in sixteene fathomes good ground, on the South-side of these Ilands. Heere sending our Boat on shore, wee found some of them to bee Sunken Ilands, nothing aboue the water but the Trees or Rootes of them. In one of them we found a reasonable good watering place, and all the Ilands a Wilderness of Woods. It is a very vncomfortable place, hauing neither Fruites, Fowle, nor any kind of Beast wherewithall to refresh men. These Ilands we tooke to bee some of the broken Lands, lying South-east from the Ile of *Bintam*.

The broken  
Lands neere  
the Ile of *Bin-  
sam*.  
December.

*Pulo Laor*.

The second of December, hauing taken in wood and water, we weighed Anchor, standing our course for *Patane*, as neere as a bad wind would giue vs leaue. For wee found the wind in these monethes to be very contrarie, keeping still at North, North-west, or North-East.

The twelfth day, neere vnto *Pulo Laor*, wee descryed three sayles, and sending our Pinnasse and Shalop after one of them, being the neereft vnto vs, we stayed with our ship, thinking to haue met with the other two: but in the night they stood away another course, so that we saw them no more. In the morning, we descryed our Pinnasse and Shalop, about foure leagues to Leeward, with



with the other ship which they had taken, The wind and current being against them, they were not able to come vp to vs: we seeing that went to the n. When wee came, wee found her to be a Iuncke of *Pan-Hange*, being in burden aboue an hundred Tunnes, laden with Rice, Pepper and Tinne, going to *Bantam* in *Iana*. Our Generall not esteeming any such meane luggage, tooke as much Rice as serued for his prouision, and two little brasse Gunnes, and payd them royally for all: not taking any thing else from them, saue only one man to be our Pilot to *Patane*: who was willing to come along with vs, when he saw our Generall vse them so well. The other two Pilots, which wee tooke before out of one of the three Prawes, were vnskilfull men. Wherefore our Generall rewarding them, for the time that they had beene with him, sent them backe againe into their owne Countrey, by the Iuncke which wee tooke, that was going to *Iana*.

Another ship taken..

*Pan Hange*.

The thirteenth day we left her, standing our course for *Pulo Timaon*, ioyning on the King of *Pan-Hange* his Countrey. Here we were troubled very much with contrarie winds and currents. For the Sea runneth alwayes from the beginning of Nouember, to the beginning of Aprill, to the South-ward: and from Aprill to Nouember backe againe to the North-ward. The wind also in the aforesaid first five monethes is most commonly Northerly, and in the other seven moneths Southerly. All the ships of *China*, *Patane*, *Ior*, *Pan-Hange*, and other places which are to the North-ward, come to *Bantam* or *Palimbam*, when the Northerly Monsoon is come: and returne backe againe when the Southerly Monsoon commeth: Which Monsoons come in the monethes before mentioned. This being obserued you shall haue both wind and tyde with you. Here, as I said before, I found such contrary violent winds and currents, that I could not in three weekes get a league a head. This Countrey of *Pan-Hange* is a very plentifull Countrey, and full of Gentry, after the fashion of those Countries, store of shipping, and victuals very cheape. This Countrey lyeth betweene *Ior* and *Patane*, and reacheth on the sea-coast to *Cape Tingeron*, being a very high Cape, and the first Land-fall that the Caracks of *Macao* or Iuncks of *China*, or *Camboia* Prawes doe make as they come for *Malacca*, *Iana*, *Sumatra*, *Iumbe*, *Ior*, *Palimbam*, *Grece*, or any other parts to the South-ward.

*Pulo Timaon* ouer against *Pan-Hange*.

The Monsoons in these parts.

In three weeks hee could not get one league a head.

*Cape Tingeron*.

Here as I stood for *patane*: about the twentie seven of December, I met with a Iuncke of the *Iapons*, which had been pyrating along the coast of *China* and *Camboia*. Their Pilote being dead, with ignorance and foule weather, they had cast away their ship on the sholds of the great Iland *Borneo*; and to enter into the Countrey of *Borneo*, they durst not: for the *Iapons* are not suffered to land in any Port in *India* with weapons: being accounted a people so desperate and daring, that they are feared in all places where they come. These people, their ship being splitted, with their Shalops entred this Iuncke, wherein I met them, which was of *Patane*, and killed all the people saue one old Pilot. This Iuncke was laden with Rice, which when they had possessed and furnished with such furniture, necessities and armes as they saued out of their sunken shippe, they shaped their course for *Iapan*: but the badnesse of their Iuncke, contrarie winds, and vnseasonableness of the yeare forced them to Leeward: which was the cause of mine vnluckie meeting them. After I had haled them, and made them come to Lee-ward, sending my Boat aboard them, I found them by their men and furniture very vnproportionable for such a ship as they were in; which was a Iuncke not aboue seuentie tunnes in burthen, and they were ninetie men, and most of them in too gallant a habit for Saylers, and such an equalitie of behaviour among them, that they seemed all fellowes: yet one among them there was that they called Capitaine, but gaue him little respect. I caused them to come to an Anchor, and vpon further examination I found their lading to be only Rice; and for the most part spilt with wet: for their ship was leake both vnder and aboue water. Vpon questioning with them I vnderstood them to be men of Warre, that had pillaged on the Coast of *China* and *Camboia*, and, as I said before, had cast away their ship on the sholds of *Borneo*. Here wee rood at Anchor vnder a small Iland, neere to the Ile of *Bintam*, two dayes entertayning them with good vsage not taking any thing from them: thinking to haue gathered by their knowledge, the place and passage of certaine ships, on the Coast of *China* to haue made my Voyage. But these Rogues being desperate in winds and fortunes, being hopelesse in that paltrie Iuncke euer to returne to their Countrey, resolved with themselves either to gaine my shippe, or to lose their liues. And vpon mutuall courtesies with gifts and feasting betweene vs, sometimes five and twentie or sixe and twentie of their chiefeest came aboard: whereof I would not suffer aboue sixe to haue weapons. Their was neuer the like number of our men aboard their Iuncke. I willed Capitaine *Iohn Davis* in the morning to possesse himselfe of their weapons, and to put the Companie before Mast, and to leaue some Guard on their weapons, while they searched in the Rice, doubting that by searching and finding that which would dislike them, they might suddenly set vpon my men, and put them to the Sword: as the sequell proued. Capitaine *Davis* being beguiled with their humble semblance, would not possesse himselfe of their weapons, though I sent twice of purpose from my shippe to will him to doe it. They passed all the day, my men searching in the Rice, and they looking on: at the Sunne-setting, after long search and nothing found, saue a little *Storax* and *Beniamin*: they seeing oportunitie, and talking to the rest of their Companie which were in my ship, being neere



Captaine John  
Davis *flaine*.

Three or foure  
of the *Iaponians*  
Leaders killed.

One and twen-  
tie *Iapones* slain  
with demicul-  
uering shot.

They returne  
from the Ile of  
*Bintam*.

Two small I-  
lands called  
*Pulo Sumatra*.

February.

February the  
third.

to their Luncke, they resolved, at a watch-word betweene them, to set vpon vs resolutely in both ships. This being concluded, they suddenly killed and draue ouer-boord, all my men that were in their ship; and those which were aboard my ship sallied out of my Cabbin, where they were put, with such weapons as they had, finding certaine Targets in my Cabbin, and other things that they vsed as weapons. My selfe being aloft on the Decke, knowing what was likely to follow, leapt into the waste, where, with the Boate Swaines, Carpenter and some few more, wee kept them vnder the halfe-decke. At their first comming forth of the Cabbin, they met Captaine Davis comming out of the Gun-roome, whom they pulled into the Cabbin, and giuing him fixe or seuen mortall wounds, they thrust him out of the Cabbin before them. His wounds were so mortall, that he dyed as soone as he came into the waste. They pressed so fiercely to come to vs, 10 as we receiuing them on our Pikes, they would gather on our Pikes with their hands to reach vs with their Swords. It was neere halfe an houre before we could stone them backe into the Cabbin: In which time we had killed three or foure of their Leaders. After they were driuen into the Cabbin, they fought with vs at the least foure houres before we could suppress them, often fying the Cabbin, burning the bedding, and much other stuffe that was there. And had we not with two Demy-culuerings, from vnder the halfe-decke, beaten downe the bulke head and the pumpe of the ship, we could not haue suppressed them from burning the ship. This Ordnance being charged with Crosse-barres, Bullets, and Case-shot, and bent close to the bulke head, so violently marred therewith boords and splinters, that it left but one of them standing of two 20 and twentie. Their legs, armes, and bodies were so torne, as it was strange to see, how the shot had massacred them. In all this conflict they neuer would desire their liues, though they were hopelesse to escape: such was the desperatenesse of these *Iaponians*. Only one leapt ouer-boord, which after ward swamme to our ship againe, and asked for grace, wee tooke him in, and asked him what was their purpose? He told vs, that they meant to take our shippe, and to cut all our throates. He would say no more, but desired that he might be cut in pieces.

The next day, to wit, the eight and twentieth of December, we went to a little Iland to the Leeward off vs. And when we were about fife miles from the Land, the Generall commanded his people to hang this *Iaponian*: but he brake the Rope, and fell into the Sea. I cannot tell whether he swamme to the land or not. We tooke our course right to the little fore-said Iland, and came there to an Anchor the thirtieth of December. We remained there three dayes to mend our 30 Boat, and to take in wood and water. In this Iland we found a ship of *Patane*, out of which we tooke the Captaine, and asked him, whether the ships of *China* were come to *Patane*, or no? He told vs that they were not yet come, but that they would come thither within few dayes. We made the Captaine of that ship to be our Pilot, because he knew very well to what place the *Chinise* ships would come.

The tenth of Ianuary we purposed to stay their, till it pleased God, that we should meete the *Chinise* ships.

The twelfth of Ianuarie, one of our Mates climbed vp to the top of the Mast, and descryed two ships which came toward vs: but because of the wind they were forced to goe to the Leeward of the Iland. As soone as we had sight of them wee weighed Anchor, and made toward 40 them. And we fetched vp the greatest of them the twelfth of Ianuarie in the night. We fought a little with them, and boorded them, and brought them to an Anchor.

The next day, to wit, the thirtieth of Ianuarie we vnloaded some of their goods, to wit, raw Silke and other Silkes. They had fiftie Tunnes of Siluer of their Countrey: but we tooke little or none of it; because we had good hope, that we should meete with the other *Chinise* ships. After we had taken some of their Silkes, we let them depart the fifteenth of Ianuary: and gaue them twice as much, as wee had taken from them. And casting them off, wee tooke our course backe againe to *China Bata*: but we could not fetch it vp, because we had contrarie wind; so that we were forced to put Lee-ward vnto two small Ilands, which they of *Iana* call *Pulo Sumatra*: 50 where we came to an Anchor the two and twentieth of Ianuarie.

The foure and twentieth day, as we rode at Anchor there arose a great storme of wind, with which our Cable brake, so that we were forced to put into the neereft Creeke.

The second of February, fife *Holland* ships met with vs sayling homeward, which put into the same Roade where wee were. Captaine *Warwicke* was Generall of these ships. Hee sent to our Generall to dine with him. Our Generall went to him. He told vs that our *Englische* Merchants in *Bantam* were in great perill, and that still they looked for nothing else, then that the King of *Iana* would assault them, because we had taken the *China* ship, whereby the King of *Bantam* had lost his custome. Wherefore Captaine *Warwicke* requested our Generall, thar hee would cease to goe any further, and would sayle home vnto *England* with him. Our Generall answered, That hee had not as yet made his Voyage, and that therefore hee would not returne, vntill it should 60 please God to fend him somewhat to make vp the Game. The *Hollanders* perceiuing that they could not perswade our General to giue ouer his purpose, departed from vs the third of Februarie.

Our Generall considering, that if he should proceed on his Voyage, it would be very dangerous

• for



for the *English* Merchants which were resident in those parts, and seeing that hee had but two Anchors and two Cables to helpe himselfe withall, thought good to repaire his ships, and to returne home with that poore Voyage that he had made.

When our ships were readie, and that we had taken in wood and water, wee hoysed vp our sayles the fift of February to returne for England. They returne home.

The seuenth of Aprill we had sight of the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*, after wee had passed a great storme. April 7. 1606.

The seuenteenth of Aprill we came to the Ile of *Santa Helena*, where we watered, and found refreshment, as Wine and Goates, which we our selues killed. In the said Iland are many wilde Swine and Goates. There are also great store of Partridges, Turkie Cockes, and Ginnie Hennes, This Iland is not inhabited. VVe departed from thence the third of May. Santa Helena.

The fourteenth, we passed vnder the Equinodtiall Line.

The seuen and twentieth of Iune, we arriued in *Milford Hauen* in *Wales*. May. They arriued in Milford Hauen in Wales.

The ninth of Iuly, we came to an Anchor in *Portsmouth* Roade, where all our Companie were dismissed. And heere wee ended our Voyage, hauing beene out vpon the same full nineteene moneths, in the year 1606. They came to Portsmouth.

CHAP. II.

20 *A Priuiledge for fiftene yeeres granted by her Maiestie to certaine Adventurers, for the discoverie of the Trade for the East-Indies, the one and thirtieth of December, 1600.*



LIZABETH, by the grace of GOD *Queene* of England, France and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith, &c. To all Our Officers, Ministers and Subiects, and to all other people aswell within this Our Realme of England, as elsewhere under Our obedience and Iurisdiction, or otherwise, unto whom these Our Letters Patents shall bee seene, shewed, or read, greeting.

30 Whereas Our most deare, and louing Cousin, George Earle of Cumberland; and Our welbeloued Subiects, Sir Iohn Hart of London, Knight, Sir Iohn Spencer of London, Knight, Sir Edward Michelburne, Knight, William Candish, Esquire, Paul Banning, Robert Lee, Leonard Hollyday, Iohn Watts, Iohn More, Edward Holmden, Robert Hampson, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Cambell, Citizens and Aldermen of London, Edward Barker, Esquire, Thomas Marsh, Esquire, Samuel Bachoufe, Esquire, Iames Lancaster, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliuer Style, William Quarles, Bartholmew Barnes, William Offly, Robert Chamberlayn, Iohn Haruy, Richard Wiseman, William Stone, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allablatter, Richard Barret, Iohn Swynerton the younger, Thomas Garaway, William Romny, Iames Deane, Iohn Eldred, Andrew Banning, Edward Loaning, Thomas Iackson, Nicholas Leate, Iohn Wolstenholme, Nicholas Peard, William Chamber, Rowland Bachoufe, Humfrey Smith, Robert Sandy, Henry Robinson, Richard Poyntel, Iohn Highlord, William Haryson, Humphry Style, Humphry Robynson, Nicholas Ferrer, Thomas Erryngton, Iohn Combe, Robert Offly, Roger How, Iohn Hewet, Iames Turner, Morrys Abbot, Iames Carrell, Robert Brooke, Richard Chamblyn, George Chamblyn, Leonard White, Iohn Cornelius, Ralph Basby, William Gennings, Gyles Paslow, Robert Bell, Thomas White, Nicholas Lyng, William Palmer, Ellys Crippes, Iohn Merrycke, Humphry Hanford, Thomas Symons, Robert Cox, William Wustall, Iohn Humphry, Thomas Bostocke, Bartholmew Holland, Richard Cox, William Walton, William Freeman, Thomas Southacke, Iohn Friar, Francis Dent, Richard Bull, Richard Pierce, Roger Henyng, Robert Cobb, Robert Robynson, Francis Euington, Francis Taylor, Thomas Westrow, Iohn Middleton, Robert Gore, Ralph Gore, William Cater, George Cater, Iohn Busbridge, Thomas Horton, William Bond Merchant-Taylor of London, William Cotton, Iohn Stockley, Roger Owfield, Augustine Skinner, Richard Wise, Robert Towerfon, Richard Taylbye, Robert Middleton, Robert Bateman, Richard Goffon, Robert Waldore, Richard Wrag, Iohn Wrag, William Dale, Laurence Waldo, Henry Brydgman, Samuel Armytage, Edward Haryson, Edward Nicolson, Clement Motely, Iohn Newman, Humphry Wallot, Thomas Richardson, Thomas Boothby, Iohn Coachman, Reinald Greene, Richard Burret, Robert Myldmay, William Hyne, George Chanderler, Edward Lutterfoord, William Burrell, Stephen Haruy, Thomas Henshaw, William Ferrys, William Alderley, William Hewet, William Fisher, Ioseph Salbancke, Nicholas Manly, Nicholas Salter, William Willastone, William Angel, Nicholas Barnsly, Iohn Hawkins, Roger Dy, Richard Clarke, Thomas Hewet, George Whitmore, Henry Polttee, William Greenwell, Robert Iohnson, Bartholmew Huggott, Humphry Bass, Robert Buck, Ambrose Wheeler, William Hale, Richard Hull Junior, Iohn Hodgson, Alphonfus Foote, Edmund Spencer, Robert Dewsy, Richard Piott, William Bonham, Edward Barkeham, George Coles, Ralph Hammer, Iames Colymer, Samuel Hare, George Vtlye, Gregory Allen, Henry Archer, The names of the Adventurers.

George Vtlye dis- franchized the six of Iuly, 1661.

Teste



A Body Po-  
litique.  
The Style of  
the Corpora-  
tion.

A Common  
Seale.

Thomas Smyth  
Alderman the  
first Gouver-  
neur.

The first Com-  
mittees for the  
direction of  
the affaires,  
the Company  
being 24.

Jeffrey Kerby, Iohn Cafon, Richard Beale, Thomas Shipton, Iohn Fletcher, Thomas Talbot, Robert Pennyngton, Humphry Milward, Richard Herne, Raph Allen, Iohn Brooke, Anthony Gibbon, Robert Kayes, Hugh Crompton, Richard Walther, George Holman, Morryce Luellen, Richard Parions, Francis Barker, William Turner, Iohn Greenwood, Richard Denne, Richard Ironside, George Smithes, Iames Dunkyn, Edward Walter, Andrew Chamblayn, Robert Startford, Anthony Stratford, William Myllet, Simon Laurence, Thomas Lydall, Stephen Hodgson, Richard Wright, William Starker, William Smith, Iohn Ellacots, Robert Bayly, and Roger Cotton, haue of Our certaine knowledge beene Petitioners unto Vs, for Our Royall Assent and Licence to bee granted unto them, that they at their owne aduentures, costs and charges, as well for the honour of this Our Realme of England, as for the increase of Our Navigation, and aduancement of trade 10 of Merchandise within Our said Realmes, and the Dominions of the same, might aduenture, might set forth one, or more Voyages, with conuenient number of Ship and Pynnasses, by way of traffique and merchandise to the East-Indians, in the Country and parts of Asia and Affrica, and to as many of the Ilands, and Cities, Townes, and places thereabout, as where trade, and traffique of merchandise may by all likelihood, be established or had: Diuers of which Countries, and many of the Ilands, Cities and Ports thereof, haue long since beene discovered by others of Our Subiects, albeit not frequented in trade of Merchandise. Know yee therefore, that Wee greatly tending the honour of Our Nation, the wealth of Our people, and the encouragement of them, and others of Our louing Subiects in their good enterprises, for the increase of Our Navigation, and the aduancement of lawfull traffique, to the benefit of Our Commonwealth, haue of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, giuen and granted, and by these 20 Presents, for Vs, Our Heires, and Successours, doe giue, and grant unto Our said louing Subiects, before in these Presents expressly named. That they, and euerie of them from henceforth bee, and shall bee one bodie corporate and politique indeed, and in name, by the name of the Gouverneur, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, one bodie corporate and politique indeed, and in name really and fully for Vs, Our Heires and Successours. Wee doe erect, make, ordaine, constitute, establish, and declare by these Presents, and that by the same name of Gouverneur, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, they shall haue succession, and that they, and their Successours, by the name of Gouverneur and Company, trading into the East-Indies, be, and shall be at all times hereafter, persons, able and capable in Law, and a bodie corporate and politique, and capable in Law, to haue, purchase, receiue, 30 possesse, enioy, and retaine lands, tenements, priuiledges, liberties, iurisdiccions, franchises, and hereditaments, of whatsoeuer kind, nature, and qualitie soeuer they be, to them and their successours. And also to giue, grant, demise, aliene, assigne, and dispose all and singular other things, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, by the same name, that to them shall, or may pertaine to doe. And that they and their successours, by the name of the Gouverneur, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, may plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and bee defended in whatsoeuer Courts, and places, and before whatsoeuer Iudges and Iustices, and other persons and Officers, in all and singular Actions, Pleas, Suits, Quarrels, Causes, and Demands whatsoeuer, of whatsoeuer kind, nature, or sort, in such manner and forme, as other Our liege people of this Our Realme of England, being persons able and capable, may, or can haue, purchase, receiue, possesse, enioy, retaine, giue, grant, demise, aliene, assigne, dis- 40 pose, plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and bee defended, release, and bee released, doe permit and execute. And that the said Gouverneur, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, may haue a Common Seale, to serue for all the Causes and Businessse of them, and their successours. And that it shall and may bee lawfull, to the said Gouverneur and Company, and their successours, the same Seale, from time to time, at their will and pleasure to breake, change, and to make new, or alter, as to them shall seeme expedient. And further, Wee will, and by these Presents for Vs, Our Heires, and Successours, Wee doe ordaine, that there shall bee from henceforth, one of the same Company to bee elected and appointed in such forme and manner, as heereafter in these Presents is expressed: which shall be called the Gouverneur of the said Company, and that there shall bee from henceforth, foure and twentie of the said Company, to bee elected and appointed in such forme, as heereafter in these Presents is expressed, which shall be called the Committees of the said Company, who together with 50 the Gouverneur of the said Company, for the time being, shall haue the direction of the Voyages, of, or for the said Company, and the prouision of the shipping and merchandises thereto belonging, and also the sale of all merchandises, of, or for the said Company, and the managing and handling of all other things belonging to the said Company: And for the better execution of this Our Will, and Grant in this behalfe; Wee haue assigned, nominated, constituted, and made, and by these Presents, for Vs, Our Heires, and Successours, wee doe assigne, nominate, constitute, and make the said Thomas Smith, Alderman of London, to bee the first, and present Gouverneur of the said Company, to continue in the said Office, from the date of these Presents, untill another of the said Company, in due manner, be chosen and sworne unto the said Office, according to the ordinances and prouisions, heereafter in these Presents expressed, and declared, if the said Thomas Smith shall so long liue. And also Wee haue assigned, nominated, and appointed, and by these 60 Presents for Vs, Our Heires, and Successours, Wee doe assigne, nominate, constitute, and make the same Paul Banyng, Leonard Holyday, Iohn More, Edward Holmden, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliuer Style, Iames Lancaster, Richard Wiseman, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allablafter, William Romney, Roger How, William Chambers, Robert Sandy, Iohn El- dred,



dred, Richard Wiche, Iohn Highlord, Iohn Middleton, Iohn Combe, William Haryson, Nicholas Lyng, and Robert Bell, to bee the foure and twentie first and present Committies of the said Company, to continue in the said Office of Committies of the said Company, from the date of these Presents, for one whole yeere next following. And further, Wee Will and Grant by these Presents, for Vs, Our Heires, and Successours, unto the said Gouvernour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the said Gouvernour and Company, for the time being, or the more part of them present, at any publique Assembly, commonly called, The Court holden for the said Company, the Gouvernour of the said Company, being alwayes one from time to time, to elect, nominate, and appoint, one of the said Company to be Deputie to the said Gouvernour; which

10 Deputie shall take a corporall Oath before the Gouvernour, and sixe or more of the Committies of the said Company for the time being, well, faithfully, and truly, to execute his said Office of Deputie, to the Gouvernour of the Company; and after his Oath so taken, shall and may from time to time, in the absence of the said Gouvernour, exercise and execute the Office of Gouvernour of the said Company, in such sort as the Gouvernour ought to doe. And further, Wee will, and grant by these Presents, for Vs, Our Heires, Executors, and Successours, unto vs the said Gouvernour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that they, or the greater part of them, whereof the Gouvernour for the time being, or his Deputie to bee one, and from time to time, and all times hereafter, shall, and may have authoritie, and power yeerely, and euery yeere, on the first day of Iuly, or at any time, within sixe dayes after that day, to assemble, and meet together in some conuenient place, to bee appointed from time to time by the Gouvernour, or in his absence, by the Deputie of the said Gouvernour, for the time

20 being. And that they, being so assembled, it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the said Gouvernour, or Deputie of the said Gouvernour, and the said Company for the time being, or the greater part of them which then shall happen to be present, whereof the Gouvernour of the said Company, or his Deputie for the time being to be one, to elect and nominate one of the said Company, which shall be Gouvernour of the same Company for one whole yeare from thence next following, which person being so elected, and nominated to bee Gouvernour of the said Company, as is aforesaid, before he be admitted to the execution of the said Office, shall take a corporall Oath before the last Gouvernour being his Predecessor, or his Deputie, or any sixe or more of the Committies of the said Company for the time being, that hee shall from time to time, well and truly execute the office of Gouvernour of the said Company, in all things concerning the same, and that immediately after the said Oath so taken, he shall and may execute and vse the said Office of Gouvernour of the said Company, for one whole yeare from thence next following. And in like sort we will and grant, that as well euery one aboue named to be of the said Company or Fellowship, as all others hereafter to be admitted, or free of the said Company, shall take a corporall Oath before the Gouvernour of this said Company, or his Deputie for the time being, to such effect as by the said Gouvernour or Company, or the more part of them. In any publique Court to be held for the said Company, shall bee in reasonable manner set downe and deuised, before they shall be allowed, or admitted to trade or traffique as a Free-man of the said Company. And further we will and grant by these Presents, for Vs, Our Heires and Successours, unto the said Gouvernour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successours, that the said Gouvernour or the Deputie of the said Gouvernour, and the Company and their Successours for the time being, or the greatest part of them, whereof the Gouvernour, or the Deputie of the Gouvernour from time to time to be one, shall and may from time to time to be one, shall and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, have authoritie and power yearly, and euery yeare on the first day of Iuly, or at any time within sixe dayes after that day, to assemble, meet together in some conuenient place to be from time to time appointed by the said Gouvernour of the said Company, or in his absence by his Deputie. And that they being so assembled, it shall and may be lawfull, to, and for the said Gouvernour, or his Deputie, and the Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, which then shall happen to be present, whereof the Gouvernour of the said Company, or his Deputie for the time being to be one, to elect, and nominate twentie foure of the said Company, which shall be Committies of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next ensuing, which persons being so elected, and nominated to be Committies of the said Company as aforesaid, before they bee admitted to the execution of their said Offices, shall take a Corporall Oath before the Gouvernour or his Deputie, and sixe or more of the said Committies of the said Company, being their last Predecessours for the time being, that they and euery of them, shall well and faithfully performe their said Offices of Committies, in all things concerning the same. And that immediately after the said Oath so taken, they shall and may execute, and vse the said Offices of Committies of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next following. And moreover, our will and pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Vs, Our Heires and Successours, we doe grant unto the said Gouvernour, and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successours, that when, and as often it shall happen to the Gouvernour of the said Company for the time, at any time within one yeare, after hee shall bee nominated, elected and sworne to the Office of the Gouvernour of the said Company, as is aforesaid, to dye, or to bee remooued from the said Office, which Gouvernour not demeaning himselfe well in his said Office, Wee will to bee remoouable at the pleasure of the said Company, or the greater part of them, which shall bee present at any their publike Assemblies, commonly called their generall Court, holden for the said Company, that then, and so often it shall and may be lawfull to and for the residue of the said Company, for the time being, or the greater part of them, within conuenient time after the death, or remoouing any such Gouvernour, to assemble

A Deputy to the Gouvernour.

The first day of Iuly, or within 6. dayes after the yeerely election of the Gouvernour.

Euery Brother to take a corporall Oath.

The foure and twentie Committies to bee yearly elected, on the first of Iuly, or sixe dayes after.

The Committies shall take a corporall Oath.

If the Gouvernour dye, or be remooued, a new to be chosen.



If any of the  
Committees,  
new to be cho-  
sen.

Freedome for  
the Sonnes &  
Apprentises of  
such, as are  
free of the  
Company.

The Places of  
the Freedome  
of this Com-  
pany.

That the  
Company  
may assemble  
in any conue-  
nient place.

Authority to  
make reasona-  
ble lawes by  
the greatest  
part of a gene-  
rall assembly.

semble themselves in such convenient place, as they shall thinke fit for the election of the Governour of the said Company; or that the said Company, or the greater part of them being then and there present, shall and may then and there before their departure from the said place elect, and nominate one other of the said Company to be Governour of the said Company in the place or steed of him, that so dyed, or was so remo-  
ued, which person being so elected, and nominated to the Office of Governour of the said Company, shall haue  
and exercise the said Office for, and during the residue of the said yeare, taking first a corporall Oath, as is  
afore-said, for the due execution thereof, and this to be done from time to time so often as the case shall so  
require. And also Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for Vs, Our Heires, and Successors Wee  
doe grant vnto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies,  
and to their Successors, that when, and as often as it shall happen any of the Committees of the said Compa- 10  
ny for the time being at any time within one yeare next after, that they or any of them shall bee nominated,  
elected and sworne to the Office of Committees of the said Company, as is aforesaid, to dye, or be removed  
from the said Office, which Committees not demeaning themselves well in their said Office, Wee will to bee  
remouable at the pleasure of the said Governour, and Company, or the greater part of them, whereof the  
Governour for the time being, or his Deputie to be one, within convenient time after the death, or removing  
of any of the said Committees, to assemble themselves in such convenient place, as is or shall bee vsuall and  
accustomed for the election of the Governour of the said Company, or where else for the Governour of the said  
Company, for the time being, or his Deputie to be one, being then and there present, shall and may then  
and there, before their departure from the said place, elect and nominate one, or more of the said Company  
to be Committees of the said Company in the places and steeds, place or steed of him or them, that so died, or 20  
were, or was so remooued, which person, or persons so elected, and nominated to the Office, or Offices of  
Committee, or Committees of the said Company, shall haue and exercise the said Office and Offices, for,  
and during the residue of the said yeere, taking first a Corporall Oath, as is aforesaid, for the due execution  
thereof, and this to be done from time to time so often, as the cause shall require. And further, Wee doe  
by these Presents for Vs, Our Heires and Successors, will, and grant vnto the said Governour, and Com-  
pany of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, that they, and all that  
are, or shall be of the said Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and euerie  
of them, and all the sonnes of them, and euerie of them at their severall ages of one and twentie yeeres,  
or upwards: And further, all such the Apprentises, Factors, or seruants of them, and euerie of them,  
which hereafter shall be imployed by the said Governour and Company, in the said Trade of Merchandise, 30  
of, or to the East-Indies, beyond the seas, or any other the places aforesaid, in any part of the said East-  
Indies, shall and may by the space of fiftene yeeres, from the Feast of the Birth of our Lord God last  
past, before the date hereof, freely traffique and vse the Trade of Merchandise by sea, in, and by  
such wayes and passages already found out, or discovered, or which hereafter shall bee found out,  
and discovered, as they shall esteeme, and take to bee fittest into, and from the East-Indies into  
the Countries, and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the Ilands, Ports, Hauens, Cities,  
Creakes, Townes and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona  
Sperancia, to the straights of Magellan, where any Trade or Traffique of Merchandise may bee used,  
or had, to, and from euerie of them, in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intents, and  
purposes, as shall bee from time to time at any publique Assembly, or Court held by, or for the said Gover- 40  
nour or Company, by or betweene them, of them of the said Company, or Fellowship of Merchants of  
London, trading into the East-Indies, or the more part of them for the time, being present at such Assem-  
bly or Court, the Governour, or his Deputie being alwaies present at such Court or Assembly limited,  
and agreed: And not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance: any statute,  
vsage, diuersitie, religion, or faith, or any other cause, or matter whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstanding:  
so alwaies that the same Trade bee not undertaken, nor addressed to any Countrie, Iland, Port,  
Hauen, Citie, Creak, Towne, or place already in the lawfull, and actuall possession of any such Christi-  
an Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any time hereafter shall bee in league or amitie with Vs,  
Our Heires or Successors, and who doth not, or will not accept of such Trade, but doth overtly de-  
clare and publish the same, to bee utterly against his or their good will and liking. And further, Our will 50  
and pleasure is, and by these presents for Vs, Our Heires, and Successors, Wee doe grant vnto the said  
Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and to their succes-  
sors, that it shall and may bee lawfull, to and for the said Governour, and Company, and their successors  
from time to time, to assemble themselves for, or about any the matters, causes, affaires, or businesse of the said  
Trade, in any place or places for the same convenient, during the said terme of fiftene yeeres within Our  
Dominions or elsewhere, and there to hold Court for the said Company, and the affaires thereof; and that  
also it shall and may be lawfull, to, and for them, or the more part of them, being so assembled, and that shall  
then and there be present in any such place or places, whereof the Governour, or his Deputie for the time  
being to be one, to make, ordaine, and constitute such and so many reasonable Lawes, Constitutions, Orders,  
and Ordinances, as to them, or the greater part of them, being then and there present shall seeme necessary & 60  
conuenient, for the good government of the same Companie, and of all Factors, Masters, Mariners, and o-  
ther Officers imployed, or to be imployed in any of their Voyages, and for the better aduancement and conti-  
nuance of the said trade, and traffique, and the same Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances so made,  
to put in and execute accordingly, and at their pleasure to reuoke, or alter the same, or any of them as occa-  
sion



10 *tion shall require, and that the said Gouvernour, and Company, so often as they shall make, ordaine, or establish any such Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances in forme aforesaid, shall and may lawfully impose, ordaine, limit, and provide such paines, punishments, penalties, by imprisonment of body, or by fines, or amercements, or by all or any of them upon and against all offenders, contrary to such Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, or any of them, as to the said Gouvernour, and Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, then and there being present, the said Gouvernour, or his Deputy being alwayes one, shall seeme necessary, requisite, and convenient for the obseruation of the same Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, and the same fines, and amercements shall and may leaue, take, and haue to the use of the said Gouvernour, and Companie, and their Successors without the impediment of Vs, Our Heires, or Successors, or of any the Officers, or Ministers of Vs, Our Heires, or Successors, or without accompt to Vs, Our Heyres, or Successors, to bee rendred or made.*

20 *All and sundry which Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, so as aforesaid to be made, We will to be duely obserued, and kept under the paines and penalties therein to bee contained, so alwayes the said Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, Ordinances, Imprisonments, Fines, and Amercements be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the Lawes, Statutes, or Customes of this Our Realme. And for as much as the said Gouvernour, and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, haue not yet experience of the kinds of Commodities and Merchandizes, which are or will bee vendible, or to be uttered in the said parts of the East-Indies, and therefore shall bee driuen to carrie to those parts in their Voyages diuers and sundry Commodities, which are likely to be returned againe into this Realme: We therefore of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for the better encouraging of the said Gouvernour, and Company of Merchants trading into the East-Indies, and for the aduancement of the said trade, doe grant unto the said Gouvernour and Companie, and to their Successors, that they and their Successors during the foure first Voyages, which they shall make or set forth for or towards the said East-Indies, shall or may transport and carry out of Our Realme of England, and the Ports, Creekes and Hauens thereof, all such and so much goods and merchandizes, being goods and merchandizes lawfully passable, and transportable out of this Realme, and not prohibited to be transported by any Law, or Statute of this Realme, as shall be by them, their Factors, or Assignes, shipped in any Ship or Ships, Vessell or Vessels, to bee employed in any of the said foure first Voyages, free of Custome, Subsidie or Poundage, or any other duties or payments to Vs, or*

30 *Our Successors due, or belonging for the shipping, or transporting of the same or any of them. And yet neuerthelesse Our Will and Pleasure is, and We doe by these Presents straightly charge and command, that all and euery such goods and merchandizes so to be transported out of this Realme, shall from time to time during the said foure first Voyages, as is aforesaid, shall from time to time be duely entred by the Customer, Comptroller, or other Officer of such Port, Creek, or Place, where the same goods, or merchandizes shall happen to be shipped, or laden, to be transported as aforesaid. And also of Our further especiall Grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, We doe for Vs, Our Heires, Successors, grant to and with the said Gouvernour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that when and as often at any time during the said terme, and space of fifteene yeeres, as any Custome, Pondage, Subsidie, or other Duties shall be due and payable unto Vs, Our Heyres, or Successors, for any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever to bee returned out, or from any the*

40 *Ilands, Ports, Hauens, Cities, Townes, or Places aforesaid unto the Port of London, or any of the Hauens, Creekes, Members, or Places to the same Port belonging, that the Customers, and all other Officers for the time being of Vs, Our Heires, or Successors, for or concerning receipts of Custome, Poundage, Subsidies, or other Duties unto whom it shall appertaine, shall upon the request of the Gouvernour, and Companie of the said Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or any other their Agents, Factors, or Assignes, giue unto the said Gouvernour and Company, their Agents, Factors, or Assignes, sixe Moneths time for the payment of the one halfe, and after those sixe Moneths ended, other sixe Moneths time for the payment of the other halfe of their said Custome, Poundage, or other Subsidie, or Duties, receiuing good and sufficient bonds with surety to the use of Vs, our Heires and Successors, for the true payment of the same accordingly, and upon the receipt of the said bonds with suretie from time to time, to giue unto the said Gouvernour and Companie of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies for the time being, their Agents, Factors, or Assignes, their Cockets or other warrants to take out and receiue on land the same Goods, Wares, & Merchandises by vertue thereof, without any disturbance. And that also as often as at any time during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandises of the said Gouvernour, and Company for the time being laden from Our Port of London, or any the Creekes, Members, or Places to the same Port belonging, to be transported to or towards any of the Ports, Ilands, Hauens, Cities, Townes, or Places, aforesaid, shall happen to miscarie or be lost, before their safe arriual or discharge in the Ports, for and to the which the same shall be sent, that then, and so often, and so much Custome, Poundage, Subsidies, or other Duties, as they answered to Vs for the same before their going forth of our said Ports, Hauens, or Creekes,*

60 *shall after due prooffe made before the Treasurer of England for the time being of the said losse, and the inst quantitie thereof, bee by vertue hereof allowed by the said Gouvernour and Company, their Agents, or Factors, by warrant of the said Treasurer, to the said Customers or Officers in the next goods, wares, or merchandises, that the said Gouvernour and Company, or their successors, shall and may ship, for or towards those parts, according to the true rates of the Customes, Poundage, or Subsidies before payed for the goods,*

To punish offenders either in body or purse, so it bee not contrary to the Lawes of the Realme.

Freedome of Custome of goods outwards for foure yeeres.

Sixe and sixe moneths time for payment of custome and subsidie inward.

If goods miscarry outward the value of Custome shall be allowed in other goods afterward shipped.

wares.



The Custome  
of goods being  
payed at com-  
ming into the  
Realme, it shall  
be lawfull for  
any naturall  
Subiect to ship  
it out againe,  
vpon the first  
Custome with-  
in thirteene  
moneths.

That it shall be  
lawfull in the  
first Voyage, to  
carry out in  
forraign Coyne  
procured by  
the Company,  
or Bullion, the  
value of thir-  
tie thousand  
pound, so as  
fixe thousand  
thereof bee  
coyned in  
the Mynt.

After the said  
first Voyage, in  
all the rest of  
the Voyages,  
they may carry  
out in euery  
Voyage thir-  
tie thousand  
pound of such  
forraign Coyne,  
as they bring  
into the realm,  
so as fixe thou-  
sand thereof be  
new coyned in  
the Mynt.

That the trade  
shall be traded,  
according to  
the ordinances  
of the Compa-  
ny, and not  
otherwise.

wares, or merchandises so lost, or miscarrying, or any part thereof. And for that the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, are like to bring into this Our Realme a much greater quantitie of forreine commodities, from the parts of the said East-Indies, then can bee spent for the necessarie use of the same Our Realme, which of necessitie must bee transported into other Counteies, and there vented: Wee for Vs, Our Heires and Successours, of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe grant to, and with the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that at all times, from time to time, during the space of thirteene moneths, next after the discharge of any the same forraine commodities so to be brought in, the Subsidies, Poundage, Customes, and other duties, for the same being first paid, or compounded for, as aforesaid, it shall be lawfull for the said Governour and Company, and their successours, 10 or any other the naturall Subiects of this Our Realme, which may, or shall buy the same of them, to transport the same in English Bottoms, freely out of this Realme, as well ungarbled, as garbled, without payment of any further Custome, Poundage, or any further Subsidy, to Vs, Our Heires, or Successours for the same: whereof the Subsidy, Custome, Poundage, or other duties, shall bee so formerly payed or compounded for, as aforesaid, and so provided, and the said Customer, or other Officer or Officers, to whom in that behalfe it shall appertaine, for the time being, by vertue hereof, shall vpon due and sufficient prooffe thereof, made in the Custome House, of or belonging to the same Port of London, giue them sufficient Cocket, or Certificate for the safe passing out thereof accordingly. And, to the end no deceit to be used herein to Vs, Our Heires, or successours, Certificate shall bee brought from the Collector of the Custome, Subsidy, Poundage, or other duties inwards of Vs, Our Heires, or Successours, to the Collectors of the Custome, Subsidy, Poundage, or other duties outwards of Vs, Our Heires, or Successours to the said goods, wares, or merchandises, haue within the time limited, answered their due Custome, Subsidy, Poundage, or other duties for the same inwards. And moreouer, Wee of Our further especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue granted, and by these Presents for Vs, Our Heires, and Successours, doe grant vnto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, that it shall and may be lawfull for them, their Factors, or Assignes in their first Voyage or Fleet, which is now in preparing for their first aduenture to the said East-Indies, to transport out of this Our Realme of England, all such forraine Coyne of Siluer, either Spanish, or other forraine Siluer, as they haue procured, prepared, and gotten, or shall procure, prepare and get, as likewise all such other Coynes of Siluer, as they haue procured, or shall procure to bee coyned in Our Mynt, within Our Tower of London, out of such 30 Plate or Bullion, as it shall bee provided for the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, their Factors, or Assignes, before the going forth of the same Fleet in these three first Voyages, so as the whole quantitie of Coyne or Monies, to bee transported in this their said first Voyage doe not exceed the value, or sum of thirtie thousand pound sterling. And so as the sum of six thousand pound, at the least parcell of the said sum of thirtie thousand pound, be first coyned in Our Mynt, within Our Tower of London before the same, shall bee transported as aforesaid; any Law, Statute, Restraint, or Prohibition in that behalfe notwithstanding. And in like manner, of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee haue granted, and by these Presents doe for Vs, Our Heires and Successours, grant vnto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successours: That it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the 40 said Governour and Company, and their Successours, after the said first Voyage set forth yeerely, for, and during the residue of the said terme of fiftene yeares, to ship and transport out of this Our Realme of England, or Dominions of the same, in any their other Voyages, to, and towards any of the parts aforesaid, in forme aforesaid, all such forraine Coyne of siluer, Spanish, or other forraine Siluer, or Bullion of Siluer, as they shall during the said terme bring, or cause to bee brought into this Our Realme of England, from the parts beyond the Seas, either in the same kind, sort, stampe, or fashion, which it shall haue when they bring it in, or any other forme, stampe, or fashion to bee coyned within Our Mynt, within Our Tower of London, at their pleasure, so as the whole quantities of Coyne or Monies, by them to bee transported in any their said Voyages, during the residue of the said terme, doe not exceed the value or summe of thirtie thousand pound in any one Voyage, and so as the summe of fixe thousand pound at the 50 least parcell of the said summe, or value of thirtie thousand pound, so to bee transported as aforesaid, bee first coyned within Our said Tower of London, before the same shall bee transported in any of the said Voyages, any Law, Statute, Restraint, or Prohibition in that behalfe in any wise notwithstanding. And further, wee of Our ample, and abundant Grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, haue granted, and by these Presents for Vs, Our Heires and Successours, doe grant vnto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successours, that they and their Successours, and their Factors, Seruants, or Assignes in the trade of merchandise for them, and on their behalfe, and not otherwise, shall for the said terme of fiftene yeeres haue, vse, and enioy the whole entire, and only trade and traffique, and the whole entire and onely libertie, vse, and priuiledge of trading and trafficking, and vsing feate and trade of merchandise, to and from the said East-Indies, and to and from 60 all the Ilands, Ports, Hauens, Cities, Townes, or Places aforesaid in such manner, and forme as is aboue mentioned, and that the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and euery particular and seuerall person that now is, or that hereafter shall be of that Company, or Incorporation, shall haue full, and free authoritie, libertie and facultie, licence and power



in forme aforesaid to trade and to traffique, to and from the said East Indies, and all and every the parts thereof, in forme aforesaid, according to the orders and manners, and agreement hereafter to be made, and agreed upon by the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, or the more part of them, present at any Court, or publique Assembly, of, or for the said Company, the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputie for the time being alwayes present at such Court or Assembly, and not otherwise. And for that the Shippes sayling into the said Indies, must take their due and proper times, to proceed in these Voyages, which otherwise, as we well perceiue cannot be performed in the rest of the yeere following: Therefore wee of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for Vs, Our Heires and Successors, doe  
10 grant, to and with the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that in any time of restraint sixe good Ships, and sixe good Pynnaces well furnished with Ordnance, and other munition for their defence, and five hundred Mariners, English-men, to guide and sayle in the same sixe Ships and sixe Pynnaces at all times, during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, shall quietly be permitted, and suffered to depart and goe in the said Voyages, according to the purport of these presents, without any stay or contradiction by Vs, Our Heires, or Successors, or by the Lord High Admirall, or any other Officer or Subiect, of Vs, Our Heires or Successors for the time being, in any wise, any restraint, law, statute, usage, or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided neuerthelesse, that if wee shall at any time within the said terme of fifteene yeeres, haue iust cause to arme Our Navy in warlike manner, in defence of Our Realme, or for offence  
20 of Our enemies, or that it shall be found needfull to ioine to the Navy, of Vs, Our Heires or Successors, the Ships of Our Subiects, to be also armed for the warres to such a number as cannot be supplied, if the said sixe Ships, and sixe Pynnaces should bee permitted to depart, as aboue is mentioned; then upon knowledge giuen to Vs, Our Heires or Successors, or by any Admirall, to the said Governour and Company, about the twentieth day of the month of Iuly, or three moneths before the said Governour and Company, shall begin to make readie the same sixe Ships and sixe Pynnaces, that wee may not spare the said sixe Ships and sixe Pynnaces, and the Mariners requisite for them to bee out of Our Realme, during the time that Our Nauie shall be upon the Seas; That then the said Governour and Company, shall forbear to send sixe such Ships, and sixe Pynnaces for their trade of Merchandise, untill that we shall reuoke, or withdraw Our said Nauie for this seruice. And wee of Our further  
30 Royall fauour, and of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue granted, and by these presents, for Vs, Our Heires and Successors, doe grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors, that the said East-Indies, nor the Ilands, Hauens, Ports, Cities, Townes, or Places thereof, nor of any part thereof, shall not be visited, frequented or haunted by any of the Subiects of Vs, Our Heires, or Successors, during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, contrary to the true meaning of these Presents. And by vertue of Our prerogative Royall, which wee will not in that behalfe haue argued, or brought in question; wee straightly charge, command, and prohibite for Vs, Our Heires and Successors, of what degree or qualitie soener they be, that none of them, directly, or indirectly, doe visite, haunt, frequent, trade, traffique, or aduenture by way of merchandise, into, or from any of the said East-Indies, or into or from any  
40 of the Ilands, Ports, Hauens, Cities, Townes, or Places aforesaid, other then the said Governour, or Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and such particular persons, as now be, or hereafter shall be of that Company, their Agents, Factors, and Assignes, during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, unlesse it be by, and with such licence and agreement of the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, in writing first had, and obtained vnder their common Seale to bee granted, upon paine that euery such person or persons, that shall trade or traffique into, or from any of the said East-Indies, other then the said Governour, or Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, shall incurre Our indignation and forfeiture, and losse of the goods, merchandise, and other things whatsoever, which so shall be brought into this Realme of England, or any the Dominions of the same, contrarie to Our said pro-  
50 hibition, or the purport or true meaning of these Presents, as also the Ship and Ships, with the furniture thereof, wherein such goods, merchandises, or things shall be brought, the halfe of all the said forfeitures to bee to Vs, Our Heires and Successors, and the other halfe of all, and euery the said forfeitures, wee doe by these Presents of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, cleerely and wholly for Vs, Our Heires and Successors, giue and grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies: And further, all and euery the said Offenders, for their said contempt, to suffer imprisonment during Our pleasure, and such other punishment, as to Vs, Our Heires or Successors, for so high a contempt shall seeme meete and conuenient, and not to be in any wise deliuered, untill they, and euery of them, shall become bound vnto the said Governour, for the time being, in the summe of a thousand pound at least, at no time  
60 there after, during this present Grant, to sayle or traffique into any of the said East-Indies, contrary to Our expresse commandement, in that behalfe herein set downe and published. And further, for the better encouragement of Merchant strangers, and others, to bring in commodities into this Our Realme, wee for Vs, Our Heires and Successors, doe grant vnto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading in to the East-Indies, that they and their Successors may from time

That six Ships and six Pinnacles, shall beeyerely permitted to goe into the East Indies, and five hundred Mariners, any restraint notwithstanding, except the Navy Royall goe forth.

A prohibition to all other subiects, not free of this Company, for trading into those parts vpon feuerall paines, without the licence and assent of the Company.

Forfeiture of goods & ships.

The diuision of the forfeitures.

Imprisonment.

Enteing into bond of a thousand pound. How the Company may grant licence to others, at what time.



That her Ma-  
iestie will not  
grant to any o-  
thers to enter  
into these  
parts, during  
the terme of  
15. yeares.  
That the  
Company may  
admit others  
at their plea-  
sure into this  
Freedom.

Proviso, that if  
any named in  
the Patent doe  
not bring in his  
promised ad-  
venture let  
downe, it shall  
be lawfull for  
the Company  
to disfranchise  
him.

The Company  
doe promise to  
bring in after  
every Voyage  
returned with-  
in six moneths,  
as great a quan-  
tity of silver,  
gold, or for-  
raine Coyne,  
as they shall  
carrie ou-  
the first Voyage  
excepted.  
All silver or  
gold carryed  
forth by the  
Company shall  
bee shipped at  
the Ports of  
London, Dart-  
mouth & Plim-  
mouth.  
The Priviledge  
shall not ex-  
tend into any  
place, being in  
the actuall pos-  
session of any  
Prince in  
league or ami-  
tie with her  
Majestie.

to time, for any consideration or benefit to be taken to their owne use, grant or give licence to any person or persons, to sayle, trade, or traffique, into, or from any of the said East-Indies, so as such licence be granted or given before such goods, wares, and merchandizes bee laid on land, and so as such licence bee made by the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies for the time being, under their Common Seale. And further of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we have considered and granted, and by these presents for Us, Our Heires and Successors, we doe con-  
discend and grant, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that We Our Heires and Successors, during the said terme of fifteene  
yeares, will not grant libertie, licence, or power to any person or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenour  
of these our Letters Patents, to sayle, passe, trade, or traffique to the said East-Indies, or into, or from the  
Islands, Ports, Hauens, Cities, Townes or places aforesaid, or any of them, contrary to the true meaning  
of these presents, without the consent of the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London,  
trading into the East-Indies, or the most part of them. And Our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee  
doe also ordaine, that it shall and may be lawfull, to and for the said Governour and Company of Merchants  
of London, trading into the East-Indies, or the more part of them, whereof the Governour for the time  
being, or his Deputie to be one, to admit into, and to be of the said Company, all such Apprentizes to any  
of the said Fellowship or Company, and all such Seruants and Factors, of or for the said Company, and all  
such others as to them, or the most part of them present, at any Court held for the said Company, the Go-  
uernour, or his Deputie being one, shall be thought fit and agreeable with the Orders and Ordinaunces, to be  
made for the Government of the said Company. Provided alwayes, that if any of the persons before named, & 20  
appointed by these Presents to be free of the said Company of Merchants of London, trading into the  
East-Indies, shall not before the going forth of the Fleet, appointed for this first Voyage from the Port of  
London, bring in and deliuer to the Treasurer or Treasurers appointed, or which within the space of twen-  
tie dayes next after the date hereof, shall be appointed by the said Governour and Company, or the more part  
of them, to receiue the Contributions and Adventure, set downe by the severall Adventures, in this last  
and present Voyage, now in hand to be set forth, such summes of money as haue beene by any of the said per-  
sons, by these Presents nominated to be of the said Company, expressed, set downe, and written in a Booke ap-  
pointed for that purpose, and left in the hands of the said Thomas Smith, Governour of the said Company,  
or of the said Paul Bannying, Alderman of London, and subscribed with the names of the same Ad-  
venturers, under their hands, and agreed upon to bee adventured in the said first Voyage, that then it shall 30  
be lawfull for the said Governour and Company, or the more part of them, whereof the said Governour or  
his Deputie to be one, at any their generall Court, or generall Assembly, to remove, disfranchise, and dis-  
place him or them at their wils and pleasures, And the said Governour and Company of Merchants of  
London, trading into the East-Indies for them and their Successors, doe by these Presents covenant, pro-  
mise, and grant to and with us, Our Heires and Successors, that they the said Governour and Company,  
and their Successors: In all and every such Voyage, as they at any time, or times hereafter during the said  
terme, shall make out of this Realme, by vertue of this Our Grant and Letters Patents, the first Voyage  
only excepted, shall and will upon every returne, which shall be made backe againe into this Realme, or any  
of our Dominions, or within six Moneths next after every such returne, bring into this our Realme of Eng-  
land, from the said East-Indies, or from some other parts beyond the Seas, out of our Dominions, as great 40  
or greater value in Bullion of Gold or Silver, or other foraine Coyne of Gold or Silver, respectively for  
every Voyage, the first Voyage only excepted, as shall be by force of these Presents, transported or carried  
out of this Realme, by them, or any of them in any kind of Silver above-said, whatsoever in any of the said  
Voyages, and that all such Silver, as by vertue of this our Grant and Letters Patents, shall bee shipped or  
laden, by the said Governour and Company, or their Successors, to be transported out of this Realme in any  
of the said Voyages, shall from time to time at the setting forth of every such particular Voyages be shipped  
or laden at the Ports or Hauens of London, Dartmouth, or Plimmouth, or at some of the same Ports &  
Hauens, and at no other Port or Hauen whatsoever within this our Realme, or the Dominions thereof, and  
that all and every such Silver, as from time to time shall be shipped and laden in the said Ports of London,  
Dartmouth and Plimmouth, or any of them to bee by force of these Presents transported out of this 50  
Realme, as is aforesaid, shall from time to time, be duly entred by the Customer, Comptroller, Collector or  
other Officer, to whom it shall appertaine of every such Port or Hauen, where the same shall happen to bee  
shipped or laden, in the Custome Booke belonging to the said Port or Hauen, before such time as the same  
shall be shipped or laden to be transported as aforesaid without any Custome or Subsidie to bee paid for the  
same. And that in like manner, all, and all manner of Gold and Silver whatsoever, which shall be brought  
into this Realme, or any of our Dominions, by the said Governour and Company, or any of them, according  
to the true meaning of these Presents, shall likewise bee from time to time, duly entred by the Customer,  
Comptroller, or other Officer of every such Port, Creeke or Place, where the same Gold or Silver shall  
happen to be unshipped, or brought to Land, before such time as the same Gold or Silver, or any part there-  
of shall be unshipped, or brought to Land, as is aforesaid. Provided alwayes, neuerthelesse, and Our will 60  
and pleasure is, that these Our Letters Patents, or any thing therein contained, shall not in any sort extend,  
to give or grant any licence, power, or authoritie, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of  
London, trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them, to undertake or adresse any Trade unto any  
Countrey, Port, Island, Hauen, Ciuic, Creeke, Towne or Place, being already in the lawfull and actuall  
possession



possession, of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any time hereafter shall bee in league, or amitie with vs, Our Heires and Successors, and which doth not, or will not except of such trade, but doth ouertly declare and publish the same to be utterly against his, or their good will and liking any thing in Present before containd, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. Provided also, that if it shall hereafter appeare to Vs, Our Heires or Successors, that this Grant, or the continuance thereof, shall not be profitable to Vs, Our Heires and Successors, and to this Our Realme, that then, and from thenceforth upon and after two yeares warning to be giuen to the said Company, by Vs, Our Heires or Successors, under Our or their Priuie Seale, or Signe Manuall, this present Grant shall cease, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, constructions, and purposes. And further of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condiscended and granted, and by these Presents for Vs, Our Heires and Successors doe condiscend, and grant to the said Gouvernour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that if at the end of the said terme of fiftene yeares, it shall seeme meete and conuenient, to the said Gouvernour and Company, or any the parties aforesaid, that this present Grant shall be continued, and if that also it shall appeare unto Vs, Our Heires and Successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be preiudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, but that we shall find the further continuance thereof profitable for Vs, Our Heires and Successors, and for Our Realme with such Conditions, as are herein mentioned, or with some alteration or qualification thereof, that then We, Our Heires or Successors at the instance and humble Petition of the said Gouvernour and Company, or any of them to be made unto Vs Our Heires and Successors will grant and make unto the said Gouvernour and Company, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other person and persons Our Subiects, as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall be by Vs, Our Heires or Successors newly nominated not exceeding in number foure and twentie new Letters Patents, under the great Seale of England, in due forme of Law with like Covenants, Grants, Clauses and Articles, as in these Presents are containd, or with addition of eyther necessary Articles, or changing of these into some other parts, for and during the full terme of fifteen yeares then next following. Willing hereby, and streightly charging and commanding, all and singular Our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Iustices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Escheators, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular other Our Officers, Ministers, Leadgemen, and Subiects whatsoeuer to bee ayding, fauouring, helping, and assisting unto the said Gouvernour and Company, and to their Successors, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, Seruants, Assignes and Ministers, and enery of them in executing and enioyning the Premises, as well on Land, as on Sea, from time to time, when you, or any of you shall thereunto be required, any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Prouiso, Proclamation, or Restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, or dayned, or provided, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Although expresse mention of the true yearly value, or certaintie of the Premises, or of any of them, or of any other Gifts, or Grants by vs, or any of our Progenitors, to the said Gouvernour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them before this time made, in these Presents is not made, or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Prouision, Proclamation, or restraint, to the contrarie hereof heretofore had, made, or dayned, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoeuer in any wise notwithstanding.

In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made Patents, Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the one and thirtieth of December, in the three and fortieth yeare of Our Reigne. Per breuem Priuato Sigillo. s.

HYBERD.

## CHAP. III.

The first Voyage made to East-India by Master JAMES LANCASTER, now Knight, for the Merchants of London, Anno, 1600. With foure tall Shippes, (to wit) the Dragon, the Hector, the Ascension and Susan, and a Victualler called the Guest.

## ¶ I.

The preparation to this Voyage, and what befell them in the way till they departed from Saldania.

**T**He Merchants of London, in the yeare of our Lord 1600. ioyned together, and made a stocke of seuentie two thousand pounds, to bee employed in Ships and Merchandizes, for the discouery of a Trade in the East-India, to bring into this Realme, Spices and other Commodities. They bought foure great Ships to bee employed in this Voyage: the Dragon, of the burthen of six hundred tunne, the Hector, of the burthen of three hundred tunnes, the Ascension, of the burthen of

N n 2

two

If this Priuilege be found vnprofitable for the Realme then within two yeares warning giuen vnder the Priuie Seale, the same shall bee void, but if it shall bee found beneficiall, then the same to bee renewed with some additions



two hundred and threescore tunnes. These ships they furnished with men, victuals and munition for twentie monethes, and sent in them, in Merchandise and *Spanish* money, to the value of seven and twentie thousand pounds: all the rest of their stocke was spent and consumed about the shippes, and other necessities appertayning to them: with money lent to the Mariners and Saylers before-hand, that went vpon the Voyage.

The Merchants were Suters to her Maiestie, who gaue them her friendly Letters of commendation, written to diuers Princes of *India*, offering to enter into a league of Peace and Amicitie with them, the Copies of which Letters shall hereafter appeare in their places. And because no great action can well be carryed, and accomplished without an absolute authoritie of Iustice: Shee granted to the Generall of their Fleet Master *James Lancaster*, for his better command and 10 gouernment, a Commission of Martiall Law.

The thirteenth  
of February,  
1600.

The said Master *James Lancaster* the Generall, was placed in the *Dragon*, the greatest shippe being Admirall: Master *John Middleton* Captaine in the *Hector*, the Vice-admirall: Master *William Brand* chiefe Gouvernour in the *Ascension*: and Master *John Heyward* in the *Susan*: and more in euery of the said ships, three Merchants to succeed one the other, if any of them should be taken away by death.

These ships were readie and departed from *Wolwich* in the Riuer of *Thames*, the thirteenth of February after the *English* accompt, 1600. with foure hundred and fourescore men in them. In the *Dragon*, two hundred and two men. In the *Hector*, an hundred an eight. In the *Ascension*, fourescore and two. And in the *Susan*, fourescore and eight. The *Guest*, a ship of a hundred and 20 thirtie tunnes, was added as a Victualler.

These ships stayed so long in the Riuer of *Thames*, and in the *Downes* for want of wind, that it was Easter day before they arriued at *Dartmouth*, where they spent fise or sixe dayes in taking in their bread and certaine other prouisions appointed for them. From thence they departed the eighteenth of Aprill, 1601. and roade in *Tor Bay*, till the twentieth in the morning. While wee roade there, the Generall sent aboard all the shippes, instructions, for their better company keeping, at their comming to the Seas: and further gaue directions, if any of the Fleet should bee separated the one from the other, by stormes of wind, tempests, or other casualties, what \* places to repaire vnto, for their meeting together againe.

\* April, 1601.  
These places  
were the  
Calmes of *Canarie*, and if  
weaknesse permitted  
not to double the  
Cape *So'danha*,  
the third Cape  
Saint Roman in  
*Madagascar*,  
to *Cirne*, and so  
to *Sumatra*  
their first place  
of Trade.  
May the fift.

The second of Aprill, 1601. the wind came faire and wee hoysed our Anchors, and departed 30 out of *Tor Bay*, directing our course towards the Ilands of the *Canaria*. The wind holding faire, the fift of May in the morning, we had sight of *Alegranza*, the Northermost Iland of the *Canarias*, and directed our course betweene *Fortuentura*, and the Grand *Canaria*: and comming to the South part of the Grand *Canaria*, thinking to water there, wee fell into the Calmes, which proceed by reason of the high-land that lyeth so neere the Sea-side.

The seuenth of May, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, wee departed from the Grand *Canaria*, hauing the wind at North-east, and we directed our course South-west by South, and South South-west, till wee came into 21.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . degrees. From the eleuenth to the twentieth, our course was for the most part South, till we came into eight degrees: the wind being alwayes Northerly, and North-east. In this heighth, we found the Calmes and contrarie winds, which vpon 40 this Coast of *Ginney*, at this time of the yeare, are very familiar with many sudden gustes of wind, stormes, thunder and lightening, very fearefull to be seene and dangerous to the shippes: vnlesse a diligent care be had, that all sayles be stricken downe vpon the sudden, perceiuing the ayre neuer so little to change or alter. And yet many times, although the Masters of ships were carefull, and looked vnto it with great diligence: the suddennesse was such, that it could hardly be preuented. From the twentieth of May, till the one and twentieth of Iune, wee lay the most part becalmed, and with contrarie winds at South, and turning vp and downe with this contrary wind, with much adoe, we got into two degrees of the North side of the Line: where wee espyed a ship, to the which, the Generall gaue chase, commanding all the rest of the ships to follow him: and by two of the clocke in the afternoone, we had fet her vp and tooke her. She was 50 of the Citie of *Viana* in *Portugall*, and came from *Lisbone* in the companie of two Carrackes, and three Gallions bound for the East-India, which ships she had lost at Sea. The three Gallions were ships of warre, and went to keepe the Coast of the East-India, from being traded with other Nations.

Wee tooke out of her an hundred sixe and fortie Buts of Wine, an hundred threescore and sixteene Iarres of Oyle, twelue Barrels of Oyle, and fise and fittie Hogsheads and Fats of Meale, which was a great helpe to vs in the whole Voyage after. The Generall diuided these Victualls indifferently to all the ships, to euery one his proportion without partialitie.

The last of Iune about mid-night, we doubled the Line, and lost the sight of the North-star, hauing the wind at South-east, and we held our course South South-west, and doubled the Cape 60 of Saint *Augustine* some sixe and twentie leagues to the Eastwards. The twentieth of Iuly, we were shot into nineteene degrees, fortie minutes to the Southward of the Line, the wind enlarging daily to the East-ward. Here wee discharged the *Guest*, the ship that went along with vs to carry the Prouisions, that our foure ships could not take in in *England*. After wee had discharged her,



her, we tooke her Mafts, Sayles and Yards, and brake downe her higher buildings for fire-wood, and so left her floating in the Sea : and followed our course to the South-ward. The foure and twentieth of Iuly, we passed the Tropick of Capricorne, the wind being North-east by North, we holding our course East South-east. Now, by reason of our long being vnder the Line, (which proceeded of our late comming out of *England*, for the time of the yeare was too farre spent by six or seuen weekes, to make a quicke Nauigation) many of our men fell sicke. Therefore the nine and twentieth of Iuly being in 28.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . degrees, hee wrote a remembrance to the Gouvernour of each ship, either to fetch *Saldania* or Saint *Helena* for refreshing.

Thus following on our course, the first of *August* we came into the height of thirtie degrees, *August*.

- 10 South of the Line : at which time we met the South-west wind, to the great comfort of all our people. For, by this time, very many of our men were fallen sicke of the Scuruey in all our ships, and vnlesse it were in the Generals ship only, the other three were so weake of men, that they could hardly handle the sayles. This wind held faire, till wee came within two hundred and fiftie leagues of the Cape *Buena Esperanza*, and then came cleane contrarie against vs to the East : and so held some fiftene or sixteene dayes to the great discomfort of our men. For now the few whole men we had, beganne also to fall sicke, so that our weaknesse of men was so great, that in some of the ships, the Merchants tooke their turnes at the Helme : and went into the top to take in the top-sayles, as the common Mariners did. But God (who sheweth mercy in all distresses) sent vs a faire wind againe, so that the ninth of September wee came to *Saldania*, where the Generall before the rest bare in, and came to an anchor, and hoysed out his Boats to helpe the rest of the ships.

They arrive at  
*Soldania*.

- For now the state of the other three was such, that they were hardly able to let fall an Anchor, to saue themselves withall. The Generall went aboard of them, and carryed good store of men, and hoysed out their Boats for them, which they were not able to doe of themselves. And the reason why the Generals men stood better in health then the men of other ships, was this : he brought to Sea with him certaine Bottles of the Iuice of Limons, which hee gaue to each one, as long as it would last, three spoonfulls euery morning fasting : not suffering them to eate any thing after it till noone. This Iuice worketh much the better, if the partie keepe a short Dyet, and wholly refraine salt meate, which salt meate, and long being at the Sea is the only cause of the breeding of this Disease. By this meanes the Generall cured many of his men, and preserued the rest : so that in his ship (hauing the double of men that was in the rest of the ships) he had not so many sicke, nor lost so many men as they did, which was the mercie of God to vs all. After the Generall had holpen the rest of the ships to hoysed out their Boats, they began all to be greatly comforted. Then, he himselfe went presently a-land to seeke some refreshing for our sicke and weake men, where hee met with certaine of the Countrey people, and gaue them diuers trifles, as Kniues, and peeces of old Iron, and such like, and made signes to them to bring him downe Sheepe and Oxen. For he spake to them in the Cattels Language, which was neuer changed at the confusion of *Babell*, which was *Moath* for Oxen, and Kine, and *Baa* for Sheepe : which Language the people vnderstood very well without any Interpreter. After hee had sent the people away very well contented with their presents, and kind vsage order was presently giuen, that certaine of euery ships companie should bring their sayles a-land, and build Tents with them for their sicke men : and also to make fortifications of defence, if by any occasion the people should take any conceit of offence against vs, and theret y offer vs any violence. And the Generall prescribed an order for buying and selling with the people, which was, that at such times as they should come downe with the Cattell, only five or sixe men, appointed for that purpose, should goe to deale with them and the rest (which should neuer bee vnder thirtie Muskets and Pikes) should not come neere the Market, by eight or ten score at the neereft : and alwayes to stand in their ranke in a readinesse, with their Muskets in their Rests, what occasion soeuer should befall. And this order was most strictly obserued and kept, that no man durst once goe to speake with any of the people without speciall leaue, and I take this to be the cause, why we liued in so great friendship and amitie with them, contrary to that which lately had befallen the *Hollanders*, which had five or six of their men slaine by their treacherie.

The best reme-  
dy for the  
Scuruey.

The most Vni-  
uerall lan-  
guage.

Defence ne-  
cessarie.

Manner of tra-  
ding with the  
Sauages.

- The third day after our comming into this Bay of *Saldania*, the people brought downe Beefes and Muttons, which we bought of them for pieces of old Iron hoopes, as two pieces of eight inches a peece, for an Oxe, and one piece of eight inches for a Sheepe, with which they seemed to be well contented. Within ten or twelue dayes, we bought of them a thousand Sheepe, and two and fortie Oxen, and might haue bought many more, if wee would. Now within twelue dayes they ceased to bring vs any more Cattell, but the people many times came downe to vs afterward, and when we made them signes for more Sheepe, they would point vs to those wee had bought, which the Generall caused to be kept grazing vpon the Hilles about our Tents, and was the cause (as we iudged) they thought we would haue inhabited there, and therefore brought vs no more. But (God be thanked) we were well stored to satisfie our need, and might then, very well forbear buying. These Oxen are full as bigge as ours, and were very fat, and the sheepe many of them much bigger, but of a very haire wooll, yet, of exceeding good flesh, fat and sweet,



This Bay is in  
34. degrees  
South of the  
Line.  
Qualities of  
the people, and  
their difficult  
language.  
The healthful-  
nesse of this  
Bay.

sweet, and to our thinking, much better then our sheepe in *England*. The people of this place are all of a tawny \* colour, of a reasonable stature, swift of foot, and much giuen to picke and steale: their speech is wholly vttered through the throate, and they clocke with their tongues in such sort, that in seuen weekes, which wee remained heere in this place, the sharpest wit among vs, could not learne one word of their language: and yet the people would soone vnderstand any figure wee made to them.

While wee stayed heere in this Bay, wee had so royall refreshing, that all our men recovered their health and strength, onely foure or fve excepted. But, before our comming in, and in this place, wee lost out of all our Ships one hundred and fve men, and yet wee made account, wee were stronger at our departure out of this Bay, then wee were at our comming out of *England*, 10  
our men were so well inured to the Southerne Climates.

### §. II.

*Their departure from Saldania, and proceeding in their Voyage to Achen in Sumatra, with their trading at Saint MARIES, Antongill, Nicubar: the strange Plant of Sombrero, and other occurrents.*

1601.



HE foure and twentieth of October, the Generall caused all our Tents to bee taken 20  
downe and our men to repaire aboard the Ships: and being fitted both of wood and  
fresh water; The nine and twentieth of October, wee put to Sea, and went out by a  
small Iland, that lieth in the mouth of the said Bay: which is exceeding full of *Seales*  
and *Pengwines*, so that if there were no other refreshing, one might very well refresh there.ouer  
the Bay of *Saldania* standeth a very high Hill, flat like a Table, and is called the Table: such an-  
other plaine marke to find an Harbour in, is not in all that Coast, for it is easie to be seene seuenteen  
or eightene leagues into the Sea.

Nouember. 1.  
The Cape  
doubled.  
Nouemb. 26.

Sunday, the first of Nouember in the morning, wee doubled the Cape of *Buena Esperança*,  
hauing the wind West North-West a great gale.

The fixe and twentieth of Nouember, wee fell with the Head-land of the Iland of Saint Lau- 30  
*rence*, somewhat to the East of Cape *Sebastian*, and being within fve miles of the shoare, wee  
sounded, and found twenty fve fathome: the variation of the Compasse, being little more or lesse  
sixteene degrees. For in an East and West course, the variation of the Compasse helpeth much, and  
especially in this Voyage.

Decemb. 15.

Ile of Cirne, or  
D. Rodrigues.

From the fixe and twentieth of Nouember, till the fifteenth of December, wee plyed to the  
Eastward, the neereest our course wee could lie, alwayes struing to haue gotten to the Iland of  
*Cirne*, which in some Cardes is called *Diego Rodrigues*, but wee found the wind alwaies after our  
comming to the Iland of Saint *Laurence*, at East, and East South-East, and East North-East, so  
that wee could not obtaine it: and to strue long in hope of change of windes wee could not, for  
now our men began againe to fall sicke of the Scuruy. Then, the Captaine of the Vice-Admi- 40  
rall called to the Generall, and thought it best to beare into the Bay of *Antongile*, and there to re-  
fresh our men with Oranges and Limons, to cleere our selues of this disease, which was by  
him and the whole counsell called for that purpose well approoued.

Iles of S. Mary  
and S. Laurence

The seuenteenth of December, wee had sight of the Southermost part of the Iland of Saint  
*Mary*, and the next day wee anchored betweene Saint *Mary*, and the great Iland of Saint Lau-  
*rence*: and sent our Boats aland to Saint *Maries*, where wee had some store of Limons and Oran-  
ges, which were precious for our diseased men, to purge their bodies of the Scuruy. Now, as we  
roade heere, buying Oranges and Limons, there arose vpon vs a very great storme, so that three  
of our Ships were put from their Anchors: but within some sixteen houres, the storme ceased, and  
the ships returned, and weighed their Anchors againe. The Generall thought it not good to make 50  
any longer stay there, seeing the vncertaintie of the weather, and that there was vpon this Iland  
so little refreshing to be had: only these Orenge and Limons, a little Goates milke, and some small  
quantitie of Rice: we sawe onely one Cow, and that they draue away, as soone as they saw vs come  
on Land. Seeing this place so dangerous to ride in, the Generall gaue present order to sayle to-  
ward the Bay of *Antongile*, the time of the yeere being spent, the Easterly winds come against  
vs, and our men sicke.

People of S.  
Marie

This Iland of S. *Mary* is high land, and full of woods, the people are blacke, very handsome  
and tall men, and of curled haire, onely before in their foreheads they stroke it vp, as the women  
doe here in *England*: so that it standeth some three inches vpright. They are wholly without  
apparell, onely their priuy parts couered, they are very tractable to conuerse withall, yet seeme 60  
to be very valiant. The most of their food is Rice, and some Fish: yet at our being there, wee  
could buy but small store of Rice, for the time of their store was farre spent, and their Haruest was  
at hand. There are two or three watering places on the North part of this Iland: but none of  
them very commodious, yet with some trauell there is water enough to be had.

The



The twentieth third of December, we departed from this Iland of *S. Mary*, and the twentieth fifth being Christmas day, we came into the Baye of *Antongill*, and came to an anchor in eight fatham water, betweene a small Iland, and the *Mayne*, lying in the bottome of the Baye, a very good, and a safe roade. But, the best riding, is neerest vnder a small Iland, for the defence of the winde that bloweth there: for while we abode in this Baye, there blew an exceeding great storme, and those of our shippes, that roade neerest the small Iland, beeing vnder the wind sped best: for two of our ships droue with three anchors ahead, the ground being *Ozy*, and not firme. At our going a land in the little Iland, we perceiued by writing vpon the rockes, of five *Holland* ships which had beene there, and were departed about two monethes before our comming in: and had had some sickness among their men, and had lost (as we perceiued) betweene one hundred and fiftie, and two hundred men while they roade in that place.

Decemb. 25.  
The bay of  
*Antongill*.

The next day after our comming to an anchor, we went a land to the *Mayne* Iland, where the people presently repaired to vs, and made vs signes of the five *Holland* ships departed, and that they had bought the most part of their prouision. Yet, they entred into barter with vs, for Rice and Hennes, Oranges and Limons, and another fruit called Plantans, and held all at high rates, and brought but a pedlars quantitie. Our market was neere to a great riuer, into which we went with our boats, and some men that were appointed to be buyers, went ashore: the rest remained in the boates, alwaies readie with their weapons in their hands: and the boates some fifteene or twentieth yards off into the water, where the people could not wade to them: and were readie at all times (if they a shore had had any need) to take them in. So, we trifled off some daies, before (as aforesaid) we could bring them to any reall trade: for all these people of the South, and East parts, are very subtil, and craftie, in their bartering, buying and selling, that vnlesse you hold a neere hand with them, you shall hardly bring them to trade in any plaine sort. For, they will list you continually to giue a little more, and then, no man will sell without that price: so that you must not inlarge to any one, more then another: for, in so doing, all will haue that price, or none. The Generall seeing this, commanded measures to be made of (almost) a quart, and appointed how many glasse beades should be giuen for euery measure: and he that would not deale in this manner, should not deale at all. The like order was set downe for Oranges, Limons, and Plantans, how many for euery beade, or else not. Our Merchants after a little holding off, consented, and our dealing was francke, and round, without any contradiction, or words. So, that while we abode heere, we brought 15.  $\frac{1}{4}$ . tunnes of Rice, fortie or fiftie bushels of their Pease, and Beanes, great store of Oranges, Limons, and Plantans, and eight Beeues, with many Hennes. While we roade in this Baye, we reared a Pinnace, which we brought in peeces in our shippes out of England: and cut downe trees, of which there were very great, and great store, which trees we sawed out in boordes, and sheathed her. This Pinnace was of some eightene tunnes, and very necessary, and fit to goe before our shippes, at our comming into *India*. In the time we stayed heere, there died out of the Generalls shippe, the Masters Mate, the Preacher, and the Surgeon, with some tenne other common men. And out of the Viceadmirall there died the Master, with some other two. And out of the *Ascension*, by a very great mischance, were slaine the Captaine, and the Boatswaines mate. For, as the Masters Mate, out of the Generalls shippe was carried a land to be buried, the Captaine of the *Ascension* tooke his boate to goe a land to his buriall: and as it is the order of the sea, to shoote off certaine peeces of Ordnance at the buriall of any Officer, the Gunner of the Ordnance shotte off three peeces, and the bullets being in them, one stroke the *Ascensions* boate, and slue the Captaine, and the Boatswaines Mate starke dead, so that they that went to see the buriall of another, were both buried there themselves. Those that died heere, died most of the Flux, which (in our opinion) came with the waters which we dranke: for it was the time of winter, when it rained very much, which caused great floods to ouerflowe the Countrie: so that the waters were not wholesome, as in most places in these hot countries, they are not, in the times of their raines. This disease also of the Flux, is often taken, by going open, and cold in the stomacke, which our men would often doe when they were hot.

The want of this discretion in *Virginia* (while one out of need, or seeming bountie, would giue a greater price then another, to the *Strangers* for their commodities) so heighthened the prizes, and made them ouer-value their corne, &c. that it proued much hindrance to the Plantation. A Pinnace reared.

How vaine a thing is Man?

We set saile out of this Baye the sixth of March, and held on our course toward the *India*, and the sixteenth we fell with an Iland called *Rogue-Pize*, which lyeth in 10.  $\frac{1}{4}$ . degrees, to the South of the Equinoctiall Line. To this Iland the Generall sent his boate, to see whether there were any safe riding for the shippes: but the boate (for the most part) found deepe water, where the shippes could not safely ride. As we coasted along this Iland, it seemed very faire, and pleasant, exceeding full of foule, and *Coco* nut-trees: and there came from the land such a pleasant smell, as if it had beene a garden of flowers. And surely, if there be any good riding for shippes in this Iland, it must needs be a place of very great refreshing. For as our boates went neere the land, they saw great store of fish, and the foules came wondering about them in such sort, that with the Oares, wherewith the Mariners rowed, they killed many which were the fattest, and the best that we tasted all the voyage. And of these, there was such exceeding great abundance, that many more shippes then we had with vs, might haue refreshed themselves therewith.

The Isle of  
*Rogue-Pize*.

The



1602.  
Dangerous  
Rockes.

Thisle of Candu.

Other Rockes.

The Iles of  
Nicubar.

April 20.

The Ile of Sam-  
brero.

Trees suffici-  
ent for maine  
Masts.  
A strange  
Plant.

The thirtieth of March 1602. being in sixe degrees to the South of the Line, wee happened vpon a ledge of Rockes, and looking ouer-boord, and seeing them vnder the shippe about hue fathome deepe, it much amazed vs, falling vpon the sudden, and vnexpected. Then, as wee were presently casting about the ship, wee found eight fathome: and so held on our course East. One of our men, being in the top saw an Iland South-east of vs, some fiue or sixe leagues off, being but low land: this we iudged to be the Iland of *Candu*, although in our course we could not (by computation) find our selues so farre shot to the Eastward. Bearing on our course some thirteene or fourteene leagues, we fell vpon another flat of Rockes. Then wee cast about to the Southward, and sayling some twelue leagues, found other Rockes: so that, prouing diuers wayes, wee found flats of Rockes round about vs: and twentie and thirtie, and in some places, forty and fiftie fathome water in the middest of the flats. Here we were for two dayes and an halfe in exceeding danger, and could find no way to get out. But at last, wee resolved to seeke to the Northward, and in sixe degrees, fortie three minutes (God bee thanked) wee found sixe fathome water: the Pinnasse alwayes going before vs, and sounding with commandement, to make signes what depth she had, that thereby we might follow her. Thus (thanks be to God) being deliuered out of this pound, we followed our course with variable windes, till the ninth of May about foure of the clocke in the afternoone. At which time we had sight of the Ilands of *Nicubar*, and bare in, and anchored on the North-side of the Channell. But the wind changing to the South-west, wee were forced to hoysse our Anchors, and to beare ouer to the South-side of the Channell: and so came to an Anchor, vnder a small Iland, that lyeth on the said shore. Here wee had fresh water, and some Coco Nuts, other refreshing wee had little. Yet the people came aboard our shippes in long Canoas, which would hold twentie men, and aboue in one of them: and brought Gummes to sell in stead of Amber, and therewithall, deceiued diuers of our men: For, these people of the East, are wholly giuen to deceit. They brought also Hennes and Coco Nuts to sell, but held them very deare: so that we bought few of them. We staid here ten dayes, placing of our Ordnance, and trimming of our ships: because we would be in all readinesse at our arriual, at our first Port, which we were not (now) farre from.

The twentieth of April, in the morning, we set saile to goe toward *Sumatra*, but the wind blew so hard at South, South West, and the Currant was against vs, that we could not proceed: but beating vp and downe, our ships fell into two leakes, so that wee were forced to goe to the Iland of *Sombrero*, some ten or twelue leagues to the Northward of *Nicobar*. Heere, we in the *Admirall* lost an anchor, for the ground is foule, and groweth full of counterfeit Corall, and some Rockes: which cut our Cable asunder, so that we could not recouer our anchor.

The people of these Ilands goe naked, hauing onely the priuities bound vp in a peece of Linnen cloath, which commeth about their middles like a girdle, and so betweene their twist. They are all of a tauny colour, and annoint their faces with diuers colours; they are well limmed, but very fearefull: for, none of them would come aboard our Shippes, or enter into our Boates. The Generall reported, that he had seene some of their Priests, or Sacrificers, all apparelled, but close to their bodies, as if they had beene sewed in it: and vpon their heads, a paire of hornes turning backward, with their faces painted greene, blacke and yellow, and their hornes also painted with the same colour. And behind them, vpon their buttocks, a taile hanging downe, very much like the manner, as in some painted cloathes, we paint the Diuell in our Countrey. He demaunding, wherefore they went in that attire, answer was made him, that in such forme the Diuell appeared to them in their sacrifices: and therefore the Priests, his seruants were so apparelled. In this Iland grow trees, which for their talnesse, greatnesse, and straightnesse, will serue the biggest shippe in all our Fleete, for a maine Mast: and this Iland is full of those trees.

Heere, likewise we found vpon the sands, by the Sea side, a small twigge growing vp to a young tree, and offering to plucke vp the same, it shruke downe into the ground: and sinketh, vnlesse you hold very hard. And being plucked vp, a great Worme is the roote of it: and looke how the tree groweth in greatnesse, the Worme diminisheth. Now, as soone as the worme is wholly turned into the tree, it rooteth in the ground, and so groweth to be great. This transformation was one of the strangest wonders that I saw in all my trauailes. For, this tree, being plucked vp little, the leaues stripped off, and the pill, by that time it was dry, turned into an hard stone, much like to white Corall: so that this worme was twice transformed into different natures: Of these we gathered, and brought home many.

### ¶ III.

#### *Their entertainment and trade at Achen.*

60

29. Of May.  
1602.  
*Sumatra.*



HE nine and twentieth of May, we set saile from this Iland of *Sombrero*, and the second of Iune, we had sight of the land of *Sumatra*, and the fifth of Iune we came to anchor in the Roade of *Achen*, some two miles off the Citie. Where we found sixteene



or eightene saile of shippes of diuers Nations, some *Gosserats*, some of *Bengala*, some of *Calicut*, called *Malabares*, some *Pegues*, and some *Patanyes*, which came to trade there.

There came aboard of vs two *Holland Merchants*, which had beene left there behind their shippes, to learne the language, and manners of the Country. These told vs, we should be very welcome to the King, who was desirous to intertaine strangers: and that the *Queene of England* was very famous in those parts, by reason of the warres, and great victories, which she had gotten against the King of *Spaine*. The same day, the Generall sent Captaine *John Middleton*, Captaine of the *Vice-admirall*, with foure or fife Gentlemen, to attend vpon him to the King: to declare vnto him, that he was sent from the Generall of those shippes, who had a message, and a letter, from the most famous *Queene of England*, to the most worthy King of *Achen*, and *Sumatra*. And that it would please his royall Maiesty, to giue to the said messenger, audience to deliuer his message, and letter: with a sufficient warrant for the safety of him and his people, according to the law of Nations, holden in that behalfe. This messenger was very kindly entertained by the King, who when he had deliuered his message, gladly granted his request, and communed with him about many questions: and after, caused a royall banquet to be made him. And at his departure gaue a robe, and a Tucke of Calico wrought with Gold, which is the manner of the Kings of this place, to those he will grace with his speciall fauour. And withall, sent his commendations to the Generall, willing him to stay one day aboard his ships, to rest himselfe after his comming from the disquiet seas: and the next day to come a land, and haue kind audience, and franke leaue, with as great assurance, as if he were in the kingdome of the *Queene his Mistris*. And, if he doubted of any thing of this his royall word, such honourable pledges should be sent him, for his further assurance, as he should rest very well satisfied therewith.

The Fame of  
Q. Elizabeth.

The third day, the Generall went a land very well accompanied, with some thirtie men or more, to attend vpon him. And first at his landing, the *Holland Merchants* met him, and carried him home to their house, as it was appointed. For as yet, the Generall would make choyce of no house of his owne, till he had spoken with the King: but stayed at the *Hollanders* house, till a Noble man came from the King, who saluted the Generall very kindly, and declared, that he came from his Maiestie, and represented his person. Then, he demaunded the *Queenes* letter of the Generall, which he refused to deliuer: saying, he would deliuer it to the King himselfe. For it was the order of *Embassadors*, in those parts of the world from whence he came, to deliuer their letters to the *Princes* owne hands: and not to any that did represent the Kings person. So, he demaunded to see the superscription, which the Generall shewed him, and he read the same, and looked very earnestly vpon the seale, tooke a note of the superscription, and did likewise write her Maiesties name: and then, with courtesie tooke his leaue, and repaired to the Court, to tell the King what had passed. Who presently sent sixe great Elephants, with many Trumpets, Drums, and Streamers, with much people, to accompany the Generall to the Court: so that the presse was exceeding great. The biggest of these Elephants was about thirteene, or foureteene foote high, which had a small Castle, like a Coach vpon his back, couered with Crimson Veluet. In the middle thereof, was a great Basen of Gold, and a peece of Silke exceeding richly wrought to couer it: vnder which her Maiesties letter was put. The Generall was mounted vpon another of the Elephants: some of his attendants rode, others went a foote. But, when he came to the Court gate, there a Noble man stayed the Generall, till he had gone in, to know the Kings further pleasure. But, presently the said Nobleman returned, and willed the Generall to enter in. And when the Generall came to the Kings presence, he made his obedience after the manner of the Country: declaring that hee was sent from the most mightie *Queene of England*, to congratulate with his Highnesse, and treat with him concerning a peace and amitie with his Maiestie, if it pleased him to intertaine the same. And therewithall began to enter into further discourse, which the King brake off, saying: I am sure you are weary of the long trauaile you haue taken, I would haue you to sit downe and refresh your selfe. You are very welcome, and heere you shall haue whatsoeuer you will in any reasonable conditions demaund, for your Princess sake: for she is worthy of all kindnesse, and franke conditions, being a Princess of great Noblenesse, for Fame speaketh so much of her. The Generall perceiuing the Kings mind, deliuered him the *Queenes* letter, which he willingly receiued: and deliuered the same to a Noble man standing by him. Then the Generall proceeded to deliuer him his present, which was a Basen of Silver, with a Fountaine in the midst of it, weighing two hundred and fife ounces, a great standing Cup of Silver, a rich Looking-Glasse, an Head-peece with a Plumé of Feathers, a case of very faire Dagges, a rich wrought embroidered Belt to hang a Sword in, and a Fan of Feathers. All these were receiued in the Kings presence, by a Nobleman of the Court: onely, he tooke into his owne hand, the Fanne of Feathers: and caused one of his Women to fanne him therewithall, as a thing, that most pleased him of all the rest. The Generall was commanded to sit downe in the Kings presence, as the manner is, vpon the ground: where was a very great banquet prouided. All the dishes, in which the meate was serued in, were, either of pure Gold, or of another Mettall, which (among them) is of great estimation, called *Tam-bayke*.

The honorable  
entertainment  
of the  
English Gene-  
rall by the King  
of Achen.

The *Queenes*  
Presents sent  
to the King of  
Achen.

A mettall of  
great esteeme,  
called *Tam-  
bayke*.



baycke, which groweth of Gold and Brasse together. In this banquet, the King (as he sate aloft in a Gallery, about a fathome from the ground) dranke oft to the Generall in their Wine, which they call Racke. This Wine is made of Rice, and is as strong as any of our *Aquanita*: a little will serue to bring one asleepe. The Generall, after the first draught, dranke either water mingled therewithall, or pure water, the King gaue him leaue so to doe: for the Generall craued his pardon, as not able to drinke so strong drinke. After this feast was done, the King caused his Damofels to come forth, and dance, and his Women to play Musicke vnto them: and these Women were richly attired, and adorned with Bracelets and Iewels: and this they account a great fauour, for these are not vsually seene of any, but such as the King will greatly honour. The King also gaue vnto the Generall, a fine white Robe of Calico, richly wrought with Gold, and a very faire girdle of Turkey worke, and two Creses, which are a kind of Daggers, all 10 which a Noble man put on in the Kings presence: and in this manner he was dismissed the Court, with very great curtesies, and one sent along with him, to make choyce of an house in the Citie, where the Generall thought most meete. But, at this time he refused this kindnesse, and rather chose to goe aboard his Ships: and left the King to consider of the Queenes Letter, the tenor whereof, hereafter followeth.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, *Queene of England, France and Ireland,*  
*defendresse of the Christian Faith and Religion.*

To the great and mightie King of *Achem*, &c. in the Iland of *Sumatra*,  
 our louing Brother, greeting.

20

**T**He eternall God, of his diuine knowledge and prouidence, hath so disposed his blessings, and good things of his Creation, for the vse and nourishment of Mankind, in such sort: that notwithstanding they growe in diuers Kingdomes, and Regions of the World: yet, by the industrie of Man (stirred up by the inspiration of the said omnipotent Creator) they are dispersed into the most remote places of the vniuersall World. To the end, that euen therein may appeare vnto all Nations, his maruelous workes, hee hauing so ordained, that the one land may haue need of the other. And thereby, not only breed intercourse and exchange of their Merchandise and Fruits, which doe superabound in 30 some Countreies, and want in others: but also ingender loue, and friendship betwixt all men, a thing naturally diuine.

Whereunto wee hauing respect (Right noble King) and also to the honorable, and truly royall fame, which hath hither stretched, of your Highnesse humane and noble vsage of Strangers, which reparaire into that your Kingdome, in loue and peace, in the Trade of Merchandise, paying your due Customes. Wee haue bene moued to giue Licence vnto these our Subiects, who with commendable and good desires, saile to visite that your Kingdome: Notwithstanding, the dangers and miseries of the Sea, naturall to such a Voyage, which (by the grace of GOD) they will make, being the greatest that is to be made in the World: and to present trafficke vnto your Subiects. Which their offer, if it shall bee accepted by your Highnesse, with such loue and grace, as wee hope for, of so great and magnanimous a Prince: Wee, for them, doe promise, that in no time hereafter, you shall haue cause to repent thereof, but rather to reioyce much. For 40 their dealing shall be true, and their conuersation sure, and wee hope, that they will giue so good prooffe thereof, that this beginning shall be a perpetuall confirmation, of loue betwixt our Subiects on both parts: by carrying from vs, such things and merchandise as you haue need of there. So that your Highnesse shall be very well serued, and better contented, then you haue heretofore bene with the Portugals and Spaniards, our Enemies: who only, and none else, of these Regions, haue frequented those your, and the other Kingdomes of the East. Not suffering that the other Nations should doe it, pretending themselves to be Monarchs, and absolute Lords of all these Kingdomes and Prouinces: as their owne Conquest and Inheritance, as appeareth by their loftie Title in their writings. The contrarie whereof, hath very lately appeared vnto vs, and that your Highnesse, and your royall Familie, Fathers, and Grandfathers, haue 50 (by the grace of GOD, and their Valour) knowne, not onely to defend your owne Kingdomes: but also to giue Warres vnto the Portugals, in the Lands which they possesse: as namely in Malaca, in the yeere of the Humane Redemption 1575. vnder the conduct of your valiant Captaine, Ragamacota, with their great losse and the perpetuall honour of your Highnesse Crowne and Kingdome.

And now, if your Highnesse shall be pleased, to accept into your Favour and Grace, and vnder your royall Protection and Defence, these our Subiects, that they may freely doe their businesse now, and continue yeerely hereafter: This Bearer, who goeth chiefe of this Fleet of foure Ships, hath order (with your Highnesse Licence) to leaue certaine Factors, with a settled House of Factorie in your Kingdome, vntill the going thither of another Fleet, which shall goe thither vpon the returne of this. Which left Factors, shall learne the Language, and customes of your Subiects, whereby, the better and more louingly to conuerse with them.

And the better to confirme this Confederacie, and Friendship betwixt vs, wee are contented, if your Highnesse be so pleased, that you cause Capitulations reasonable to be made: and that this Bearer doe 60 the



the like in Our name. Which wee promise to performe royally, and entirely, as well herein, as in other Agreements and Arguments which he will communicate unto you: to whom, wee doe greatly desire your Highnesse to giue intire faith and credite, and that you will receiue him, and the rest of his companie, vnder your Royall protection, fauouring them in what shall be Reason and Iustice. And we promise on our behalfe, to re-answere in like degree, in all that your Highnesse shall haue need, out of these our Kingdomes, And wee desire, that your Highnesse would be pleased to send vs answere, by this Bearer of this our Letter, that wee may thereby vnderstand of your Royall acceptance of the Friendship and League, which wee offer, and greatly desire, may haue an happie beginning, with long yeeres to continue.

10 **A**T his next going to the Court, hee had long Conference with the King, concerning the Effect of the Queenes Letter, wherewith the King seemed to be very well pleased, and said: if the contents of that Letter came from the heart, he had good cause to thinke well thereof. And, for the League, Her Maiestie was desirous to hold with him, hee was well pleased therewith. And, for the further demands the Generall made from Her, in respect of the Merchants trafficke: he had committed all those points to two of his Noblemen, to conferre with him, and promised, what her Maiestie had requested, should by all good meanes bee granted. With this contented answere, after another Banquet appointed for the General, he departed the Court. And the next day, he sent to those Noblemen, the King had named to him, to know their appointed time, when they would sit vpon this Conference. The one of these Noblemen  
20 was the chiefe Bishop of the Realme, a man of great estimation with the King, and all the people: and so he well deserued, for he was a man very wise and temperate. The other was one of the most ancient Nobilitie, a man of very good grauitie: but, not so fit to enter into those Conferences as the Bishop was.

As the Turke hath his Musli, so other Mahometan Princes haue their Chiefe Priests in all Countreies of that profession.

A day, and a meeting was appointed, where many questions passed betwixt them, and all the Conferences passed in the Arabike Tongue, which both the Bishop and the other Nobleman well vnderstood. Now, the Generall before his going out of England intertained a Jew, who spake that language perfectly, which stood him in good steed at that time. About many demands, the Generall made touching Freedomes for the Merchants, the Bishop said vnto him: Sir, what reasons shall we shew to the King, from you, whereby he may (the more willingly) grant  
30 these things, which you haue demanded to be granted by him? to whom the Generall answered with these reasons following.

Great vse of the Arabian Tongue.

Her Maiesties mutuall Loue.

Her worthinesse in protecting others against the King of Spaine the common Enemie of these parts.

Her noble mind which refused the offer of those Countries.

Nor will shee suffer any Prince to exceed her in kindnesse.

Whole Forces haue exceeded the Spaniards in many Victories.

And hindred the Portugals attempts against these parts.

40 The Grand-Signor of Turkie hath alreadye entred into League with her Maiestie on honorable conditions.

Reasons of another kind.

Moreouer, it is not vnknowne to the King, what prosperitie, Trade of Merchandise bringeth to all Lands: with increase of their reuenues, by the Custome of these Commerces.

Also Princes grow into the more renowne and strength, and are the more feared, for the wealth of their Subiects, which by the concurse of Merchandises grow and increase.

And the more kindly that Strangers are entertained, the more the Trade doth grow. The Prince is thereby much enriched also.

50 And for Achem, in particlar, this Port lieth well, to answere to the Trade of all Bengala, Iaua, and the Moluccas, and all China. And these places hauing vent of their Merchandise, will not let to resort hither with them. So that, by this meanes, the royaltie of the Kings Crowne, will greatly increase, to the decrease, and diminishing of all the Portugals Trade, and their great Forces in the Indies.

And, if it shall happen, that his Maiestie wanteth any Artificers, hee may haue them out of our Kingdome, giuing them content for their trauaile: and free course to goe, as they haue good will to come. And any other necessarie, that our Countreie bringeth forth, and may spare, shall be at the Kings command and seruice.

But, I hope his Maiestie will not vrge any demands more, then her Maiestie may willingly consent vnto: or that shall be contrarie to her Honour and Lawes, and the League she hath made with all Christian Princes her neighbours.

60 Further, the Generall demanded, that his Maiestie would cause present Proclamation to be made for our safetie, and that none of his people should abuse any of ours: but that they might doe their businesse quietly. And this last request was so well performed, that although there were a strict order, that none of their owne people might walke by night: yet ours, might goe both night and day, without impeachment of any. Onely, if they found any of ours at road at vnlawfull houres, the Iustice brought them home to the Generals house, and there deliuered them.

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After these conferences ended, the Bishop demanded of the Generall, notes of his reasons in writing, as also of his demands of the priuiledges he demanded in her Maiesties name for the Merchants, and hee would shew them to the King: and within few dayes, he should haue his Maiesties answere to them. And with these conferences, and much gratulation, and with some other talke of the affaires of Christendome: they broke vp for that time.

The Generall was not negligent, to send his demands to the noble men, which (for the most part) were drawne out before hand: for, he was not vnreadie for these busineses, before he came aland in the Kingdome.

Cock-fighting  
in Achen.

At his next going to the Court, and sitting before the King, beholding the Cock-fighting (which is one of the greatest sports this King delighteth in) hee sent his Interpreter with his obeisance to the King, desiring him to be mindfull of the businesse, whereof hee had conferred with his Noblemen. Whereupon, he called the Generall vnto him, and told him, that hee was carefull of his dispatch: and would willingly enter into Peace and League with her Maiestie, and (for his part) would hold it truely. And for those Demands and Articles, he had set downe in writing, they should be all written againe, by one of his Secretaries, and should haue them authorized by him. Which within five or six dayes, were deliuered the Generall, by the Kings owne hands, with many good and gracious words: the Tenor of which League and Articles of Peace, are too long to be inserted. According to their desires, was to the English granted, First, Free entry and trade. Secondly, Custome free, whatsoever they brought in, or carried forth: and assistance with their vessels and shipping, to saue our ships, goods, and men from wracke in any dangers. Thirdly, Libertie of Testament to bequeath their goods to whom they please. Fourthly, Stability of bargaines and orders for payment by the subiects of *Achen*, &c. Fifthly, Authority to execute iustice on their owne men offending. Sixtly, Iustice against iniuries from the Natiues. Seuenthly, Not to arrest or stay our goods, or set prizes on them. Eightly, Freedome of Conscience.

This League of Peace and Amitie being settled, the Merchants continually went forward, providing Pepper for the lading of the ships: but there came in but small store, in respect of the last yeeres sterility. So by some of them he vnderstood of a Port, about an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence, in the South part of the same Iland, called *Priaman*, where he might lade one of his smaller ships. Then he prepared the *Susan*, and placed for Captaine and chiefe Merchant in her, M. Henry Middleton.

Henry Middleton.

Captaine John Davis.

This was his second voyage to the Indies. In the third with Sir E. Mich, he was flaine, as before is shewed.

He was also not a little grieved, that Captaine *John Davis* his principall Pilot, had told the Marchants before our comming from *London*, that Pepper was to be had here for foure *Spanish* royals of eight the hundred; and it cost vs almost twentie. The Generall, daily grew full of thought, how to lade his shippes to saue his owne credit, the Merchants estimation that set him a worke, and the reputation of his Countrey: considering what a foule blot it would be to them all, in regard of the nations about vs, seeing there were merchandise enough to bee bought in the *Indies*, yet he should be likely to returne home with empty ships.

Besides the *Portugall* Embassador had a diligent eye ouer euery steppe we trode, but was no whit accepted of the King. For the last day of his beeing at the Court, he had demanded of the King, to settle a Factorie in his Countrey, and to build a Fort at the comming in of the Harbour: his reason was, for the more securitie of the Marchants goods, because the City was subiect to fire. But the King perceiuing what he meant, gaue him this answer backe againe: Hath your Master (saith he) a Daughter to giue vnto my Sonne, that he is so carefull of the preservation of my Countrey? He shall not neede to be at so great a charge, as the building of a Fort: for I haue a fit house about two leagues from this Citie, within the Land, which I will spare him to supply his Factorie withall: where they shall not need to feare either enemies or fire, for I will protect him. Hereupon the King was much displeased at this insolent demand: and the Embassadour went from the Court much discontented.

Discontent betwixt the Portugals and the King.

#### ¶ IIII.

*Portugall wiles discovered, a Prize taken neere Malacca.*

Portugall subtleties retorted.

Shortly after this, there came to our house, an *Indian* (to sell Hennes) which was appertaining to a *Portugall* Captaine, who came to that Port with a Ship laden with Rice, out of the Port of *Bengala*. This Captaine lay in the Embassadors house, and the Generall mistrusted, he came only for a Spy to see, and perceiue what we did: and yet he gaue commandement, he should be well intreated, and they should alwayes buy his Hennes, and giue him a reasonable price for them. At last, he himselfe tooke occasion, pleasantly to commune with the *Indian*, whence hee was, and of what Countrey: saying, A young man of his presence, merited some better meanes then buying and selling of Hennes. Sir, said he, I serue this *Portugall* Captaine, yet am neither bound, nor free: but beeing free borne, I haue beene with him so long time, that now he partly esteemeth me as his owne: and so great they are, that wee cannot striue with them. Then said the Generall vnto him; If thy liberty be precious vnto thee, thy person meriteth it. But what wouldst thou doe for him, that would giue thee thy libertie without pleading with



with thy Master for it? Sir, said the *Indian*, Freedome is as precious as life, and my life I would adventure for him that should do it. Prooue me therefore in any seruice that I can doe for you, and my willingnesse shall soone make good what I haue said. Well, said the Generall, thou hast willed me to prooue whether thou meanest truely, or no. I would aske of thee, What the Embassador saith of me, and my shipping which I haue in this place; and what pretences he hath? Sir, said the *Indian*, he hath had a Spie aboard of all your Ships, a *Chinesse*, who is continually conuersant with your people: so that he hath a draught drawne, not onely of your ships, and their greatnesse; but also of euery Piece of Ordnance that each ship hath, and how they are placed, and the number of your men that are in them. And he findeth your ships strong, and well appointed; But by reason of the sicknesse that hath been in them, they are but weake of men, and easie to be taken, if any force come vpon them on the suddaine: and within few dayes, he meaneth to send his draughts to *Malacca*, for force to attempt your ships as they ride. The Generall laughed pleasantly to heare these things, saying; The Embassador was not so idle as he thought him: for hee well knoweth (said he) that I care little for all the forces of these parts. It is but to make thee, and the rest that are about him beleue, that you are stronger then you be. But goe thy way, and be here once in a day or twaine, and tell me whether the Embassadour goe forward in his proceedings, and when those Messengers shall depart with the plots thou speakest of. And although it will benefit me little to know these things, yet I will giue thee thy libertie for thy good will thou shewest therein, as I haue promised thee to doe. This *Indian* went away very well contented, as any man might easily perceiue by his countenance, and the lightnesse of his pace. Now, when he was gone, the Generall turned about, and said to me: We haue met with a fit man to betray his Master, if we can make any benefit of the treason. And surely, he was not deceiued in his opinion: for by this meanes, whatsoeuer the Embassadour did all the day, we had it either that night, or (at the furthest) the next day in the morning. And this Fellow carried the matter so warily, that he was neither mistrusted of any of the Embassadors house, nor knowne to any of ours, what businesse he went about. For he had the right conditions of a Spie, being wily, fearefull, carefull, subtil, and neuer trusting any to heare what conference he had with the Generall: but deliuered his minde vnto him alone, and that in such carelesse sort, as if hee had answered the Generall idly, whatsoeuer he demanded of him: for he stood in feare of our owne people, leaſt they would bewray the telling of his Hennes, which couered all his comming and going to our House.

A Spie for the  
Portugal disco-  
uered.

The next day, the Generall was sent for to the Court, and the King had conference with him, about an Embassage that the King of *Siam* had sent him touching the conquest of *Malacca*: and with what force he would assist him by Sea, if he vndertooke that seruice. For this King of *Siamatra*, is able to put a very great force of Gallies to Sea, if he may haue but some foure or five moneths warning before-hand, to make them ready. This conference the Generall furthered with many reasons, and tooke an occasion to enter into talke of the *Spanish* Embassadour, how insolently proud he carried himselfe: and that his comming into his Maiesties Kingdome and Court, was for no other purpose, but onely as a Spie, to see and discouer the strength of his Kingdome. I know it well (said the King,) for they are enemies of mine, as I haue bene to them: but what causeth thee to see this? The Generall answered him; That he could take nothing in hand, but his Spies attended vpon him, to marke what he went about, and to what ende. And among other things (saith he) he had taken a draught of his ships, and meaneth to send it to *Malacca*: and to procure forces to set vpon him at vnawares. The King smiled to heare the Generall mention these things, and said; Thou needest not feare any strength that shall come from *Malacca*: for all the strength they haue there, is able to doe thee no harme. The Generall answered, I doe not (said he) feare their strength, what they can doe to me: but it may be much to my hinderance, that they vnderstanding the time I meane to goe to Sea, they shall thereby bee aduised to keepe themselues within their Ports, so that I shall not be able to offend them. Is it so, said the King? Yea, said the Generall, and therefore I would intreat your Maiestie, to make stay of two of the Embassadors seruants that are now going to *Malacca*, within these few dayes, who take not their passage from hence: but will goe to another Port of yours, and there hire a Barke, to transport them thence, because they will be sure not to be intercepted. And if your Maiestie intercept them there, you shall be priuy to some of their plots and pretences. Well, said the King, let me vnderstand of their departure from hence, and thou shalt see what I will doe for thee. So, the Generall tooke his leaue of the King, well contented, and had daily conference with his Merchant that sold Hennes: so that there was not any thing done, or said in the Embassadors house, but he was priuy to it.

The forces of  
the King of *Siamatra*.

Now the time was come, that the Embassadors two seruants were to depart with their plots, and their Masters Letters: and they went down to a Port about five and twentie leagues from *Achen*. But the Generall was not slacke to aduise the King thereof, who had giuen order before: so that at their comming thither, and when they had hired their passage, and had embarked themselues with all their Letters, and were going ouer the Barre, a mile from the Citie, a Frigget went after them, and caused the Barke to strike sayle, that the Iustice might see, what their la-



ding was. And when the Iustice came aboard, and saw two *Portugals* there, he asked them from whence they came, and whether they were going: they answered, They came from *Achem*, and belonged to the *Portugall* Embassadour. Nay, said the Iustice, but you have robbed your Master, and runne away like theeves with his goods: and therefore I will returne you againe to him, from whom you are fled, and there you shall answer it. But in this hurly-burly, and searching of them, they lost their plots, and their letters, and their Trunkes were broken open: and they sent to *Achem*, bound backe againe to the Court, to be deliuered to the Embassador, if they did belong vnto him. The Generall had some intelligence of these things, and the next time he came to the Court, the King called him vnto him, and said: Now what sayest thou, art thou contented? The Generall made him obeisance, and gaue him humble and heartie thanks for his clemencie, and 10 kindnesse towards him: and with some other conference, the Generall departed for that time. The Marchant of Hennes came daily following his Merchandize, and as the Generall suspected, and he himselfe afterward confessed, not without his Masters consent; to aduise from vs, as well as he aduised from his Master.

But now the Summer was past, and September came, the time that the Generall meant to goe to sea to seeke meanes to supply his necessities: and now fell out the greatest Crosse of all to his pretence. The Embassador himselfe had his dispatch from the King to be gone. Which the Generall knowing, went to the Court, and where the King sat, seeing the sports that were made before him, he sent his Interpreter to him, desiring that it would please him to heare a certain request which he had vnto his Maiestie. Whereupon the King immediately called for him, and dema- 20 ded what he would haue him to doe. It hath pleased your Highnesse, said the Generall, to doe me many curtesies, and therefore I am further imboldened, to proceed to request one kindnesse more at your Maiesties hands. What is that (said the King, smiling) are there more *Portugals* going to *Malacca*, to hinder thy pretences? Yea, said the Generall the Embassador himselfe (as I am giuen to vnderstand) hath your Maiesties dispatch to be gone at his pleasure: and is determined to depart within five dayes. And what wouldst thou haue me to doe, said the King? Only stay him but tenne dayes, till I be gone forth with my ships. Well, said the King, and laughed, thou must bring me a faire *Portugall* maiden when thou returnest, and then I am pleased. With this answer the Generall tooke his leaue, and departed; and hasted all that he could to be gone. For he had left the Merchants behind him, and vnder the protection of the King till his returne: and in the meane time to buy what Pepper they could, to helpe to furnish the *Ascensions* lading, 30 which was now more then three parts laden. But the Generall would not leaue her behind him, riding in the Port, but tooke her in his company: for she roade but in an open place. All the three ships were made readie, and there was a Captaine of a Dutch ship in the road, who desired the Generall that he might goe to sea in his company, and take part of his aduventure; his ship was aboue two hundred Tunnes, but had as little money to lade himselfe, as we; and therefore refused no consort. So the Generall was contented to giue him  $\frac{1}{2}$  of what should be taken, and hee rested therewith contented. The Generall hauing taken his leaue of the King, and presented two of the chiefe Merchants vnto him, *M. Starkie*, and *M. Styles*, the King graciously tooke them into his protection and safeguard: for these Merchants with some others, were left behind (as I said be- 40 fore) for the prouiding of such Pepper, as was there to be had, against the returne of the ships from the Sea. The ships being ready, we set sayle the eleuenth of September, toward the Straights of *Malacca*.

Now, let me tell you how the King dealt with the Embassadour of *Portugall*, after our departure, which euery day vrged his dispatch to be gone: but still, vpon one occasion or other, his passage was deferred. At last (four and twenty daies after our departure) the King said vnto him: I maruaile you are so hasty to be gone, seeing the English Embassadour is abroad at the Sea with his shipping? If he meete you, he will be able to wrong you, and doe you violence. I care little for him, said the Embassadour, for my *Friget* is so nimble with Saile and Oares, that if I haue but her length from him, I will escape all his force. Well, said the King: 50 I am the more willing you should depart, because I see you rest so assured of your owne safety: and so he had his dispatch to be gone. This seruice came well to passe for vs, for if he had gone away in time, such aduice would haue bene giuen from *Malacca*, by *Frigots* into the Straights, that all shippes would haue had warning of vs: but (by this meanes) we lay within five and twentie leagues of *Malacca* it selfe, and were neuer descryed, whereby to be preuented. The third day of October, we being in the Straights of *Malacca*, laying off and on, the *Hector* espied a Sayle, and calling to the rest of the shippes, we all discried her. And being toward night, a present direction was giuen, that we should all spread our selues a mile and an halfe, one from another, that she might not passe vs in the night. The shippe fell with the *Hector*, that first espied her, and presently she called vnto her, and shot off two or three peeces of Ordnance: so 60 that the rest of the shippes had intelligence, and drew all about her, and began to attempt her with their great Ordnance, and she returned shot againe. But when the Admirals ship came vp, he discharged sixe peeces together out of his Prow: and then her maine yard fell downe. After that she shot no more, nor any of our shippes, fearing least some vnforgotten shot might light betweene

This was Captaine of a ship of Holland, called *Speilberge*. English fauour to the Hollander.

The Kings subtil dealing with the *Portugals*.

This was the Carack of *S. Thome* in India.



betweene wind and water, and so sinke her, (for the Generall was very carefull) so the fight ceased till the morning. At the breake of day, the Captaine with some of the rest, entred their Boate, and the *Hector* being next her, called them to come aboard him: and Maister *John Middleton* the Captaine, being Vice-Admirall, brought the Boate and Captaine aboard the *Generall*, to whom they rendered their shippe and goods. The Generall presently caused all the chiefe men of the Prize, to be placed aboard our shippes, and onely placed but foure of our men aboard the Prize: for feare of rifling, & pillaging the good things that were within her; and those foure suffered none other to come aboard. And their charge was, if any thing should be missing, to answer the same out of their wages and shares: for when the shippe was vnladen, the Boate-  
 10 swaine and the Marriners of the same shippe, did wholly vnlade her, and none of ours came within her to doe any labour. Onely they receiued the goods into their Boates, and carried them aboard each shippes, as the Generall appointed them to doe: so that by this order, there was neither rifling, theeuing, pillaging, or spoiling, which otherwise would hardly haue bene auoyded in such businesse as this. Within fve or sixe daies, we had vnladen her of nine hundred and fiftie packes of Calicoes, and Pintados, besides many packets of Merchandize: she had in her much Rice, and other goods, whee of we made small account. Now a storme arising, all their men were set aboard, and we left her, riding at an Anchor. This shippe came from a place called *Saint Thomas*, that lyeth in the Bay of *Bengala*, and was going for *Malaca*. When we intercepted her, she had in her about sixe hundred persons, Men, Women, and Children: her bur-  
 20 then was nine hundred tuns. The Generall would neuer goe aboard to see her, and his reason was, to take away suspicion, both from the Mariners that were there, and the Merchants that were at *London*, least they might charge, or suspect him for any dishonest dealing, by helping himselfe thereby. He was very glad of this good hap, and very thankfull to God for it, and as he told me, he was much bound to God, that had eased him of a very heavy care, and that hee could not be thankfull enough to him for this blessing giuen him. For, saith he, he hath not onely supplied my necessities, to lade these ships I haue: but hath giuen me as much as will lade as many more shippes as I haue, if I had them to lade. So that now my care is not for money, but rather, where I shall leaue these goods that I haue, more then enough, in safety, till the returne of the ships out of *England*.

The Caracke yeelded to the English.

Care to auoyd rifling and spoile. Goods taken in the Prize.

His care to preuent suspicion.

30 The one and twentieth of October, our shippes returned out of the Straights of *Malaca* for *Achen*, where by the way a great Spout of water came powring out of the Heauens, and fell not farre from our ship, which we feared much. For these Spouts come powring downe like a riuer of water, so that if they should light in any ship, she were in danger to be presently sunck downe into the Sea: it falleth with such an extreame violence, all whole together, as one drop, or as water powred out of a vessell: and sometimes dureth a quarter of an howre together, so that the Sea boyleth with froth, of an exceeding height, by the violence of the fall of the Spoute.

A great Spout of water.

# ¶ V.

*Their Present to and from the King: His Letters to Queene ELIZABETH: Their departure for Priaman and Bantam, and selling a Trade there.*



HE foure and twentieth of October, we cast our Anchors in the Port of *Achen* in *Sumatra*, where the Generall went a shore, and found all the Merchants well, and in safety: who gaue great commendations of their good, and kind entertainment receiued from the King, in the Generals absence. Wherefore, the Generall willing  
 50 to gratifie the King, with such things as he had taken in the Prize, sorted out a present of diuers things, that he thought might be most to his liking: and at his first going to the Court, presented them vnto him. The King receiued the Present, and welcomed the Generall, and seemed to be very ioyfull, for the good successe he had against the *Portugall*: and iestingly said, hee had forgotten the most important businesse that he requested at his hands, which was, the faire *Portugall* Maiden, he desired him to bring with him at his returne. To whom the Generall answered: that there was none so worthy, that merited to be so presented. Therewithall the King smiled, and said: If there be any thing heere in my kingdome may pleasure thee, I would be glad to gratifie thy good will. After this, the Generall commaunded the Merchants to put aboard the *Ascension*, all such Pepper, Cinamon, and Cloues, as they had bought in his absence: which  
 60 was scarcely the ships full lading, but at that time there was no more to be had, nor that yeare to be hoped for. And therefore, he willed the Merchants to put all their things aboard the ships, for his resolution was to depart from thence, and goe for *Bantam* in *Iaua maior*, where he vnderstood both of good sale for his commodities, and great returne of Pepper to be had, and at a much more reasonable price, then they could buy it at *Achen*. This determination once knowne,

Returne to Achen.



all men hasten to put their things aboard. So the Generall made the King priuy to his departure, and went to the Court, and had long conference with him, who deliuered him a Letter for her Maiestie, written in the *Arabian* tongue: The Tenor whereof, is as followeth.

*The Letter of the King of Achen, to the Queene of England.*

**G**Lorie be to God, who hath magnified himselfe in his Workes, glorified his Dominion, ordained Kings and Kingdomes, exalted himselfe alone in Power and Maiestie: he is not to be uttered by word of mouth, nor to be conceived by imagination of the heart, he is no vaine phantasme: no bound may containe him, nor any similitude expresse him: his blessing and his peace is ouer all his goodnesse in the Creature: He hath beene proclaimed by his Prophet heretofore, and since that often, and now againe by this writing at this present, inferiour unto none. For this Citie, which is not slacke to shew their loue, hath manifested it, in the entertainment of that societie, which filleth the Horizons with ioy, and hath confirmed it to the eye by a signe, which bringeth knowledge of remembrance of it generally and particularly. And for that their request is iust, with purpose for exchange; and they themselues of honest carriage, and their kindnesse great in doing good in generall to the Creatures, helping the Creature in prosperitie and aduersitie ioyntly, giuing liberally unto the poore, and such as stand in neede of their abundance, preserving the Creature to their uttermost, with a willing mind: which for them now is extended unto India and \* Arach; sending forth the chiefeest men of discretion and note, calling also the best of the 20 creatures to counsaile herein.

\* Or Carmania.

This is the Sultana which doth rule in the Kingdome of England, France, Ireland, Holland, and Friseland: God continue that Kingdome, and that Empire long in prosperitie.

\* Or Achens.

And because that he which hath obtained the writing of these Letters, from the King of the Kingdome of \* Aihay, who doth rule there with an absolute power; And for that there came unto Vs a good report of you, declared and spread very ioyfully by the mouth of Captaine Iames Lancaster, (God continue his welfare long.) And for that you doe record that in your Letters, there are commendations unto vs. and that your Letters are Patent Priuiledges. Almighty God aduance the purpose of this Honorable consociation, and confirme this worthy league.

\* Or Spaine.

And for that you doe affirme in them, that the Sultan of \* Afrangie is your enemy, and an enemy to 30 your people, in what place soeuer he be, from the first untill now, and for that he hath lift up himselfe proudly, and set himselfe as King of the world: yet what is he, besides his exceeding pride and haughtie mind? In this therefore is our ioy increased, and our societie confirmed: for that he and his Company are our enemies in this world, and in the world to come: so that we shall cause them to die, in what place soeuer we shall meete them, a publicke death.

\* Or Bandar.

And moreouer, you doe affirme, that you desire peace and friendship with vs. To God be praise and thanks for the greatnesse of his Grace. This therefore is our serious Will, and Honourable Purpose truly in this Writing, That you may send from your people unto Our \* Ports, to Trade and to Traffique; and that whosoever shall be sent unto Vs in your Highnesse Name, and to whomsoever you shall prescribe the time, they shall be of a ioynt Company, and of common priuiledges. For this Captaine and his Company, 40 so soone as they came unto vs, we haue made them of an absolute societie: And we haue incorporated them into one Corporation and common Dignities: And we haue graunted them Liberties, and haue shewed them the best course of Traffique: And to manifest unto men, the loue and brother-hood betweene vs and you in this world. There is sent by the hand of this Captaine, according to the custome, unto the famous \* Citie, a Ring of Gold, beautified with a Ruby, richly placed in his sete, two vestures woven with Gold, embroidered with Gold, inclosed in a red Boxe of \* Tzin.

\* Of London.

\* Or China.

\* That is, by Computation of time.

Written in \* Tarich of the yeere 1011. of Mahomet. Peace be vnto you.

Translated out of the Arabick, by WILLIAM BEDVVEL. 50

\* Psalmes of David knowne to the Mahometans.

**F**Or a Present to her Maiestie, he sent three faire Cloathes richly wrought with Gold, of very cunning worke, and a very faire Rubie in a Ring: and gaue to the Generall another Ring, and a Rubie in it. And when the Generall tooke his leaue, the King said vnto him: haue you the Psalmes of David extant among you? the Generall answered: yea, and wee sing them daily. Then said the King: I, and the rest of these Nobles about me, will sing a Psalm to God for your prosperitie, and so they did very solemnly. And after it was ended, the King said: I would heare you sing another Psalm, although in your owne language. So there being in the company some 60 twelue of vs, we sang another Psalm; And after the Psalm ended, the Generall tooke his leaue of the King, the King shewing him much kindnesse at his departure: desiring God to blesse vs in our iourney, and to guide vs safely into our owne Countrey, saying, if hereafter your ships returne to this Port, you shall find as good vsage as you haue done. All our men being shipped, we departed the ninth of Nouember, being three ships, the Dragon, the Hector, and the Ascen-



tion. We kept company two dayes, in which time the Generall dispatched his Letters for England, and sent away the *Ascension*, she setting her course homeward, toward the Cape of *Buena Esperanza*, and we, along the Coast of *Sumatra*, toward *Bantam*: to see if wee could meete with the *Susan*, which had order to lade vpon that Coast.

As we sayled along the Coast of *Sumatra*, we sodainly fell among certaine Ilands in the night: and the day approching, wee marvelled how wee came in among them, without seeing any of them. They were all low landed, and full of Flattes and Rockes, so that wee were in great danger, before we could cleere our selues of them: but thanks be to God, who deliuered vs from many other dangers, as he did also deliuer vs from these. So holding on our course from *Priaman*, we passed the Equinoctiall Line the third time, and came thither the six and twentieth of November, and found the *Susan* there, which the Generall had sent before from *Achen*, to lade there. Now, when they saw vs, they were very glad of our comming, and had provided toward their lading, some six hundred *Bahars* of Pepper, and sixtie sixe *Bahars* of Cloues. Heere our Pepper cost vs lesse then at *Achen*, but there is none growing about this Port, but is brought some eight or ten leagues out of the Countrey, from a place called *Manangcabo*. This place hath no other Merchandise growing there; only, there is good store of Gold in Dust, and small graines, which they wash out of the Sands of Riuer: after the great floods of Raine, that fall from the Mountaines, from whence it is brought. This is a place of good refreshing, and is very wholesome and healthfull, and yet it lyeth within fifteene minutes of the Line. At this Port hauing refreshed our selues with the good ayre, fresh victuals and water, the Generall gaue Commission to the Captaine of the *Susan*, to make what halte he could for his lading, which would bee accomplished with some hundred *Bahars* of Pepper, and so to depart for *England*. And the fourth day of December, we tooke our course toward *Bantam*, in the Iland of *Iaua maior*: and we entred the Straights of *Sunda*, the fifteenth of December, and came to an anchor vnder an Iland, three leagues from *Bantam*, called *Pulopansa*.

Dangerous Flats.

*Priaman*.

*Manangcabo*. Store of Gold in Dust.

The *Susan* first sent home. December the fourth, 1602. they depart from *Priaman*. They arrive in the Road of *Bantam*.

The King of *Bantam* a child of 10. or 11. yeares of age. The Queenes Letter and Present to the K. of *Bantam*.

Trade began.

A Riall of 8. is foure shillings six pence sterling.

The next day in the morning, we entred the Road of *Bantam*, and shot off a very great peale of Ordnance out of the *Dragon*, being our Admirall, and out of the *Hector*: such an one as had neuer bene rung there, before that day. The next day in the morning, the Generall sent his Vice-Admirall, Captaine *Iohn Middleton* a-land, with a Message to the King: declaring, that hee was sent by the Queene of *England*, and had both a Message and a Letter to deliuer to his Maiestie from her: and required his Maiesties safe conduct and warrant to come a-land, to deliuer the same. The King returned him word, that hee was very glad of his comming, and sent backe a Nobleman with Captaine *Middleton*, to welcome the Generall, and to accompany him a-land. The Generall tooke some sixteene men in his company, and went a-land with the Nobleman to the Court: where he found the King (being but a child of ten or eleuen yeares of age) sitting in a round-house; with some sixteene or eightene Noblemen of the Countrey about him, in some reasonable estate. The Generall did his obeysance, and the King welcomed him very kindly. And after the Generall had had some conference about his message, hee deliuered to the Kings hand, her Maiesties Letter, with a Present of Plate, and some other things withall: which the King receiued with a smiling countenance, and referred the Generall (for further conference) to one of his Nobles, who was then Protector. After some houre and an halfe conference had of many things, the said Nobleman (as from the King) receiued the Generall vnder the Kings protection, and all his Company: willing him to come a-land, and buy and sell, without any kinde of molestation, for there he should be as safe, as if he were in his owne Countrey: and to this, all the Nobles agreed with one consent. There passed many speeches of diuers things, which (for breuities sake) I omit to trouble the Reader withall: for, my purpose is to shew the effect of this first settling of the Trade in the *East-Indies*, rather then to particularize of them. The Generall, after his kind welcome and conference had, took his leaue of the King, and the rest of his Nobles: and presently gaue order for the providing of housing, whereof the King willed him to make his best choice wherefoeuer he would. So, within two dayes, the Merchants brought goods ashore, and beganne to sell: but, one of the Kings Nobles came to the Generall, and said, it was the custome of that place, that the King should buy, and furnish himselfe, before the Subiects should buy any thing. The Generall was well contented, for he was aduised, that he would giue a reasonable price, and pay very well. The King being serued, the Merchants went forward in their sales: so that within some five weekes, much more was sold there in goods, then would haue laden our two shippes: and yet they brought away from thence two hundred and seuentie sixe bagges of Pepper. These contayned sixtie two pound waight a piece, and cost at first penny 5.  $\frac{2}{3}$ . Rials of eight the piece, beside our anchorage, and the Kings Custome, which anchorage for our two ships cost vs (by agreement the Generall made with the *Sauendar*, or *Gouernour* of the Citie) fifteene hundred Rials of eight, and one Riall of eight vpon euery bagge of custome. Wee traded heere very peaceably, although the *Iauians* be reckoned among the greatest Pickers and Theeues of the World. But the Generall had commission from the King (after hee had receiued an abuse or two) that whosoever he tooke about his house in the night, he should kill them: so, after foure or five were thus slaine, we liued in reasonable peace and quiet. But, continually, all night, wee kept a



The death of  
Captaine John  
Middleton.

A Pinnaffe of  
40. tunne, with  
12. men sent to  
the Moluccas.  
A Factory set-  
led, in *Bantam*.  
A Letter and  
Present from  
the King of  
*Bantam* to the  
Queene.

carefull watch. As we went buying Pepper, we sent it aboard, so that by the tenth of Februa-  
ry, our ships were fully laden, and readie to depart. But, in this meane time, the Captaine of the  
*Hector*, Master John Middleton, fell sicke aboard his ship, in the Roade (for the Generall obser-  
ued this from the beginning of the Voyage, that if he himselfe were ashore, the Captaine of the  
Vice-Admirall kept aboard, because both should not be from their charge at one time. The Gene-  
rall hearing of his sicknesse, went aboard to visit him, and found him weaker, then hee himselfe  
felt, which experience had taught him to know in these hot Countries. And so it happened with  
Captaine Middleton then walking vp and downe, who dyed about two of the clocke next  
morning.

Now, the Generall began to put all things in order, and hasten his departure, and appointed a  
Pinnaffe of about fortie tunnes (which he had) to bee laden with Commodities, and put in her  
twelue men with certaine Merchants, and sent her for the *Moluccas*: to trade there, and settle a  
Factorie, against the returne of the next shipping out of *England*. Moreover, he left eight men:  
and three Factors in *Bantam*, the chiefe of which Factors, was Master William Starkey, whom he  
appointed to sell such Commodities as were left them: and to prouide lading for the shippes, a-  
gainst the next returne. Also the Generall went to the Court to take his leaue of the King, where  
he received a Letter for her Maiestie, and a Present for her, of certaine Bezar-stones, very faire,  
and to the Generall he gaue a very faire *Iana* Dagger, which they much esteeme there, and a good  
Bezar-stone with some other things. And thus the Generall tooke his leaue of the King, with  
many kind countenances and good words.

20

## ¶ V.

### *Their departure for England, and occurrents in the way.*

The twentieth  
of Februarie,  
they returne  
for *England*.

They double  
the Tropick of  
Capricorne.

A terrible  
storme.

They lose their  
Rother in a  
storme.

Almost 40. de-  
grees of South  
Latitude.

**T**He twentieth day of Februarie, we went all aboard our ships, shot off our Ordnance,  
and set sayle to the Sea toward *England*, with thanks to God, and glad hearts, for  
his blessings towards vs. The two and twentieth and three and twentieth of the  
same moneth, wee were in the Straights of *Sunda*, and the sixe and twentieth wee  
were cleere of all the Iles that lye in those Straights, and cleere of all the land, holding our course  
South-west, so that the eight and twentieth, wee were in eight degrees and fortie minutes to  
the South of the Line. Vpon Sunday the thirteenth of March, wee were past the Tropicke of  
Capricorne, holding our course, for the most parte, South-west, with a stiffe gale of wind at  
South-east. The fourteenth day of Aprill, wee were in thirtie foure degrees, iudging the Land  
of *Madagascar* to be North of vs. The eight and twentieth day we had a very great and a fu-  
rious storme, so that we were forced to take in all our Sayles. This storme continued a day and a  
night, with an exceeding great and raging Sea, so that, in the reason of man no shippe was  
able to liue in them: but God (in his mercie) ceased the violence thereof, and gaue vs time to  
breath: and to repaire all the distresses and harmes we had receiued, but our ships were so shaken,  
that they were leakie all the Voyage after.

The third of May, wee had another very sore storme which continued all the night, and the  
Seas did so beate vpon the ships quarter, that it shooke all the Iron worke of her Rother: and the  
next day in the morning, our Rother brake cleane from the sterne of our shippe, and presently  
funke into the Sea. This strooke a present feare into the hearts of all men, so that the best of vs,  
and most experienced, knew not what to doe. And specially, seeing our selues in such a tempe-  
stuous Sea, and so stormie a place, so that, I thinke, there hee few worse in all the World. Now  
our ship draue vp and downe in the Sea like a wracke, which way soeuer the wind carried her:  
so that sometimes we were within three or foure leagues of the Cape *Buena Esperanza*, then  
commeth a contrary wind, and driueth vs almost to fortie degrees to the Southward into the  
hayle and snow, and fleetie cold weather. And this was another great miserie vnto vs, that pin-  
ched vs exceeding sore, so that our case was miserable and very desperate. Yet all this while the  
*Hector* kept by vs carefully, the company whereof was some comfort vnto vs: and many times  
the Master of the *Hector* came aboard our shippe, so at the the last, it was concluded to take our  
misen Mast, and put it forth at the sterne Port, to proue if wee could steere our shippe into some  
place where we might make another Rother to hang it, to serue our turnes home. But this de-  
uice was to small purpose, for when we had fitted it, and put it forth (the Seas being somewhat  
growne with lifting vp the Mast) it did so shake the sterne, and put all in such danger, that it  
was needfull to make all conuenient haste, to get the Mast into the ship againe: which we were  
very glad when we had brought it to passe. Now we were without all remedie, vnlesse we made  
a new Rother, and could bring it to passe to hang it in the Sea: which to performe let euery man  
iudge how easie a thing it was, our ship being of seuen or eight hundred tunnes, and in so dange-  
rous a Sea as this was: but necessitie compelleth to prouue all meanes. Then the Grnerall com-  
manded



manded the Carpenter to make a Rother of the said misen Mast, to prooue what wee could doe: but this barre fell in our way; that, at such time as wee lost our Rother, wee lost also the most of our Rother irons, wherewith to fasten the Rother. But yet, wee went forward, and made all the haste we could, and one of our men diied, to search what Rother irons remayned, who found but two, and one that was broken, to helpe vs withall. Yet, by Gods helpe, finding a faire day, wee made fast the said Rother, and sailed on our course homewards: But, within three or foure houres, the Sea tooke it off againe, and wee had much adoe to saue it, and with the sauing of it, wee lost an other of our irons, so that now, we had but two to hang it by: and our men began to be desirous to leaue the Ship, and goe into the *Hector* to saue themselves. Nay, said the Generall, wee will yet abide Gods leasure, to see what mercie he will shew vs: for I despair not to saue our selues, the Ship and the goods, by one meanes or other, as God shall appoint vs. And with that, he went into his Cabbin, and wrote a Letter for *England*, purposing to send it by the *Hector*, commanding her to depart, and leaue him there: but, not one of the companie knew of this command. The Letter was very briefe, and the tenour little more or lesse, as followeth.

**R**ight worshipfull, what hath passed in this Voyage, and what Trades I haue settled for this companie, and what other euents haue befallen us, you shall vnderstand by the beaues hereof, to whom (as occasion hath fallen) I must referre you. I will strue with all diligence to saue my ship, and her goods, as you may perceiue, by the course I take in venturing mine owne life, and those that are with mee. I cannot tell where you should looke for mee, if you send out any Pinnace to seeke mee: because I liue at the deuotion of the winds and seas. And thus fare you well, desiring God, to send vs a merrie meeting in this world, if it be his good will and pleasure.

A Letter in a desperate case sent for *England*.

The Passage to the East India lieth in 62.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . degrees, by the North-west on the America side.

Your very louing friend,

JAMES LANCASTER.

**T**his Letter being deliuered, the Generall thought they would haue beene gone in the night, according to their Commission: but, when he espied the ship in the morning, he said to me, these men regard no Commission. Now, the ship kept some two or three leagues from vs, and came no neerer: for the Master was an honest and a good man, and loued the Generall well, and was loth to leaue him in so great distresse. And now, it was time for vs, to seeke all meanes that could be to saue our selues and the ship. Then, the Carpenter mended the Rother we had saued, and within two or three dayes, the weather began to bee somewhat faire, and the seas smooth. So, we put out a signe to the *Hector* to come neere vs, out of which the Master, Master *Sander Cole* came, and brought the best swimmers, and diuers that he had in his ship, who helped vs not a little in the businesse wee had to doe. Thus, by Gods good blessing, wee hung our Rother againe, vpon the two hookes that were left: so that, we had some good hope to obtaine one Port or other, to relieue our selues withall. Now, wee had beene beaten to and fro, in these mightie seas, and had many more stormes of weather, then are here exprest, sometimes for one whole moneth together, so that our men began to fall sicke and diseased: and the wind fell so short, that wee could fetch no part of the coast of *Africa*, which was neere to vs. Committing our selues therefore to God, we set saile straight for the Iland of *Saint Helena*: for, we knew we had doubled the Cape of *Buona Esperanza*, by the height wee were in to the Northward. As we were in our course, the Main-yard fell downe, and strooke one of our men into the sea, and he was drowned. This was the end (God be thanked) of all our hard fortunes.

Master *Sander Cole* Master of the *Hector*.

The fift day of Iune, wee passed the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, and the sixteenth in the morning wee had sight of the Iland of *Saint Helena*: at the sight whereof, there was no smale reioicing among vs. Wee bare close along by the shoare, the better to get the best of the Road, in the Harbour, where wee came to an anchor, right against a small Chappell, which the *Portugals* had built there, long since. Our ships rode in twelue fatham water, which is the best of the Harbor. At our going a shoare, we found by many writings, that the Carrackes of *Portugall* had departed from thence, but eight dayes before our comming. In this Iland, there is very good refreshing of water, and wild Goats, but they are hard to come by, vnlesse good direction be giuen for the getting of them. And this course our Generall tooke, he appointed foure lusty men, and of the best shot he had, to goe into the Iland, and make their abode in the midst of it, and to euery shot, he appointed foure men to attend him, to carrie the Goats that hee killed, to the Rendezuous: thither went (euery day) twentie men, to fetch home to the ships, what was killed. So there was no hoyting or rumour in the Iland to feare the Goats withall. And by this meanes, the ships were plentifully relieved, and euery man contented. While wee stayed here, wee fitted our shipping, and searched our Rother, which wee hoped, would last vs home. All our sicke men recouered their health, through the store of Goats and Hogs, wherewith wee had refreshed

They arriue at *Saint Helena*.



our selues, hauing great need of good refreshing : For, in three moneths, wee had scene no land, but were continually beaten in the sea.

The Ile of  
*Ascension.*

They passe the  
*Equinoctiall.*

The Ile of  
*Fogo.*

The seuenth  
of August,  
1603.

The fift day of Iuly, we set saile from this Iland, our course being Northwest. The thirteenth day, wee passed by an Iland called the *Ascension*, which standeth in eight degrees. No ships touch at this Iland, for it is altogether barraine, and without water : onely, it hath good store of Fish about it, but deepe water, and ill riding for ships. From hence wee held our course still Northwest, the wind being South and South-east, till the nineteenth day, and then, we passed the *Equinoctiall-Line*. The foure and twentieth day wee were six degrees to the Northward, at which time, wee iudged our selues to be an hundred and fiftie leagues from the Coast of *Ginney*. Then wee steered away North and by West and North till the nine and twentieth, at which time, wee had sight of the Iland of *Fogo*. Here, wee were becalmed five dayes, struiuing to passe to the Eastward of this Iland, but could not : for the wind changed, and came to the North-east, so we stood West North-west.

The seuenth day of August, wee were in sixteene degrees, and the twelfth day wee passed the Tropicke of *Cancer*, that lieth in 23.4. degrees, holding our course Northerly. But the three and twentieth, the wind came Westerly. The nine and twentieth, wee passed the Iland of *Saint Marie*, the wind faire.

The seuenth day of September, wee tooke sounding, iudging the Lands end of *England* to be fortie leagues from vs. The eleuenth day, wee came to the Downes, well and safe to an anchor : for the which, thanked be almightie God, who hath deliuered vs from infinite perils and dangers, in this long and tedious Navigation.

#### CHAP. IV.

*A Discourse of Iaua, and of the first English Factorie there, with diuers Indian, English, and Dutch occurrents, written by Master EDMUND SCOT, contayning a Historie of things done from the eleuenth of Februarie, 1602. till the sixt of October, 1605. abbreviated.*

##### §. I.

*The description of Iaua maior, with the manners and fashions of the people, both Iauans and Chynæsses, which doe there inhabite.*

*Iaua maior,*  
and the Inha-  
bitants.



The Mid-land.

The Cities.

*Bantam.*

*Iaua maior*, is an Iland which lieth in an hundred and fortie degrees of longitude from the middle part of it, and in the ninth degree of latitude, being also about an hundred fortie and six leagues long, East and West, and some ninetie leagues broad, South and North, the middle part of which Land is for the most part all mountaines, the which are not so steepe, but that people doe trauell to the top of them, both on horse-backe, and on foot. Some inhabitants doe dwell vpon those hills, which stand next to the Sea, but in the very middle of the Land, so farre as euer I could learne, there are no Inhabitants, but there are wild beasts of diuers sorts, whereof some doe repaire neere the valleyes adioyning to the Sea; and deuoure many people. Towards the Sea, for the most part is low moorish ground, wherein stand their principall Townes of Trade, the chiefest whereof lie on the North and North-east side of the Iland, as *Chiringin*, *Bantam*, *Iackatra*, and *Iortan* or *Greesey*, The which low ground is very vnwholsome, and breedeth many diseases, (especially vnto strangers which come thither) and yeeld no merchandise worthy trading for, or speaking of, but Pepper, the which hath beene brought in times past from all places of the Land to *Bantam*, as the chiefe Mart Towne of the Countie, which Towne for Trade doth farre exceed *Achen*, or any Towne or Citie thereabouts; And Pepper was wont to be brought thither from diuers other Countries, which of late yeeres is not, by reason that the *Dutch-men* trade to euery place, and buy it vp.

This Towne of *Bantam*, is about three *English* miles in length, also very populous, There are three Markets kept on euery day, one in the forenoone, and two in the afternoone : that especially, which is kept in the forenoone, doth so abound with people, that they throng together, as in many Fayers in *England*. Yet I neuer saw any kind of Cattell to sell, by reason that there are



are very few tame in the Countrey. Their food is altogether Rice, with some Hens, and some Fish, but not much, or in no abundance. The *Iauans* houses are altogether built of great Canes, and some few small Timbers, being slight buildings: In many of the principall mens houses, is good workmanship shewed, as carvings, &c. And some of the chiefeft haue a square Brick roome, being built in no better forme then a Brickill, which is onely to put in all their household stuffe, when fire commeth, but they seldome or neuer lodge, nor eat in them. There are many small Riuers running through the Towne: also, there is a good road for shippes, whereby if they were people of any reasonable capacity, it would be made a very goodly Citie, also it is walled round with a Bricke wall, being very warlike built, with Flankers, and Turrets scouring euery way.

10 I haue bene told by some that it was first built by the *Chineffes*. In many places it is fallen to decay for want of repairing. At the very end of this Towne, is the *China* Towne, a narrow Riuer parting them, which runneth crosse the end of the *China* Towne, vp to the Kings Court, and so through the middle of the great Towne, and doth ebbe and flow; so that at a high water, both Gallies and Iuncts of great burthen, may goe vp to the middle of the great Towne.

This *China* Towne, is for the most part built of Brick, euery house square, and flat ouer-head, some of them hauing Boords, and small Timbers, or split Canes ouer-crosse, on which are laid Bricks and Sand, to defend them from fire. Ouere these Bricke Ware-houses is set a shed, being built vp with great Canes, and Thatched, and some are built vp with small Timber, but the greatest number with Canes onely. Of late yeares, since we came thither, many men of wealth haue built their houses to the top, all fire free, of the which sort of houses, at our first comming, 20 there was no more but the *Sabundars* house and the rich *Chyna* Merchants house, which neuertheless by meanes of their windowes, and sheds round about them, haue bene consumed with fire. In this Towne stand the *English* and *Dutch* houses, which are built in the same manner, onely they are very much bigger, and higher then ordinary houses, and the *Dutch-men* of late (though with great cost and trouble) haue built one of their houses vp to the top all of Bricke, fire free, as they suppose.

The King of this place is absolute, and since the deposing and death of the late Emperour of *Damacke*, is held the principall King of all that Iland: he vseth alwaies Marshall law vpon any offender whom he is disposed to punish. If any priuate mans Wife or Wives be taken with dishonesty, so that they haue good prooffe of it, they cause them presently to be put to death, 30 both the woman, and the man that is taken in Adultery with her. And for their Slaues, they may execute them for any small fault. To euery Wife that a *Iauan*, being a free-man, marrieth, he must keepe ten women-slaues, which they as ordinary vse as their wiues; and some of them keepe for euery wife, fortie slaues, for so they keepe ten: they may haue as many more as they will, but they may haue but three wiues onely.

The *Iauans*, are generally exceeding proud, although extreame poore, by reason that not one amongst an hundred of them will worke. The Gentlemen of this Land are brought to bee poore, by the number of Slaues that they keepe, which eate faster then their Pepper or Rice groweth. The *Chinois*, doe both plant, drisse, and gather the Pepper, and also sowe their Rice, liuing as Slaues vnder them, but they sucke away all the wealth of the Land, by reason that 40 the *Iauans* are so idle. And a *Iauan* is so proud, that he will not endure one to be an inch in height aboue him, if he be but of the like calling. They are a people that doe very much thirst after blood, yet they will seldome fight face to face one with another, or with any other Nation; but doe altogether seeke reuenge of their enemy cowardly, albeit they are for the most part men of a goodly stature. Their law for murder, is to pay a fine to the King, and that but a small summe: but euermore the friends of the party murdered, will be reuenged on the murderer, or his kindred, so that the more they kill one another, the more fines hath their King. Their ordinary weapon which they weare, is called a *Crise*, it is about two foot in length, the blade being waued, and crooked to and fro, Indenture like, and withall exceeding sharpe, most 50 of them hauing the temper of their Mettle poysoned, so that not one amongst five hundred that is wounded with them in the body escapeth with his life. The handles of these weapons, are either of horne or wood, curiously carued in the the likenesse of a Duell, which many of them doe worship. In their warres, their fight is altogether with Pikes, Darts, and Targets. Of late, some few of them haue learned to vse their Peeces, but very vntowardly.

The apparell of the better sort, is a tucke on their heads, and about their loynes a faire Pintadoe, all the rest of their bodies naked; sometimes they will weare a close coate, somewhat like a Mandillion, of V. luet, Chamblet, Cloath, or some other kind of Silke: but it is but seldome, and vpon some extraordinary occasion. The common sort weare on their head, a flat cap of V. luet, Taffeta, or Collico-cloath, the which is cut in many peeces, and seamed with a faire stitch, 60 to make them sit flat and compasse: about their loynes they weare a kind of Callico-cloth, which is made at *Chyn*, in manner of a silke girdle, but at the least one yard broad, being of two colours. Also, there commeth from thence many sorts of white colours, which they themselues do both Dye Paint and Gild, according to the fashions of that Countrey: Likewise, they can weare a kind of striped stufte, both of Cotten, and Rindes of trees, but by meanes of their lasinesse, there

Their food.

Their houses.

The China Towne.

The Dutch and English houses.

The King and his power. Punishment of Adultery.

Costly wiues.

Iauans proud and poore.

Chinois frugall.

Punishment of murder.

Their weapons and fights.

Their apparel.



- Their head & head-tire. is very little of that worne. The men for the most part, haue very thicke curled haire on their heads, in which they take great pride, and often will goe bare-headed to shew their haire: the women goe all bare-headed, some of them hauing their haire tucked vp, like a Cart-horse taile, but the better sort doe tucke it vp, like our riding Geldings tailes. About their loynes they weare the same stufes, which I haue before mentioned, alwaies hauing a faire Girdle or Pintado, of their Countrey fashion, throwne ouer on their shoulders, which hangeth downe loose behind them.
- Their religion. The principall of them are most religious, but they very seldome goe to Church: They doe acknowledge Christ to be a great Prophet, whom they call *Naby Isa*, and some of them doe keepe of Mahomets Priests in their houses, but the common people haue very little knowledge in any Religion, onely they say, there is a God which made heauen and earth, and them also. He is good they say, and will not hurt them, but the Diuell is naught, and will doe them hurt, wherefore many of them for want of knowledge doe pray to him, onely for feare lest he should hurt them. And surely if there were men of learning, which were perfect in their language to instruct them, a number of them would be drawne to the true faith of Christ, and also would be brought to ciuilitie. For many which I haue reasoned with, concerning the Lawes of Christians, haue liked all well, excepting onely their plurality of Women, for they are all very lasciuiously giuen, both men and women. The better sort which are in authoritie, are great takers of bribes, and all the *Iauans* in generall, are bad pay-masters when they are trusted, notwithstanding, their Lawes for debts are so strickt, that the Creditour may take his Debtor, his Wiues, Children, 20 Slaues, and all that he hath, and sell them for his debt.
- The Diuell prayed to. Likewise, they are all much giuen to stealing, from the highest to the lowest, and surely in times past, they haue beene \* Man-eaters, before that Traffique was had with them by the *Chynasses*, which as I haue heard some of them say, is not aboue one hundred yeares since. They delight much in ease and Musicke, and for the most part, they spend the day sitting crosse legged like a Taylor, whistling of a stick, whereby many of them become very good Caruers, to carue their Crise handles: and that is all the worke that most of them indeuour to doe. They are very great eaters, but the Gentlemen allow their Slaues nothing, but Rice sod in water, with some rootes and hearbs, and they haue a certaine hearb called *Bettaile*, which they vsually haue carried with them wheresoeuer they goe, in boxes, or wrapped vp in a cloath like a Sugar-loafe, and also a nut 30 called *Pinange*, which are both in operation very hot, and they eate them continually to warme them within, and keepe them from the Flux, they doe likewise take much Tobacco, and also *Opium*.
- Bribing. The *Iauans* themselves, are very dull and blockish to mannage any affaires of a Commonwealth, whereby all strangers goe beyond them that come into their land: and many of the Countrey of *Chyn*, which come thither to dwell, doe grow very rich, and rise to great Offices and Dignitie amongst them, as their *Sabandar*, their *Laytamougon*, and others, especially the *Chineses*, who like *Jewes* liue crooching vnder them, but rob them of their wealth, and send it for *China*.
- Lawes for debt. The *Chineses* are very crafty people in trading, vsing all kind of cousoning and deceit which may possibly be deuised. They haue no pride in them, nor will refuse any labour, except they 40 turne *Iauans* (as many of them doe when they haue done a murther, or some other villanie) then they are euery whit as proud, and as lasie as the *Iauans*. For their Religion they are of diuers sects, but the most of them are Atheists. And many of them hold opinion, that when they die, if they be good men, they shall be borne againe to great riches, and be made Gouvernors, and if they be wicked men, then they shall be turned into some vgly beast, as a Frog or a Toade. They burne sacrifice euery new Moone, mumbling prayers ouer them, with a kind of singing voyce, and as they sing, they ting a little Bell, which at the end of euery Prayer, they ring out as fast as they can. This ceremony they also vse, when any amongst them of account lyeth a dying. The manner of their sacrifice is this: They furnish their Altars, with Goats, Hens, Duckes, and 50 diuers sorts of fruits, the which are sometimes dressed to eate, and sometimes raw, and then are dressed afterwards and eaten. All that they burne, is onely papers painted, and cut out in curious workes, and valued by them at a certaine price. I haue many times asked them, to whom they burne their sacrifice, and they haue answered me to God: but the *Gosserats* and *Turkes* \* which are there, say they burne it to the Diuell. If they do so, they are ashamed to confesse it. They are many of them well seene in Astronomy, and keepe a good account of their moneths and yeares: they obserue no Sabbath, nor one day better then other, except when they lay the foundation of a house, or begin some other great worke, which day they euer after obserue as a holy day. When any of them that are wealthy die in *Bantam*, their bodies are burnt to Ashes, which Ashes they put close in Iarres, and carry it to *China* to their friends. I haue seene 60 when some of them haue lyen a dying, they haue set vp seauen Odours burning, foure of them being great, and burning light, and they were set vpon a Cane, which lay crosse vpon two Crotches, about sixe foote from the ground, and three set on the ground right vnder them, being very small, and burning dim. I haue demaunded the meaning of it many times, but I could neuer hau
- Theeuiish people. \* So L. *Verto-mannus*.  
Idleness.
- Iauans* dull.
- Chinois* crafty.
- Religion of the *Chinois*.
- \* This comes to be the malice of one Idolater to another.
- Funerall Rites.



haue other answer, but that it was the fashion of *China*; and surely many such like things they doe, not knowing why, or wherefore, but onely that it hath beene a fashion amongst them. They delight very much in Playes, and singing, but they haue the worst voytes that one shall heare Playes. any people haue; the which Playes or Interludes, they hold as seruice to their gods: in the beginning of which, they often vie to burne a sacrifice, the Priests many times kneeling downe, and kissing the ground three times, one presently after another. These Playes are made commonly, when they thinke their lunccks or shipping are set forth from *China*; likewise, when they are arrived at *Bantam*, and also when they set out from *Bantam* towards *China*: These Playes sometimes begin at noone, and end not till the next day morning, being most commonly in the open streete, hauing Stages set vp for the purpose. Moreouer, they haue amongst them some South-sayers, which sometimes rage, and runne vp and downe the streetes like mad men, Southsayers. hauing swords drawne in their hands, raring their haire, and throwing themselves against the ground. When they are in this franticke taking, they asseme, and other *Chyneses* doe beleeeue, that they can tell what shall come to passe after. Whether they be posselt with the Deuill or no, who reuealeth something to them, I know not, but many *Chyneses* vse them, when they send a lunccke of any voyage, to know whether they shall speed well or no, and by their report, it hath fallen out according as these South-sayers haue told them. The *Chyneses* are apparelled in long gownes, wearing kirtles vnder them, hanging something lower then their gownes. They are surely the most effeminate, and cowardliest people that liue. On their heads they weare a Caull, some of them being made of Silke, and some of haire: the haire of their heads is very long, which they bind vp on a knot, right on the crowne of their heads. Their Nobility and Gouvernours weare hoods of sundry fashions, some being one halfe like a hat, and the other like a French-hood; others being of Net-worke, with a high crowne, and no brims. These people are tall, and strong of body, hauing all very small blacke eyes, and very few of them haue any haire on their faces: They will steale, and doe any kind of villanie to get wealth: their manner at *Bantam*, is to buy Women-slaues, (for they bring no women out of *China*) by whom they haue many children, and when they returne to their owne Countrey, not minding to come to *Bantam* againe, they sell their women, but their children they carry with them. As for their goods, they take an order to send some at every shipping: for if they die in *Bantam*, all the goods they haue there, is the Kings, and if once they cut their haire, they may neuer returne to their Countrey againe, but their Children may; alwaies provided, that they neuer cut their haire.

§. II.

A true and briefe Discourse of many dangers by fire, and other perfidious treacheries of the Iauans.

After our Ships were laden, and all things set in as good order as it could be: vpon the one and twentieth of February, 1602. our General taking his leaue of the shore, departed, leaving behind him to be resident in *Bantam* nine persons, ouer whom he appointed M. William Starkie, to be cheife Comander: likewise he left xiiij. more, which he appointed to go in our Pinnasse for *Banda*; of which he was appointed for cheife Comander ouer the rest, Thomas Tudde Merchant, and for Master of the said Pinnasse, one Thomas Keith. The Generall at his departure left order, that this Pinnasse should be sent away with all speed; wherefore hauing taken in, to the quantitie of fifty sixe Chests and Fardells of goods, vpon the sixth of March at night, she set saile, but by reason of contrary winds, after she had spent neere two moneths, beating vp and downe in the Seas, she was forced to returne againe to *Bantam*. Also at our Generals departure, he left vs two houses full of goods, and likewise some goods lying in the *Dutchmens* house, but we were too few in number to keepe one well, had not God of his great mercie preserved vs.

It is not vnknowne to all that were there, the quarrell betwixt the *Iauans* and vs, before our ships departed, who sought all the meanes they could to be reuenged. Infomuch, that presently after the departure of our Pinnasse, they began to practise the firing of our Principall house, with fiery darts and arrowes in the night, and not content with that, but in the day time, if wee had brought out any quantitie of goods to ayre, we should be sure to haue the towne fiered to windward not farre from vs. And if these fire Arrowes, had not by Gods prouidence, beene espyed by some of our owne house, as they were, it was thought of vs all, that that house and goods had beene all consumed, as might plainly appeare at the top, when we came to repaire it. But as the mallice of the raskall sort of people began now to appeare, and continued for the space of two yeeres against vs: So Gods mercie began to shew it selfe vnto vs, and continued to the last day. As this discouse will plainly shew hereafter, his Name be blessed for it.

So soone as we had dispatched away our Pinnasse, we began to lay the foundation of our house, which was seuentie two foot long, and thirtie sixe foot broad, but by reason there was at that

The English left at *Bantam*. Mr. Starkey.

Thomas Tudde. Thomas Keith.

*Iauans* goe about to fire the English house.

The house built.



Their head & head-tire.

is very little of that worne. The men for the most part, haue very thicke curled haire on their heads, in which they take great pride, and often will goe bare-headed to shew their haire: the women goe all bare-headed, some of them hauing their haire tucked vp, like a Cart-horse taile, but the better sort doe tucke it vp, like our riding Geldings tailes. About their loynes they weare the same stufes, which I haue before mentioned, alwaies hauing a faire Girdle or Pintado, of their Countrey fashion, throwne ouer on their shoulders, which hangeth downe loose behind them.

Their religion.

The principall of them are most religious, but they very seldome goe to Church: They doe acknowledge Christ to be a great Prophet, whom they call *Naby Isa*, and some of them doe keepe of Mahomets Priests in their houses, but the common people haue very little knowledge in any Religion, onely they say, there is a God which made heauen and earth, and them also. He is good they say, and will not hurt them, but the Diuell is naught, and will doe them hurt,

The Diuell prayed to.

wherefore many of them for want of knowledge doe pray to him, onely for feare lest he should hurt them. And surely if there were men of learning, which were perfect in their language to instruct them, a number of them would be drawne to the true faith of Christ, and also would be brought to ciuilitie. For many which I haue reasoned with, concerning the Lawes of Christians, haue liked all well, excepting only their plurality of Women, for they are all very lasciuiously giuen, both men and women. The better sort which are in authoritie, are great takers of bribes, and all the *Iauans* in generall, are bad pay-masters when they are trusted, notwithstanding, their Lawes for debts are so strickt, that the Creditour may take his Debtor, his Wiues, Children, 20 Slaues, and all that he hath, and sell them for his debt.

Bribing.

Lawes for debt.

The euill people.

\* So L. *Verto-mannus*.  
Idleness.

Likewise, they are all much giuen to stealing, from the highest to the lowest, and surely in times past, they haue beene \* Man-eaters, before that Traffique was had with them by the *Chynasses*, which as I haue heard some of them say, is not aboue one hundred yeares since. They delight much in ease and Musicke, and for the most part, they spend the day sitting crosse legged like a Taylor, whistling of a stick, whereby many of them become very good Caruers, to carue their Crise handles: and that is all the worke that most of them indeuour to doe. They are very great eaters, but the Gentlemen allow their Slaues nothing, but Rice sod in water, with some rootes and hearbs, and they haue a certaine hearb called *Bettaile*, which they vsually haue carried with them wherefoeuer they goe, in boxes, or wrapped vp in a cloath like a Sugar-loafe, and also a nut 30 called *Pinange*, which are both in operation very hot, and they eat them continually to warme them within, and keepe them from the Flux, they doe likewise take much Tobacco, and also *Opium*.

*Iauans* dull.

The *Iauans* themselves, are very dull and blockish to manage any affaires of a Commonwealth, whereby all strangers goe beyond them that come into their land: and many of the Countrey of *Chyn*, which come thither to dwell, doe grow very rich, and rise to great Offices and Dignitie amongst them, as their *Sabandar*, their *Laytamougon*, and others, especially the *Chineses*, who like *Iewes* liue crooching vnder them, but rob them of their wealth, and send it for *China*.

*Chinois* crafty.

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Religion of the *Chinois*.

The manner of their sacrifice is this: They furnish their Altars, with Goats, Hens, Duckes, and 50 diuers sorts of fruits, the which are sometimes dressed to eat, and sometimes raw, and then are dressed afterwards and eaten. All that they burne, is onely papers painted, and cut out in curious workes, and valued by them at a certaine price. I haue many times asked them, to whom they burne their sacrifice, and they haue answered me to God: but the *Gosserats* and *Turkes*

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Funerall Rites.

Ashes, which Ashes they put close in Iarres, and carry it to *China* to their friends. I haue seene 60 when some of them haue lyen a dying, they haue set vp seauen Odours burning, foure of them being great, and burning light, and they were set vpon a Cane, which lay crosse vpon two Crotches, about fixe foote from the ground, and three set on the ground right vnder them, being very small, and burning dim. I haue demaunded the meaning of it many times, but I could neuer

hau



haue other answer, but that it was the fashion of *China*; and surely many such like things they doe, not knowing why, or wherefore, but onely that it hath bene a fashion amongst them. They delight very much in Playes, and singing, but they haue the worst voyces that one shall heare any people haue, the which Playes or Interludes, they hold as seruice to their gods: in the beginning of which, they often vse to burne a sacrifice, the Priests many times kneeling downe, and kissing the ground three times, one presently after another. These Playes are made commonly, when they thinke their Iuncks or shipping are set forth from *China*; likewise, when they are arrived at *Bantam*, and also when they set out from *Bantam* towards *China*: These Playes sometimes begin at noone, and end not till the next day morning, being most commonly in the open streete, hauing Stages set vp for the purpose. Moreouer, they haue amongst them some South-sayers, which sometimes rage, and runne vp and downe the streetes like mad men, hauing swords drawne in their hands, raising their haire, and throwing themselves against the ground. When they are in this franticke taking, they affirme, and other *Chyneses* doe beleeeue, that they can tell what shall come to passe after. Whether they be possesst with the Deuill or no, who reuealeth something to them, I know not, but many *Chyneses* vse them, when they send a Iuncke of any voyage, to know whether they shall speed well or no, and by their report, it hath fallen out according as these South-sayers haue told them. The *Chyneses* are apparelled in long gownes, wearing kirtles vnder them, hanging something lower then their gownes. They are surely the most effeminate, and cowardliest people that liue. On their heads they weare a Caull, some of them being made of Silke, and some of haire: the haire of their heads is very long, which they bind vp on a knot, right on the crowne of their heads. Their Nobility and Gouvernours weare hoods of sundry fashions, some being one halfe like a hat, and the other like a French-hood; others being of Net-worke, with a high crowne, and no brims. These people are tall, and strong of body, hauing all very small blacke eyes, and very few of them haue any haire on their faces: They will steale, and doe any kind of villanie to get wealth: their manner at *Bantam*, is to buy Women-slaues, (for they bring no women out of *China*) by whom they haue many children, and when they returne to their owne Countrey, not minding to come to *Bantam* againe, they sell their women, but their children they carry with them. As for their goods, they take an order to send some at euery shipping: for if they die in *Bantam*, all the goods they haue there, is the Kings, and if once they cut their haire, they may neuer returne to their Countrey againe, but their Children may, alwaies prouided, that they neuer cut their haire.

§. II.

A true and brieue Discourse of many dangers by fire, and other perfidious treacheries of the Iauans.

After our Ships were laden, and all things set in as good order as it could be: vpon the one and twentieth of February, 1602. our General taking his leaue of the shore, departed, leaving behind him to be resident in *Bantam* nine persons, ouer whom he appointed M. William Starkie, to be cheife Comander: likewise he left xiiij. more, which he appointed to go in our Pinnasse for *Banda*; of which he was appointed for cheife Comander ouer the rest, Thomas Tudde Merchant, and for Master of the said Pinnasse, one Thomas Keith. The Generall at his departure left order, that this Pinnasse should be sent away with all speed; wherefore hauing taken in, to the quantitie of fifty sixe Chests and Fardells of goods, vpon the sixth of March at night, she set saile, but by reason of contrary winds, after she had spent neere two moneths, beating vp and downe in the Seas, she was forced to returne againe to *Bantam*. Also at our Generals departure, he left vs two houses full of goods, and likewise some goods lying in the *Dutchmens* house, but we were too few in number to keepe one well, had not God of his great mercie preserved vs.

The English left at *Bantam*. Mr. Starkey.

Thomas Tudde. Thomas Keith.

Iauans goe about to fire the English house.

It is not vnknowne to all that were there, the quarrell betwixt the *Iauans* and vs, before our ships departed, who sought all the meanes they could to be reuenged. Insomuch, that presently after the departure of our Pinnasse, they began to practise the firing of our Principall house, with fiery darts and arrowes in the night, and not content with that, but in the day time, if wee had brought out any quantitie of goods to ayre, we should be sure to haue the towne fiered to windward not farre from vs. And if these fire Arrowes, had not by Gods prouidence, bene espyed by some of our owne house, as they were, it was thought of vs all, that that house and goods had bene all consumed, as might plainly appeare at the top, when we came to repaire it. But as the mallice of the raskall sort of people began now to appeare, and continued for the space of two yeeres against vs: So Gods mercie began to shew it selfe vnto vs, and continued to the last day. As this discouise will plainly shew hereafter, his Name be blessed for it.

So soone as we had dispatched away our Pinnasse, we began to lay the foundation of our house, which was seuentie two foot long, and thirtie sixe foot broad, but by reason there was at that time,

The house builded.



time, a new Protector chosen, we were put to some trouble and cost, before we could be permitted to goe thorow with it. Also wee ayred all our prize goods, and *M. Starkey* caused the leathers of most of the packs to be stripped off, by whose counsell it was I know not, but these goods did not keep their colours nothing so well as the rest did, as we found afterwards.

The Towne  
fired, and some  
of our goods  
burned.

The one and twentieth of March, by reason of a *China* Captaine that shot a Piece, the towne was set on fire, in which fire were many houses full of goods consumed. Amongst other, the *Dutch* house was burnt to the ground, wherein we had lying sixtie five Fardells of goods, besides some Pepper. Also we had some Pepper lying in a *Chinaes* house, which for the most part was burned and spoyled, so that we lost one hundred and ninetie sacks cleare, besides the damage the rest receiued. Our losse by this fire was great, but we praye God it was no more, considering how neere the fire came to both our houses, and how vnfit they were at that time for such a danger, especially one, where the fire came within three yards of it, insomuch that the Iammes of the windowes were so hot, that a man could hardly suffer his hand to touch them, and yet the old and dry thatch tooke not fire, to the great admiration of all people that were there of many Nations. There was gathered about this house all the villaines in the Countrey, so that all that night, we that kept that house durst take no rest, for feare they would throw some firebrands vpon it. In the Euening some of vs standing in the doore, there came *Iauans*, whom we knewe to be notorious Theeues, and asked vs how many we were that lay in that house, wee demanded againe, what they had to doe to aske, and if they would know, they should come at midnight and see, at which answere they departed very much discontent, but such is their boldnesse there, that in the day time they would come and looke before our faces, how our doores were hanged, and what fastning they had within, and many times we were informed by some that wished vs well, that if we did not keepe good watch, that there was a Crew, that meant to enter suddenly vpon vs, and to cut our throates, in so much that we being but foure at that house, what with ouer-watching, and what with the Disease that raigneth much in that Countrey, which is loosenesse of the bodie, wee were growne to very great weaknesse, and two of vs neuer recouered it.

Nine saile of  
Hollanders.

The nineteenth of Aprill, 1603. came into the Road, nine saile of *Hollanders*, ouer whom was Generall *Wyborne Van Warwicke*, who shortly after sent two of them for *China*, two for the *Moluccoes*, two laded at *Bantam*, one went to *Iorian*. Also he dispatched a Pinnasse to *Achen*, to will certaine ships (that went from thence by Captaine *Spilbergs* directions to *Zeilon*, to winne a small Fort from the *Portugals*) to come to *Bantam*, in the meane time, he with one ship stayed vntill their arriual. We are very much beholding to this Generall for wine, bread, and many other necessaries, and courtesies receiued of him. Hee would often tell vs how *Sir Richard Luson* relieued him, when he was likely to perish in the Sea, for the which he would say he was bound to be kind to *Englishmen* wherefoeuer he met them, and to speake truth, there was nothing in his ships for the comfort of sicke men, but we might command it, as if it had beene our owne. Also he in his owne person, did very much reuerence the *Queenes* Maiestie of *England*, when hee talked of Her. But there were some of baser sort in his Fleet, that did vse very vnreuerent speeches of Her to some of the Country people.

Death of  
*T. Morgan*.

The five and twentieth of Aprill died *Thomas Morgan*, our second Factor heere, who had bin sickly a long time. Also Master *Starkey* began to grow very weake. The eight and twentieth day, came in our Pinnasse which was sent for *Banda*; hauing lost one of her Factors, *William Chase*, and the rest but weake and sickly. About this time there came certaine of the Kings Officers, and forbade vs to goe forward with our house, the reason whereof, as I doe iudge was because the new Protector had not as yet receiued a Bribe; and the *Sabyndar* and hee heeing at that time not friends, he could doe vs little pleasure: wherefore we complayned to *Cay Tomongone Gobay*, the Admirall, who indeed is the Father of all Strangers in that place. He presently made a great Feast, and inuited all the principall of the Court, at which Feast hee began to discoure of our cause, telling them what a shame it was that the King and they would not keepe their words to the *English* Generall and Merchants, and that rather then hee would breake his word, hee would goe dwell in a small Cottage himselfe, and wee should haue his house: but after much adoe, he made them grant that we should goe forward with our house, the which in short time after was finished. Our principall Merchant fearing Pepper would be deare, by reason of the *Flemmish* shipping that was there present, and the rest that were to come, bought vp as much Pepper as he could, and because our house was not as yet readie, he disbursed his money before the Pepper was weighed, and by reason the *Flemmings* are not curious in receiuing their Pepper, when we came to weigh ours, we were forced to receiue it as they did, or else we should haue neither money nor Pepper, so that we had in that parcell much fowle and bad Pepper.

New Protector  
perfidious.

Master *Starkeys*  
death.

Vpon the last of Iune, Master *Starkey* ended his dayes, whose buriall Generall *Warwick* caused to be honoured with a Company of shot and Pikes, the Colours trayled vpon the ground, according to the Order of Souldiers buriall.

The fourth of Iuly, the great Market on the East-side of the Riuer, was by villanie of certaine *Iauans*, (who thought to get some spoyle of the *Chines* goods) set on fire, in which fire some *Chines*.



*Chinois* that were indebted to vs, lost all that they were worth, so that we escaped not without some losse by it. The seuenteenth of Iuly, deceased *Thomas Dobson*, one of the Factours left for *Banda*: the seuen and twentieth day the Towne was burnt againe on the East-side the Riuer. The fifth of August at ten a clocke at night, there came to our house Captaine *Spilberge*, Captaine *John Powlson*, and some other *Dutch* Captaines, who told vs they had that day bene with the Protector about some businesse, who asked them if they would take our parts, if hee should doe any violence to vs, to the which they answered, as they said, that wee and they were neere Neighbours, wherefore they might not see vs wronged, they said more that hee straightly charged them, that whatsoeuer he should doe vnto vs, that they should not bee offended nor ayde vs in any way.

Fire.  
M. Dobsons  
death.  
Another fire.

From thence I went presently to the Protector, and gaue him a smal Present, and also thanks for his men, which foure or fve dayes before hee had sent to helpe vs in our building. The Present he receiued, but I perceiued by his countenance he was angry: He told me, that that day he had much businesse with the King, but the next morning he would send for me, for that hee had to speake with me. The same day the Admirall sent his sonne to him to know what his meaning was to vse such threatning speeches of vs, but he denyed them. In the morning following hee sent for me: when I came he asked me, what they were that had told me he meant to harme vs: I told him the *Hollanders*: hee asked againe whether they were Slaues or Captaines, I told him they were Captaines: he bad me I should shew his *Scruiants* those Captaines. He said more, that if any *Iauan* or *Chines* had done it, he would haue sent for him, and cut his throat before vs. Then hee began to find fault with vs, because wee did not come to him when wee had any Sute, but went alwayes to the *Sabindar* or the Admirall: I answered againe that he was but new come into his place, and that we had as yet no acquaintance with him, but hereafter I would come to him. Then he promised me he would doe vs all the friendship he could, but it was but dissimulation to borrow money of vs. Also the *Flemmings* about this time spred a rumour through their owne Fleet, that the King would force vs to lend him fve thousand Rials of eight, otherwise he would cause our house to be plucked downe againe, the which was false, for neither the King nor the Protector, had at that time sent to vs for any, nor did in foure monethes after.

The seuenteenth of August, Captaine *Spilberge* hauing vented all his Commodities (which he shared in our prise) and laden his ships and his Pinnasse with Pepper, departed thence, hauing in his company two ships more of *Warwicks* Fleet. The nineteenth of August, wee brought out certaine packes of goods to ayre, wherefore a *Iauan* being Slaue to one of the principall of the Countrey, threw some fire-workes vpon a Thatched house, a little to windward of vs, we espying it pursued him, and tooke him, and carryed him to *Cay Tomongone* the Admirall, who put him in Irons. Within an houre after there came more of his fellowes, who would haue taken him away perforce, wherefore the Admirals men and they fell by the eares, and many were hurt on both sides. So soone as the Admirals men had beaten them away, hee sent him to the King, but because his Master was one of the Kings friends, he was not put to death: although by the Law of the Countrey he should haue dyed, neither did we greatly seeke it, because his Master was our very good friend also. Likewise, if a *Iauan* doe offend hee must bee punished with death, for if they inflict any lesse punishment, they are so wicked and bloudie a people, that they will bee cowardly reuenged, not only of Strangers, but of their owne Masters: so that if any Slaue doe offend his Master, he doth quite forgiue him, or else hee dyes for it. But they are very obedient, and will seldome offend their Masters, because they are for the most part as wicked as themselves. The two and twentieth of August, at night there were certaine *Iauans* gotten into a great yard hard by our house, who when we were singing of a Psalm, which wee did vse to doe when we set our Watch, these Rogues threw stones at our windowes, as if they would haue beaten downe our house, and some of the stones came in at the windowes, and missed vs very narrowly, but we tooke some of them, which yet vpon submission we spared.

*Iauans* treachery.

About this time there grew a quarrell betweene the *Flemmings* and the *Chinois*, and some were slaine and hurt on both sides. This grew by the misbehaviour of the *Flemmings*, which in that place doe carry themselves very rude and disordered, in that abundant manner that they are a shame and infamy to Christendome and Christians. I doe not condemne them all, but the vulgar sort, who when they are ashore, and their drinke in, their Commanders can beare no rule ouer them. They got the worst before this quarrell was ended, but not by the *Chinois*, nor by manhood of the *Iauans*, only some that were Slaues to some Turne-coate *Chinois*, would steale behind the *Flemmings* in the Euening, and cowardly stab them.

Quarrell betwixt *Chinois* and *Hollanders*.  
*Hollanders* drunken disorders.

One day they being very importunate, for one of their men which was slaine, the Protector demanded of them, when they came to any Countrey to trade, whether they brought Lawes with them, or whether they were gouerned by the Lawes of the Countrey they were in: to the which they answered, that when they were aboard their ships, they were gouerned by their own Lawes, but when they were ashore, they were vnder the Lawes of our Countrey they were in: well, said the Protector, then I will tell you the Lawes of the Countrey, which is this, if one kill a Slaue, he must pay twentie Rials of eight, if a Freeman, fifty Rials, if a Gentleman,

Punishment for Murder.



a hundred Rials. The *Flemings* requested to haue that vnder his owne hand, the which they had, and it was all the mends they had for killing of their man, if they would haue taken fiftie Rials of eight, they might haue had it.

Lampooners cruell  
enemies to Ia-  
uans.

About the fift of September, here came a Iuncke full of men from the Iland of *Lampoon*, which standeth in the Straights of *Sunda*; and are enemies to the *Iauans*, and all others that are dwellers in *Bantam*: these are so like the *Iauans*, that the one is not knowne from the other. Also there were many *Iauans* consoorted with them. These men hauing their Iuncke riding in a Creeke hard by the Towne, and being in all points like vnto the *Iauans*, would boldly come into the Towne, and not only in the euenings and nights come into houses, and cut off the peoples heads, but at noone dayes, in so much that for the space of a moneth, wee could take little rest for the grievous crying of the people. One day while we were sitting at dinner, they came and tooke a woman, 10 being our next Neighbour, and muffled her so with a Sacke, that she could not cry, and so carried her into a tuft of bushes in our back-side, and there cut her throate, and meant to haue cut off her head, if they had had time. Her Husband missing her, and looking out might see them carrie her, who cryed out, and we rose from dinner and pursued them, but it was too late to saue her life. Also they were very swift of foot, so that we could come neere none of them, and for any thing that we knew, they might be amongst vs, for after the *Iauans* were come wee could not know them. It was thought of some that they lay hid in the bushes till the comming of the *Iauans*, and then stole out, and put themselues amongst them. There were some *Iaua* women that would cut off their Husbands heads in the night, and sell them to these people. They did 20 linger much about our house, and surely if we had not kept good watch, they would haue attempted the cutting of our throats (if not for our heads) for our goods. But after awhile, many of them were knowne, and being taken were executed, which were men of very goodly stature. The reason they doe make these hard Aduentures, is, their King giues them a woman for euery strangers head they bring him, wherefore many times they would digge vp such as were new buried at *Bantam*, and cut off their heads, and so coozen their King.

Perfidious Ia-  
uans.

Crueltie re-  
warded.

Treacherie  
intended and  
preuented.

Also at this time, some credible men that wished vs wel, of whom the Admirall was one, bid vs haue a speciall care of our geod watch, because some of the principall of the Land in birth, though not in wealth nor office, which had many Slaues, but little to maintayne them, had laid a Plot to haue slaine vs in the night, and to haue made spoyle of our goods which they tooke to be ten times more then were, and after to haue giuen it out, the *Lampoons* had done it. Whereupon we 30 were forced to haue Lights burning al night round about our house, otherwise in the dark nights, they being so blacke as they are, might haue entred suddenly vpon vs, before wee should descry them. For all the vpper worke of our houses by reason of the heat are open, and they are built with Canes, and likewise the fence round about the houses, which is but a weake building, and may quickly be borne downe. These Heathen Devils came forth two or three times, thinking to haue executed their bloudie pretence, but God would not suffer them. For so soone as they came within sight of our Lights and might heare our Drumme sound at the end of euery watch, their hearts failed them, so that they durst not giue the attempt, for they supposed, wee were readie not only with our small shot, but with our Murtherers to giue them entertainment, and to speake truth, they should haue found it so indeed. After they had wayted long, and could 40 neuer find oportunitie, they fell out amongst themselues, and so were disperfed. Diuers others made bold but vain attempts, and therefore now fel to work with the *Chinois*, whose houses at this time were full of our goods, which they had bought, in so much that euery night for a long time, we had such grievous crying out, and we looking euery houre when we should be assaulted, durst take no rest in the night. Many *Chinois* about vs were slaine, and surely if wee had not defended them with our shot, many more would haue bin slaine: for the singing of a Bullet is as terrible to a *Iauan*, as the cry of the Hounds is in the eares of the Hare: for they will not abide if once they heare it. But these continuall alarmes, and grievous out-cryes of men, women and children grew so rise in our eares, that our men in their sleepe would dreame they were pursuing the *Iauans*, and suddenly 50 would leape out of their Beds and catch their weapons: his next fellow hearing the dolefull noyse he made, would bussell vp, and in their sleepe haue wounded one another, before those that had the watch could come to part them: and if they should haue set their weapons further from them they would not haue beene readie, if we should haue had occasion, the which we looked for euery minute, and being but few of vs, I tooke my turne to watch as long as any, in which I haue stood many times more in feare of my owne men then of any other, and when I haue heard them bussell, haue caught vp a Target, for feare they would haue serued me as they did their fellowes.

The miseries  
of the English.

Terror of the  
word Fire.

But all this feare was nothing to vs in comparison of that which I will now speake of, which was fire. O this word fire, had it it beene spoken neere me, either in *English*, *Mallayes*, *Iauanes*, 60 or *China*; although I had beene found a-sleepe, yet I should haue leaped out of my bed, the which I haue done sometimes, when our men in their watch haue but whispered one to another of fire: In so much that I was forced to warne them, not to talke of fire in the night, except they had great occasion.

And



And not only my selfe, but my fellowes, *Thomas Tudd*, and *Gabriel Towerfon*, after our watches had beene out, and we heauie a-sleepe so that our men many times sounding a Drumm at our Chamber doores, we haue neuer bewrayed them, yet presently after they haue but whifpered of fire, we all haue runne out of our Chambers. I speake not this, that any that may bee sent thither hereafter should be discouraged, for then we were strangers, and now we haue many friends there, and the Countrey is growne to much better ciuilitie, and as the yong King groweth in age, will more and more, because their Gouvernement will bee better. In three monethes space, the Towne on the East-side the Riuer, was burnt fise times, but God be prayled the wind alwayes fauoured vs, and although the *Iauans* many times fired it on our side, yet it pleased God still to preferue vs, so that by reason it blew but little wind, it was quenched before it came to hurt vs.

The Towne  
fise times  
burnt in three  
monethes.

III.

*Differences betwixt the Hollanders (stiling themselves English) the Iauans, and other things remarkable.*

20 **A**Bout this time also, there was much falling out betweene the *Flemmings* and the Countrey people, by meanes of the rude behauiour of the *Flemmings*, and many of them were stabd in the euenings: and at that time the Common people knew not vs from the *Flemmings*, for both they and wee were called by the name of *Englishmen*, by reason of their vsurping our name at their first comming thither to trade, wherein they did our Nation much wrong, for wee were euer ashamed of their behauiour, and as wee passed along the street, wee might heare the people in the Market, rayling and exclaiming on the *Englishmen*, although they meant the *Hollanders*, wherefore, we fearing some of our men might be slaine in stead of them, wee began to thinke how wee might make our selues knowne from the *Hollanders*.

Hollanders called themselves English in the Indies, and so disgraced vs. Nouemb. 17. solemnized, & thereby a difference made betwixt vs.

30 And now the seuenteenth of Nouember drawing neere, the which wee held to be our *Cornation day*, (for at that time, nor the year following, we knew no other) we all suted our selues in new apparell of silke, and made vs all Scarfes of white and red Tassata, beeing our Countrey Colours, Also we made a Flagge with the red Crosse through the middle, and because wee that were the Merchants would be knowne from our men, we edged our Scarfes with a deepe fringe of gold, and that was our difference. Our day being come, wee set vp our Banner of *Saint George*, vpon the top of our house, and with our Drumm and Shot wee marched vp and downe within our owne ground, being but fourteene in number, wherefore we could march but single one after another, and so plied our Shot, and casting our selues in Rings and Esses. The *Sabindar* and diuers of the Chiefest of the Land, hearing our Peeeces, came to see vs and to enquire the cause of our triumph, we told them, that that day seuen and fortie yeare, our Queene was crowned, wherefore all *Englishmen*, in what Countrey soeuer they were did triumph on that day, Hee greatly commended vs for hauing our Prince in remembrance in so farre a Countrey. Many others did aske vs, why the *Englishmen* at the other house did not so: wee told them, that they were no *Englishmen*, but *Hollanders*, and that they had no King, but their Land was ruled by *Gouernors*. Some would replie againe, and say they named themselves to bee *Englishmen* at first, and therefore they tooke them to be *Englishmen*, but wee would tell them againe, they were of another Countrey neere *England*, and spake another Language, and that if they did talke with them now, they should heare they were of another Nation. The multitude of the people did admire to see so few of vs deliuer so much shot, for the *Iauans* and *Chinees* are no good shot. In the after noone I caused our men to walke abroad the Towne, and the Market, whereby the people might take notice of them, and the red and white Scarfes and Hat-bands made such a shewe, that the Inhabitants of those parts had neuer seene the like, so that euer after that day, wee were knowne from the *Hollanders*, and many times, the children in the streets would runne after vs, crying, *Oran Engrees bayk, oran Hollanda Iabad*, which is, the *Englishmen* are good, the *Hollanders* are naught. Generall *Warwicke* went for *Patanca*, and from thence to *China*.

50 The first day of December came in two ships, which some six moneths before he had sent thither, who comming vnder the Iland of *Mackow*, found a Carracke there riding at an anchor, beeing full laden with raw Silks, Muske, and diuers other costly wares, readie to depart, and at that time, her men were almost all ashoare, so that they tooke her without any resistance, or very little, they laded their two ships and the rest they set a fire, so that there was by their owne report, twice so much burnt as they brought away. Comming backe they met with a great Iuncke of *Syon*, with whom they fought and killed threescore and foure men. They had some slaine and hurt also, but when they had taken her, and knew her to be of *Syon*, they let her goe againe, because they had or shortly meant to send Factors there, the Captaine of the Iuncke was slaine, who they say, when they haied him would not tell them of whence he was, and when they had

A Carrick taken.



Cachinchina.

him strike, Answered that he would not for neuer a Saile that swamme in the Sea. The *Flemmings* not knowing Muske sold great store to certaine of *Iapan*, which they met with at Sea for little or nothing. After they had spent some fortie dayes in *Bantam*, and their Mariners, some wickedly and some vainly consumed their pillage, (which was great) vpon the seuenteenth of Ianuary they set saile from thence, being foure ships in company there. One had laded at *Bantam*, and one that some two monethes before came from *China*; and had spent foure yeares out of their Countrey, of which time, they had bene fourteene monethes at *Cachinchina*, where they at their first comming were betrayed, and their Captaines taken Prisoners, whom they made kneele on their knees foure and twentie houres, hauing their neckes bare, and one standing with a sharpe Sword readie to haue strooken off their heads when the word should bee giuen. They bare them downe to be men of Warre and Spyes, and no Merchants. These *Dutchmen* were Papists, wherefore in the end the *Portugall* Friers saued their liues, and afterwards they were kindly vsed, but their ranfome cost them deare.

Macadu.

About this time the Protector sent to mee diuers times to lend him two thousand pieces of eight, and if not two thousand, a thousand, but I put him of, telling him we were left there with goods but no money. Also that the people of the Countrey ought vs much, the which we could not get in, likewise that as yet we had bought but little Pepper, wherefore we must buy all wee could to get lading against we expected our ships. The *Flemmings* that came in so rich from *Mac-kow*, had so bribed him, that now he began to harken to them concerning the building of a faire house.

Danger by  
heate of Pepper.

The sixt of February we lost one of our Company *Robert Wallis*, and many more of our men were sicke and lame, which came by the heate of the Pepper in milling and shutting it, so that euer after wee were forced to hire *Chines* to doe that worke, and our owne men to ouer-see them only.

Chineis disho-  
nesty.

The sixteenth of February, came in a great ship of *Zeilan* from *Pattary*, but fve or sixe dayes before her comming, she sent in a small Slup or Pinnace, willing their Factors to buy vp all the Pepper they could, which made vs thinke that Generall *Warwicke*, with all his shippes was comming to lade there, wherefore we bought vp all that wee found to bee good and merchantable. For the *Chinees* spoiled much with water and durt, because the *Flemmings* refused none, and it is of a certaine, the *Chinees* bought one of another, and sold it to the *Flemmings* againe at the same price they bought it, and yet they would gaine ten Riials of eight in a hundred sackes, by putting in water and durt, for were it neuer so bad, they knew their Chapmen, and blow which way the wind would, they had shipping to come thither, either from the East or from the West, in so much that one would haue thought they meant to carrie away the Pepper growing on the Trees, Mountaines and all. The people there hearing our Countreies are cold, haue asked vs if wee beat Pepper in our Morter, that we playster our wales with to make our houses warme. This ship hade taken much good purchase, but they sware those *Englistmen* they had with them, and also charged them vpon losse of their wages, they should tell vs nothing, which we tooke very vnkindly.

A list of our  
buying so much  
Pepper.

There was at this time three houses of *Flemmings*, and all lay for seuerall accounts, and bought vp Pepper euerie one so much as they could get. The fift of March, the Protector sent to mee in the Kings name to borrow a thousand Riials of eight, wherefore I was forced to lend them fve hundred, or else they would haue fallen out with me, the which the *Flemmings* would haue bene glad to haue seene.

Englistmen  
with the Hol-  
landers.A Iuncke from  
Ior.

About this time, there came in a Iuncke from *Iore*, with certaine *Flemmings* in it, who stole away with their goods, because *Iore* had a long time bene besieged by the *Portugals* of *Malacco*, so that they of the Towne could hardly looke out. They said the *Portugals* offered the King of *Iore* peace, vpon condition hee wold deliuer those *Flemmings* that were there into their hands, or kill them himsele, to the which the King answered, that hee would first lose his Kingdome.

Two great  
fires.

In the beginning of this moneth of March, and to make an end of this old and wonderfull yeare, 1603. we had two great fires on the other side of the water which did much spoile, but God bee thanked the wind alwayes fauoured vs.

Anno, 1604.

And now to begin the new yeare 1604. my Pen affords to speake of little else, but Murther, Theft, Warres, Fire and Treason, and first to begin with a Tragedie. We had a *Malato* of *Pegu* in our house, which our ships brought from *Achen*, and in the great ship that came lately from *Pattania*, there was one of his Country men, who on Sunday being the eight of Aprill, had gotten a bottle of Wine, and brought it ashore to make merry with our *Molato*. In the afternoone, they walke abroad, met with the Prouost of their ship, who bid their *Molato* get him aboard, but he answered he would not yet, whereupon the Prouost strooke him, our *Molato* seeing his Country-man misused and being somewhat tickled in the head with wine, which hee did seldome vse to drinke, thought he would reuenge his Country-mans quarrell, wherefore hee presently came home, and the euening being come, he tooke a Rapier and a Target, and with his Cryse at his backe went forth. And because at that time there was much quarrelling and brabbling betweene the *Iauans* and the *Flemmings*, I charged our men, that if they were sent out in the euening about any businellie, they should take their Weapons with them, for feare some *Iauans*.

Dangers by a  
Molato.



mans, that knew them not might doe them a mischiefe in the darke, we thinking the Cooke had sent him into the Market for Herbes or something which hee wanted, mistrusted nothing. Also there went out with him a Slaue of the *Sabindars*, which was borne and brought vp amongst the *Spaniards* at the *Manelies*. They meeting with the *Prouost*, & the other *Molato* together, our *Molato* beganne to quarrell with the *Prouost*, and presently out with his Cryse, and stabd him, then fearing his Countryman would bewray him, stabd him also, and would haue slaine him that went out with him, had he not runne thorow a great Ditch, and so got from him, then meeting with a poore *Ianan*, and being nulled in blood stabd him likewise.

There manner is, that when a *Ianan* of any account is put to death, although there bee a common Executioner, yet the neereft of kinne doth execute his office, and it is held the greatest fauour they can doe them. The *Protestour* would haue twentie Rials of eight for the *Ianan* which was slaine, and the *Hollanders* his life. And accordingly they came with a guard of shot, the sixteenth of Aprill, to his execution, which the Executioner performed with quickest dispatch.

The same euening their Vice-Admirall, hauing one ship more in company set sayle for *Holland*. The fourteenth day *Thomas Tudd*, the Companies chiefe Factor left there for *Banda* who had beene a long time sicke departed his life, so that of seuen Factors left there for this place and *Banda*, we were now but two liuing, and we had lost in all since the departure of our ships, eight men besides the *Malato* that was executed, and wee were now tenne liuing and one Boy. The twentieth day died *Iasper Gensbery*, who was Admirall of the two ships that was betrayed at *Cachinchina*.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, came in a great Iuncke from *China*, which was thought to be cast away, because she tarried so late, for they vse to come in February and March, but by reason of her comming, *Cathis* kept all the yeare at a very cheape rate, which was a great hindrance to vs, in the sales of our prize goods, for when *Cathis* were cheape, and Rials deare, wee could not vent a piece of stufte at halfe the value we did at our first comming. Againe, the *Chinois* this yeare sent all the Rials they could get for *China*, wherefore we were forced to giue them credit, or else we must lose the principall time of the yeare for our sales. Pepper the *Flemmings* had left none, but what was in our hands and the *Sabindars*, who would not sell for any reasonable price. Also our goods now began to grow old, and the colours of many sorts began to vade, for the Ware-houses in that place are so hot and moyst, that although men take neuer so much paines in ayring and turning their wares, yet they will spoyle any sort of Cloth which shall lye long in them.

Needs must he goe whom the Deuill drives. This Story being long I haue cut off, lest it should irke some quarrels caused both with *Ianans* & *Hollanders*, the proximity might cause a third from the Reader.

*Thomas Tudd* dyeth.

Difficultie in Sayles.

### §. IIII.

#### *Treacherous underminings, with other occurrents.*

**A** *Chines* borne, but now turned *Ianan*, who was our next neighbour, and kept a victuall house, and brewed Aracke, which is a kind of hot drinke, that is vsed in most of those parts of the world, instead of Wine, had two Out-houses, where his guests did vse to sit, and in the one hee vsed to brew, which ioyned to our pales, on the South side of our house; but now he began another Trade, and became an Ingenor, hauing got eight Fire-brands of hell more to him, onely of purpose to set our house a fire. These nine deepe workers digged a Well in one of these houses, from the bottome of which Well, they brought a Mine, quite vnder the foundation of our house: but when they came vp to the Planckes of our Ware-house, they were at a stand, but before they could make this Mine, they were forced to dig a very deepe Well in their yard, to draw away the water which did abound in this Mine, and because we should mistrust nothing, they planted Tobacco, and many other hearbs, hard by that Well, and would euery day be watering of them: Also, we might heare them boyling of water euery day, but because they were Brewers, and had many tubbs to wash and to fill, wee mistrusted nothing of that ensued. When they came to these Plancks afore-named, they durst not cut them, alwaies for some of vs were walking ouer them, both night and day. After they had waited two moneths, and could neuer find opportunitie to cut the boords, they began to cast their Cerberous heads together how they should get in, but the Deuill set them wrong to work, for if they had continued stil, vntil they had come but crosse the ware-house opposite against them, they had found thirtie thousand Rials of eight buried in Iarres, for feare of fire, and also that roome was not boorded at all, so they might haue come into the Ware-house, and had what they sought for. Well, one of these wicked consortship being a Smith, and brought vp alwaies to worke in fire, told his fellowes he would worke out the plancks with fire, so that we should neuer heare nor see him: and vpon the eight and twentieth of May, about ten of the clocke at night, they put to a Candle, and burnt a round hole through the boords. So soone as the fire came thorow, the Mats of our Packs tooke fire, which presently spread, and began to burne; all this

Vault-works to conuey away the English goods.

Great danger.



while we knew nothing, nor could perceue nothing, by reason of the closenesse of the Ware-house, for all the windowes were plaistered vp, for feare of fire ouer-head. After the first watch was out, wherein I was one my selfe, the second watch smelt a strong funcke of fire, for it was by that time much increased, but they knew not where it should be, and searched euery roome and corner. One remembered a Rats hole at last, behind his Trunke, where he might plainly perceiue the smoake to steame vp out of the hole. Then presently he came into my Chamber, and told me our Cloath Ware-house was a fire, I hearing this word fire, although I was fast asleepe, yet it was no need to bid me rise, neither was I long a slipping on my clothes, but presently ran downe and opened the doores, whereat came out such a strong smoake, that had almost strangled vs. This smoake, by reason it had no vent, was so thicke, that wee could not perceiue whereabouts the fire was, and at that time we had two great larres of Powder standing in the Ware-house, which caused vs greatly to feare being blowne vp; yet setting all feare aside, we plucked all things off that lay on them, which felt in our hands verie hot: The Powder we got out, and carried it into our backside, then we searched boldly for the fire and found it; we lighted Candles, but the thicknesse of the smoake put them out, then we tied twelue great Waxe Candles together, and lighted them all, which continued alight: we plucked out packes so fast as wee could, but by reason of the heat and smoake which choaked vs, being so few as we were, could doe little good vpon it: wherefore we let in the *Chinois*; then came in as well those that had done it, as others, hoping to get some spoile. When I saw that these damned *Chinois* would doe vs little good, but rather harme, I was almost in dispaire, and hauing at that time a thousand pound in Gold, which I had receiued of Generall *Hymskerke* for Pepper, in my Chest aboute staires, I ran vp thinking to fetch it, and to throw it into a pond on our backe-side, but when I came to my Chamber doore, my mind altered, and I thought I would goe see once againe what might be done, and comming thorough our Hall, I chanced to cast mine eie into our dyning roome, which was right ouer the place where the fire was, where there were *Chinois* that had removed the Table, and were breaking vp the Bricks of the Seeling; amongst which was our vnkind neighbour, which was the principall Actor; I bid them leaue and get them downe, the which they would not, vntill I began to let flie amongst them: when I had driuen them downe, I went downe after them, and desired some Merchants that stood by, with whom we had dealings, that they would vrge the rest of the *Chinois* to help vs plucke out packes, promising they should be well paid for their paines: it pleased God to put so much good in their minds, which I thinke, neuer had any before nor since, so that they fell to worke of all hands, and presently the roome was cleered, out of which came fiftie and odde packs, whereof fixteene were on a light fire. Thus by their help the fire was quenched, which they knew, and therefore would not worke any more, and the next day were paid for their worke, besides what they stole.

Hymskerke.

Discouery of knauery.

We wondered much how this fire should come, suspecting the *Portugalls* had hired *Malayes* to doe it. But a certaine *Chines*, a Bricklayer, which wrought at the *Dutch* house, in the morning, told a *Flemming* that had beene long in the Country, that certaine *Chinois* had done it, which now were fled, and if we looked well in the roome, we should finde the manner how it was done. The *Dutch-man* told an *English* Surgeon what he had heard, and willed him to come and tell vs, and he himselfe, because he was perfect in the language, would go and inquire after them. The *English* Surgeon came to me, and desired me he might see the roome where the fire was, I presently called for a Candle, and shewed him the roome; he going to one corner, found a little round hole, which was burned thorough one plancke of the floore, whereat I put downe a long sticke which I had in my hand, but could feele no ground: then I called for an Axe, and as softly as we could, we wrinched vp the plancke, where vnder was a way, that the greatest Chest or Packe in our house might haue gone downe, which when I saw, as secretly as I could, I called three of our men, and went to the house from whence the Mine came, hauing our weapons. I set one in the doore, and charged him he should let none come out, whatsoeuer he were, and my selfe with the other two went in, where in one roome we found three men, there were two more in another roome, who hearing vs, fled out at a backe doore, which we knew not of before we see them; those three, after two or three blowes giuen, we brought away, one was a dweller in the house, but the other two we could proue nothing against them: I laid them fast in Irons, and presently I sent Master *Tower* to the Protector, to certifie him how the case stood, and to desire him they might be sought out, and haue Iustice done vpon them, which he promised should be done, but was very slacke in performance.

Lawes taken.

Hollanders kindnesse.

The *Dutch* Merchants hearing we had taken some, and doubting the *Chynois* would rise against vs, came very kindly with their weapons, and sware they would liue and die in our quarrell: when we had laid out those goods that had receiued some water to ayre, then we examined this partie that dwelt in the house, who told vs the names of sixe that were fled, but hee would not conesse that he knew any thing of it: also he said, the other two knew nothing of the matter, neither could he tell vs, as hee said, whether the rest were fled. Then fearing him with an hot Iron, but not touching him, he confessed the whole manner of all, and that he did helpe; he said, those two out-houses were built for that purpose at the first, although they put them to other vse, because



because we should not mistrust them: and more, that the myne was made two moneths before, in which time many nights before, they had been in the myne, striving to get into our house, but could not.

We tortured him, because when we had laid downe the yron, he denied all; but beeing tortured, made a second confession. The next morning I sent him to execution: as hee went out of our gates, the *Iauans* (who doe much reioyce when they see a *Chynese* goe to execution: as also the *Chynois* doe, when they see a *Iauan* goe to his death) reailed him, but hee would answer againe, saying, The *English-men* were rich, and the *Chynois* were poore, therefore why should they not steale from the *English* if they could. The next day, the Admirall tooke another of them, and  
 10 sent him to me, who knew there was but one way with him, and therefore resolved with himselfe not to confesse any thing to vs: he was found hid in a pryue, and this was he that put the fire to our house; he was a Gold-smith, and confessed to the Admirall, he had clipped many Ryalls, and also coyned some counterfeit: some things he confessed to him concerning our matter, but not much, but he would tell vs nothing. Wherefore because of his fullennesse, and that it was hee that fired vs, I caused him to be burned vnder the nayles of his Thumbes, Fingers and Toes, with sharpe hot yrons, and the nayles to be torne off, and because he neuer blinshed at that, we thought that his hands and legs had been nummed with tying, wherefore we burned him in the hands, armes, shoulders, and necke, but all was one with him: then we burned him quite through the hands, and with rasphes of yron tore out the flesh and sinewes. After that I caused them to knock  
 20 the edges of his shin-bones with hot searing yrons. Then I caused cold serues of yron to be scraed into the bones of his armes, and suddenly to be inatched out: after that all the bones of his fingers and toes to be broken with pincers; yet for all this he neuer shed teare, no nor once turned his head aside, nor stirred hand nor foote; but when we demanded any question, he would put his tongue between his teeth, and strike his chin vpon his knees to bite it off. When all the extremitie we could vse was but in vaine, I caused him to be put fast in yrons againe, where the Amits or Ants, which doe greatly abound there, got into his wounds, and tormented him worse then we had done, as we might well see by his gesture. The Kings Officers desired me he might bee shot to death; I told them that was too good a death for such a villaine, and said more, That in our Countrys if a Gentleman, or a Soldiour had committed a fact worthy of death, then he was shot  
 30 to death, and yet he was befriended too, but they doe hold it to be the cruellst and basest death that is. Wherefore they being very importunate, in the euening we lead him into the fields, and made him fast to a stake: the first shot carried away a piece of his arme, bone and all; the next shot stroke him through the Breast vp neere to the shoulder, then he holding downe his head, looked vpon the wound: The third shot that was made, one of our men had cut a bullet in three parts, which stroke vpon his Breast in a triangle, whereat he fell downe as low as the stake would giue him leaue; but between our Men and the *Flemmings*, they shot him almost all to pieces before they left him. Now in this time the Admirall, and the *Sabyndar* sent vs a guard of men euery night, for feare the *Chynois* would rise against vs, but we feared it not, yet we kept foure of their men to be witnesses, that whatsoeuer we did, if they should rise, was but in our owne defence. The other two I set free.

Execution of a *Chynese*.

Cruell torturing.

A dissolute resolution.

Execution.

All the people naught.

A noble villaine

Another of them I obtained by a bribe, who confessed his associats, viz. *Uniete* the chiefe, *Sawman* his partner that dwelt in the house with him, *Hynting*, *Omigpayo*, *Hewsameow*, *Utee*, which was shortly after crysed for lying with a woman, himselfe *Boyhy*, *Irrow*, and *Lackow*, which were fled to *Iackatra*: the which *Irrow* and *Lackow* I had neuer heard of before, I made all the meanes I could to get them, but I could not except I would haue been at exceeding great charges, and there were others that belonged to some *Iauans*, which were great men, and getting into their houses, we could not get them: some of them did offer them to sell to vs, and wee did beat the price as one would doe about an Oxe or a Calf. but they held them so deare, that I durst not deale with them: I proffered them as much for euery one, as they might buy them another slaue in their roomes, and some benefit, but they were so fit instruments for their purpose, beeing practised in all villanie, that they would not part with them without a great summe. For all the  
 50 *Iauans* and *Chynies*, from the highest to the lowest are all villaines, and haue not one sparke of grace in them; and if it were not for the *Sabyndar*, the Admirall and one or two more, which are *Chyn-men* borne, there were no liuing for a Christian amongst them, without a Fort, or very strong house all of bricke or stone. This *Boyboy* we tortured not, because of his confession, but crysed him.

Amongst all other of the deuils Instruments here vpon earth, there was one of the Kings blood, called *Panggranman delicke*, who kept one of those nine villaines in his house. One day he coming to our house to buy cloth, we desired him he would deliuer this fellow into our hands, promising him that we would cause our Generall to giue him thanks, and told him how good it would be for the Countrey, to roote out such villaines as they were: he answered againe, That we should tell them so, that had the gouernment of the Countrey in their hands, or cared for the good of the Countrey, for he did not. Some three or foure daies he came to our house againe, and would haue had me giuen him credit for sixe or seuen hundred Rialls of eight in cloth, but because  
 60 he



Miserable go-  
vernment.

Ofentrench-  
ries.  
A woman  
stollen.

The heat of  
Pepper in  
those parts.

A merry feast.

The olde  
Queene.

he was a man not to be trusted, I excused the matter, saying, That I looked every day for our Ships, and that I could deliver no goods, but I must have Pepper presently, whereby I might have lading ready. After he had been very earnest, and saw he could not prevail, he went out very angry, and being at our gate, he looked back upon our house, and said, It was pity but it should be burnt againe. Also he would have had a *Chynese* that we had some dealings with, to have helped to some *Chynois* that dwelt neere vs, to undertake the firing of our house againe. Hee being a man generally hated of all for cruelty that he had done, the *Chynois* told vs what he said: wherefore I would presently have gone to the Court to have complained of him; but many wished me not to doe so: for they said, He was a desperate villaine, and cared neither for King nor Protector, but if we brought him to that open shame, he would doe vs a mischief whatsoever came of it: 10 and I saw it, for the King and the Gouverneur, had sent to him often times, to deliver vs that fellow he had, but he cared not for them. Shortly after, we had many shrewd attempts to have fired our house: for the towne was fired in three places at one instant in the night, a little to windward of our house, and twice another night, but God blessed our industry and preserved vs.

Amongst all these sorrowfull and troublesome discourses, it happened that a certaine *Chynois* which dwelt hard vnder our pales, did steale away another *Chynies* wife, and being hardly pursued by her husband, they had no meanes to shift her away, but to put her over the pales into our ground. And at that time we having newly shot much Pepper into our Warehouse, which was so extreame hot, that we were forced to keepe the doore open night and day, having alwayes a regard to it in the night: This being a fit place for her to hide her in; got behind the doore, so 20 farre as she could stand for heat, and her husband would have sought all *Iana* and *Chyna*, before he would or durst come thither to seeke. In the night after our watch was set, one of our Company went into our backside, the which place we did very much frequent night and day; but as he was coming backe, and being a little starre light, he saw the woman stand in the Pepper house doore, who came forth to take breath, for she had been better to have been in the stoues so long: he presently swore, A woman: I ran downe, and caused her to be searched and examined presently; She told vs that her husband would have beat her, wherefore she was forced to climbe over our pales, and to hide her selfe.

It is an ordinary thing for the *Chines* to beate their Wiues, especially she being a *Cuchinchyne* woman, which had no friends in Towne, for the *Iauans* will hardly suffer them to beat their women; wherefore now having searched and secured every place, I thought it would proue but 30 some such leet. The next morning her husband came, who falling downe on his marie-bones, desired me to be good vnto him, for I having so lately tortured some *Chines*, he thought I would torture him: But in my conscience he needed no more plague or punishment then such a Wife, wherefore I presently dismissed them both.

The Protector, a little before had given vs, all the houses and ground which ioyned to our pales, and belonged to those *Chynois*, which vndermined our house, but although it were given, yet I thinke, there was neuer English-man paid so deere for so little ground, in any Countrey in the world: the houses were rotten, but the ground did vs great pleasure. We bought also a house 40 of a *Pangran*, or Gentleman, which came so neere our Pepper-house doore, that it was verie troublesome to vs, when wee should carry in or out our Pepper, wherefore I bought that house with the ground, so that now we had a very spacious yard.

The ninth of September, the Protector sent a Proclamation, that no *Chines* should weigh any Pepper to the strangers, meaning the *English* and the *Hollanders*: the which Proclamation was procured by the *Hollanders*, and we knew it very well, for the same day they dined with vs, and at dinner they told vs, the Protector owed them ten thousand sacks of Pepper, but I told them that was not so, for they would neuer be such fooles to trust him so much. The next morning, I went to the old woman, who commands the Protector, and all the rest, and indeed is called 50 Queene of the Land by the *Sabindar*, and diuers others, although she be not of the Kings blood, but onely for her wisdom, is held in such estimation amongst them of all sorts, that she ruleth, as if she were soly Queene of that Countrey. After we had made our griefes knowne to her, she presently sent for the Protector, willing vs to talke with him before her: when he came, I demanded of him, for what cause he had forbidden vs to Trade; he answered, he must buy ten thousand sacks of Pepper for the King, I told him againe, that the *Flemmings* themselves told me, that the Pepper he would buy was for them, and that he owed them ten thousand sacks. Many shifts he vsed, but the Queene our constant friend said, he should not hurt vs. For the *Hollanders*, when they saw they could get no trading with the people for Pepper, then they delivered the Protector money, and wrought with him, as I have before rehearsed: and if we had had but ten thousand Rials of eight, more then we had, the *Flemmings* should have got little 60 Pepper that yeare in *Bantam*. It is most certaine, they are very much hated there, and what they doe or procure, is for feare of their shipping, wherein they doe abound in all those parts. The twelfth of September, the Protector sent Rials vp and downe amongst those that were dealers in Pepper. In the Kings Name, some to serue him an hundred sackes, some fiftie sackes, some ten, some five, as it were a begging, and indeed he tooke it vp at the Kings price, which was



was 4. a Riall in a sacke lesse then we paid. The *Chines* with much grudging serued him, a while after he set a taxe vpon them to serue him so much more; then the *Chines* railed vpon the Protector, and the *Hollanders* both, and many of them would not receiue their Money, but the Officers would throw it downe in their houses, and take their names.

The fifteenth of September, by meanes of an old Trot, which was making of Candles, the Towne was set on fire, the which consumed all the vpper worke of our three houses, to our exceeding great danger, cost and trouble: The Sabindar came to vs in the tumult, also the Admirall, who had charge of the Court, in the Kings and Gouvernors abience, then in progresse, sent vs a great traine of his principall men; likewise, one of the Kings Vnckles came to vs with a great number, and also the rich *Chyna*, with a very great crew. All these came to see that no body should offer vs any violence, for they knew well we had enemies of great force, but not for our sakes, but for our goods. Now we were laid open to all our enemies, for our fence for the most part was burnt to the ground, and we had not a place to dresse our victuals in, yet as good fortune was, we had one little shed in the middle of our yard, which was our Court of Guard, that escaped, where we incamped by night. The *Dutch* house escaped, though but narrowly, wherefore we borrowed some of their men. For it is to be noted, that though we were mortall enemies in our Trade; yet in all other matters we were friends, and would haue liued and dyed one for the other. Also the Admirall and Sabindar sent vs men euery night, so that we with our Drum, Shot, and Pikes, lined a Souldiers life, vntill our fence was made vp, and afterwards too: For this was but to shew vs the way, and our fence was no sooner vp, but wee looked euery

The Towne  
fired.

*Dutch* enemies  
in trade, other-  
wise friends.

houre when it should be burnt downe, or borne downe by those that would haue had the cutting of our throats.

The *Pangran Mandelicko* in the end of September, fell to robbing of Iuncks, one of which was of *Ire*, laden with Rice, Men and Women: with a great crew of villaines, his Slaues, he seized on the Iuncke in the night, and carried away all the Rice, with the Men and Women as his prisoners. The which was the next way to keep away all other Iuncks, which vsed to bring victuals to the Towne, whereby to starue them all, for that land is not able to serue one quarter of the people that are in it. The King and his Protector sent to him, commanding him to deliuer the people and goods which he had taken, the which hee would not, but presently fortified himselfe. Also the rest of the *Pangrans* that were of the Kings blood, and his, but being all traytors to the King, maintained him, so that the Kings Officers durst not meddle with him. The Protector, Sabindar, and Admirall, sent to vs to take heed to our selues, the Rebels grew euery day stronger and stronger, and all the people in the Countrey, and also strangers began to be in great feare. I was forced to borrow some small Ordnance of *Chyna* Merchants, which were our friends, and with Chaines and Bushes to fortifie our selues, and our men were besides euery day, a making of Chaine-shot, Lanegrall-shot, and Crosse-barre-shot. All Trade of Merchandise was laid aside, neither did any in the Towne looke after buying and selling: And euery day, we should haue the Rebels espyals would come into our yard, who would be very inquisitiue, what, and wherefore those were, which our men were all so hard at worke vpon, wee would plainly tell them, that we looked euery night for such a mans comming, wherefore we made prouision for his entertainment.

Anarchy worle  
then tyranny.  
Many tyrants  
worle the one;

Dangerous  
Rebels.

About the twentieth of October, came in the King of *Iacatra*, with a crue of fifteene hundred fighting men, besides straglers, and had a thousand more comming after. Hee challenged the Rebels, and likewise the *Pangrans* to fight with him and his Company only: hee had indeed a great quarrell against them all, for but a little before, they sought meanes to put him out of his Kingdome, but the Rebels keepe their fortification, and would not come out. The sixe and twentieth of October, the King of *Iacatra*, and the Admirall sent for vs, to know if there were no meanes to fire them a reasonable distance off, out of the reach of their Baces, of which they had a great number. We told them if there had beene a ship in the Road, it might easily haue bin done, but for vs to doe it, we thought we should hardly find things wherewithall. The Admirall asked me what things we would haue, I told him Camphire, Salt-peeter and Brimstone; as for some things we had already. The Admirall said he would helpe vs to all these, and desired vs we would helpe them: also he had a long Bow and Arrowes, fit for such a purpose, but I thinke a Musket had beene better. We were minded to haue caused the Kings Ordnance to haue beene planted, and to haue shot red hot Bullets amongst them, which I thinke would haue made perillous worke, both with them and their Thatched houses, and fortifications made of Canes: The principall Rebell had fought all the meanes he could to fire vs, now we meant verily to see if we could fire him: but whether it was for feare of the King of *Iacatra*, or hearing wee were about such a matter: The *Pangrans* and the Rebels, both came to an agreement within two dayes after, the which agreement was this, that the principall Rebell should within six dayes depart out of the King of *Bantams* Dominion, hauing with him only thirtie of his household, the which hee did. For the space of ten dayes, we looked euery houre, both night and day when the Kings Forces and the *Pangrans* would ioine battle, for they were both readie: but the *Iauans* are verie loth to fight if they can chuse; the reason they say is, their wealth lyeth altogether in Slaues, so

King of *Iacatra*

Agreement.

Slaues cause  
of not fighting  
that



that if there Slaues be kild, they are beggered, wherefore they had alwayes rather come to a set-feast, then a pitched Battell.

The Queene  
renowned af-  
ter her death.

Fame of the  
English.

English resolu-  
tion admired.

Hollanders ha-  
ted.

Chinese fraud.

First newes of  
Q. Elizabeth's death.

Principall Mi-  
nister taken.

The seuenteenth day of Nouember, which we tooke to be our Coronation day, and hauing all our Peeces and Chambers lying laden since the troubles, we inuited the *Flemmings* to Dinner, in the middle of Dinner we dranke a Health to our Queene, and also shot off all our Ordnance.

There resort to this Towne of *Bantam* a number of many Nations, the which diuers of them are Liegers. These people hauing heard much fame of the *English* Nation in times past, before euer they saw any of vs, had an especiall eye to our carriage and behauiour, and wee were growne a common admiration amongst them all, that wee being so few should carrie such a port as wee did, neuer putting vp the least wrong that was offered by either *Iauans* or *Chinees*, but alwayes 10 did iustice our selues, and when the Protector did wrong vs himselfe, it was knowne that wee did not spare to tell him of it soundly, and in such sort that he wanted very much of his will. It is well knowne also, that at the first comming of our ships, the *Iauans* offered vs much wrong, in purloyning our goods, but so many as we tooke, were either slaine, wounded, or soundly beaten: the *Iauans* thought we durst not doe so, when our ships were gone, wherefore they did practise to steale both day and night, but they found it all one, the which they did admire at, for it is most certaine, and I haue heard many Strangers speake it, that haue beene present when wee haue beaten some *Iauans* that they neuer knew or heard of any Nation but vs, that were Liegers there, that durst once strike a *Iauan* in *Bantam*, and it was a common talke among all Strangers and o- 20 thers, how we stood at defiance with those that hated vs for our goods, and how little wee cared for them. Likewise, how we neuer offered any wrong to the meanest in the Towne, and also how we were generally beloued of all the better sort: they would say, it was not so with the *Flemmings*, nor with no other Nation. And all the while I was there, I neuer heard, that euer the *Flemmings* gaue a *Iauan* so much as a box on the eare, but many times fowle of the *Chinees*, who will very seldome make any resistance, yet it is of truth, they are mortally hated, aswell of all sorts of *Iauans*, as *Chinees*.

Now euery day they looked for their shipping, and hauing little Pepper, nor knew not where to buy any, for the *Chinees* would sell them none, so long as we would giue as much as they. And more then that; for when all our Riaks was layd out, some of them sold vs Pepper to bee paid when our ships came, not knowing when they would come, nor we neither at that time, but as 30 we guessed. If they would haue gone to the *Flemmings*, they might haue had readie money, and great thankes. They therefore bought what they could by reraile in the Markets, sending it to a *Chineses* house by Boate in the euening, but the charge consumed the gaine.

About this present time, the Emperour of *Damack*, who not many yeares before for tyrannie had beene deposed by the Kings teereabouts, going by Sea from *Bantam*, to another Towne vpon the Coast, was by one of his sonnes stabd in his Bed sleeping.

The *Chineses* will mingle vially their Pepper in the night if you leaue it with them, or put in dust, or transport it, and we should be sure to find that which wee had not liked, at one mans ye- 40 sterday, now in another mans house, a good distance off, and the next night after at another house, as who should say, it was another parcell, and the olde Ware-houle where it lay first should be shut, or a parcell of better Pepper in it.

In Nouember, and the beginning of December, we were busied both in building and getting in, and making cleane of Pepper, the fourteenth of December, came in a *Dutch* Pinnasse, who told vs of the death of our late Queene, and of the great Plague and Sicknesse, that had beene ouer all Christendome, which strooke more terrour to our mindes, then all the troubles wee had passed, but they could tell vs no newes of our ships, which caused vs much to doubt, only they told vs, the King of *Scots* was crowned, and that our Land was in peace, which was exceeding great comfort vnto vs, also they told vs of the peace that was likely to be betwixt *England* and *Spaine*. In all the *Dutch* Fleet, and because we heard of no Letters for vs in the Pinnasse, I made haste, and went aboard the *Dutch* Admirall to bid him welcome, also to enquire for Letters, the 50 which we found in their Vice-Admirall. The two and twentieth of December, by meanes of some of our friends, *Vniete* that was the principall that vndermined our house, being decryed and taken, hauing beene long in the Mountaines, and for want of food, was forced to repayre to certaine houses neere the Towne, from whence he was brought to the rich *Chinas* house, so soone as I heard of him, I sent Master *Tewerson* to the Protector to certifie him of it, and withall to tell him, we would shortly execute him, for since the time that this mischiefe happened, I neuer went out of sight of our house my selfe, but once, vntill our ships came in, the which once was when the Protector crossed vs, so that then I was constrayned, and my feare was so great, that I thought all would be burnt, before I should come hacke againe, likewise three times euery weeke, I vsed to search all the *Chinees* houses round about vs, for feare of more vndermining. 60



## p. V.

*Generall Middletons arriuall, the sicknesse and death of many. Quarrells twixt  
Ours and the Hollanders, begunne by Captaine Severson, a Dutch-  
man, and the King of Bantams circumcision,  
and pompous Triumphes.*

10 **T**H E same day towards Euening, we descried our Ships comming into the Road, to all our extraordinarie great ioyes; but when we came aboard of our Admirall, and sawe their weakenesse, also hearing of the weakenesse of the other three ships, it grieved vs much, knowing that *Bantam* is not a place to recouer men that are sicke, but rather to kill men that come thither in health. At my first comming aboard, I found our General, Captaine *Henry Middleton*, very sickly and weake; to whom I made relation in brieft what troubles we had passed; also I certified him neuerthelesse, we had lading ready for two ships, which was some content vnto his mind, very much grieved for the weakenesse of his men. They had hardly fiftie found men in their foure ships, and of the sicke men a number died. Also of those that came thither in health, many neuer went out of the Road.

English shipping come, and their weaknes.

*Bantam* vn-healthfull.  
*Henry Middleton* Generall.

The foure and twentieth day, our Vice-Admirall, Captaine *Coulthurst* came a shore, with some other Merchants; on which day we executed this Villaine which we had lately taken. Ha-  
20 uing now slaine the fourth principall, and one more was kild for stealing of a woman: at my comming away there remained foure aliue, of which, two were at *Iacatra*, one with *Mandelicko* the traytor, and one with *Cay Sanapatty Lama*, which we could not as then come by. The same day, our Vice-Admirall beeing accompanied with vs there resident before, and also some other of the newe Merchants, went to the Court to certifie the King, that our Generall had Letters from the King of *England*, with a present for him, and more to tell him our Generall was weary, hauing been long vpon the Seas, and so soone as he was a little refreshed, he would come himselfe to see him, and also to deliuer the Letters, and the Present.

Captaine *Colthrust*.

Letters from King *James*.

The five and twentieth, being *Christmas* day, we dined aboard our Generall: but I should haue spoken before of a Counsell that was holden on Sunday, being the three and twentieth day, wherein it was thought of all, that the *Dragon*, and the *Ascension* were fittest to goe for the  
30 *Moluccos*, for diuers reasons which need not here be rehearsed; and the *Hector*, and *Susan* to lade Pepper, and to be dispatched home. And the same weeke after, we were busied in getting of fresh victuals, Herbs, Fruits, and Flowers, for the recouery of our men, which were most pitifully payed with the Scuruy.

*Dragon* sent to the *Moluccos*.

Men sicke of the Scorbute.

The one and thirtieth day, our Generall came on shore, and beeing accompanied with all the Marchants that were in health, and diuers others, he went to the Court, and deliuered the Kings Letters and Present, the which were as followeth: One faire Bason and Ewre, two faire standing Cups, all parcell-gilt, one gilt spoone, and sixe Muskets with their furniture: the which were kindly receiued. A day or two after our General spent in visiting our chiefe friends, as the  
40 *Sabindar*, the Admirall, the rich *Chynois*, and also gaue them Presents, who very thankfully receiued them. After this, we fell all to worke, both ashore and aboard, to packe vp, and take in goods for the *Moluccos*: but after our men were a little recovered of the Scuruy, the Fluxe tooke them, so that we continued still very weake in men, in so much, that it was vnpossible in mans iudgement, that euer we should be able to accomplish our businell in that manner.

Present to the King.

Fluxe succeeded the Scorbute.

On Monday, being the seuenth of Ianuary, the *Dutch* fleet, being nine tall Ships, besides Pin- naces and Slupes, set sayle for *Amboyna*, and the *Moluccos*, so that we rested very doubtfull a long time, whether our ships should get any lading in those parts that yeere, by reason of their number of shipping which was gone before ours. Neither could our Ships possibly goe sooner, by meanes of our weakenesse.

50 The tenth of Ianuary, the ships that were bound home, began to take in Pepper, but they were so oppressed with sicknesse, that they could make no dispatch. The eighteenth day, our shippes hauing taken in all the goods which we thought meet for those parts, set sayle for the Islands of *Banda*, hauing their men for the most part extreame weake and sicke: but how they spent their time vntill their returne to *Bantam*, I must referre to their owne reports. Presently after the departure of these ships, the protector sent vnto vs to agree about Custome, the which we had thought we had known since our first shipping departed, but he asked many duties, which we neuer heard of before, & because I would not grant to pay the, he commanded the Porters they should carry no Pepper: wherefore to preuent that this should not be a hinderance to vs in lading  
60 our ships (for we had hinderance enough besides) I was forced to agree with him, to pay in hand according to that rate as our ships paid before, and to let the full agreement rest vntill the returne of our Generall, and he thought he did vs great kindnesse herein. It pleased God to take away the two Masters of these two ships which we were now a lading, *Samuel Spencer*, Master of the *Hector*, and *Habbakuck Pery*, Master of the *Susan*. Also *William Smith*, the principall Masters mate

Much sicknesse.

The *Ascension* sent to *Banda*.

Death of many



mate of the *Hector*, and soone after Captaine *Stiles*, with many other of their principall men, with a number of their ordinarie saylers, so that we were not onely constrained to hire men to doe them all the ease we could there, but likewise to hire so many as we could get of *Goosserates* and *Chynois* to helpe bring home our ships, to our exceeding great cost and charges. With much turmoyle, we got them both laden, by the sixteenth of February, but it was the fourth of March, before they could make their ships ready to set sayle.

*Hector* and *Susan* sent for England.

The fourth of March, the *Hector* and *Susan* set sayle for England, hauing sixtie three persons in the *Hector* of all sorts, English and others, but many of her owne men beeing sicke. The *Susan* so neere as I could learne, had forty seuen of all sorts: also many Englishmen sicke, I pray God send vs good newes of her, *William Crane* being Master of the *Hector*, and *Richard Hacknesse*, Master of the *Susan*.

A Holland ship.

The sixt of May, came in a ship from Holland, who had come all along by the Coast of Goa, and meeting there with two ships more of Holland, which were bound out for *Cambaya*, they three had taken foure Portugall ships, wherein they found great riches, onely one of them was laden with great horses, which they set on fire, and consumed both ship and horses. This ship came out of Holland in Iune, 1604. but they could certifie vs of no further newes, then our own ships had done. Their Captaines name was *Cornelius Syverson*, who was a very proud Boore, and had neither wit, manners, honesty, nor humanitie, presently after whose comming in, the *Flemmings* withdrewe their familiaritie, which they were wont to hold with vs, and that as wee thought, by Generall *Warwicks* charge to them.

Captaine Syverson first cause of breach betwixt Hollanders and English.

Circumcision of the King of Bantam.

But now I will leaue this contemner of curtesie and hater of our Nation, with his rascall crue which he brought with him, and speake somewhat of the manner and order of the Kings Circumcision, and of the Triumphes that were held there euery day, for the space of a moneth and more before his going to Church, whereby all the better sort of that Country had beene busied, from the time of the comming in of the *Chyna* Iuncks, which is in February and March, vntill the foure and twentieth of Iune, about making preparation. There was a great Pageant made, the forepart of which was in likenesse of an huge deuill, vpon this Pageant was set three chaires of State, the middlemost was for the King, which was placed higher then the other by some two foote, on either of his hands were placed the sonnes of *Pangran Goban*, who is heire apparant to the Crowne, if the King should die without issue. This Pageant was placed on a greene before the Court gate, and rayled in round about. The manner of their Countrey is, that when any King comes newly to the Crowne, or at the Circumcision of their King, all that are of abilitie must giue the King a present, the which they must present in open manner, with the greatest shew they are able to make. And those that are not able to doe it of themselves, doe ioine a Company of them together, and so performe it, both strangers and others. About the fise and twentieth of Iune, these shewes began, and continued all that moneth, and the next, except certaine rainie dayes. The Protector began himselfe the first day, and euery Noble man, and others had their dayes, not as they were in birth, but in readinesse, and sometimes two or three Companies in a day. Because the *Iauans* are no good shot, the Protector borrowed shot both of vs and the *Flemmings*; when they came to set forth, there was a great strife whether should goe fore-most, they contemning our paucity, and ours their fordidnesse. Our men were in neat apparell, with scarfes and coloured hat-bands; they in thrumbed greasy caps, tarred coates, and their shirts (if they had any) hanging betwixt their legges. Ours went therefore in the rereward, refusing to follow next after the *Flemmings*.

The difference twixt vs and Iauans, in militarie matters.

Euery morning the Kings guard, which were both shot and pykes, were placed without the rayles round about the Pageant, beeing commonly in number, about three hundred men: but some principall dayes of shewes, there was vpward of fixe hundred, the which were placed in files according to our martiall discipline. But in our march we doe much differ: for whereas wee commonly march, three, fise, seuen, or nine, they neuer goe but one, and so follow one another so close as they can, bearing their pykes right vpright. As for shot they haue not beene vsed vnto. Their drummes are huge pannes made of a mettall called *Tombaga*, which make a most hellish sound. They haue also their Colours and Companies fittable, but their Standerds and Ancients are not like ours: their Ancient staffe is very high, bending compasse at the top, like the end of a long Bow, but the Colours on it is hardly a yard in breadth, hanging downe from the top with a long pendant. The first day beeing the greatest day of shew, there were certaine forts made of Canes, and other trash, set vp before the Kings Pageant, wherein were certaine *Iauans* placed to defend them, and other companies were appointed to assault them, and many times the assaillants would fire them: but still when the *Iauans* were at it in iest with their pikes, our men and the *Flemmings* were at it in earnest with their shot, and were forced to march apart. The Protector perceiuing it, sent to them, desiring both parties to be quiet, whereupon they were quiet for that day. The next time we saw their Marchants, which was that Euening, I asked one of them if he thought Holland now were able to wage warre with England, that there should be such equalitie between their men and ours, to striue who should goe foremost? And likewise wee told them all, that if Englishmen had not once gone before, their Nation might haue gone behind all Nations.



Nations of Christendome long agoe: but they would answer that times and seasons doe change, and without doubt the greater multitude of them here, doe hold themselves able to withstand any Nation in the world: but I can say nothing of the opinion of their States at home, and of the wiser sort.

*Dutch ingratitude & Pride: in many In this businesse of the Dutch as the fault is not (I hope) National but Personal, I have mollified the Authors stile, and left out some harsher censures. See Pacific.*  
The Kings triumphall pompe.  
The shot.  
Musicke.  
Targettiers & Darts.  
Trees, Beasts, and Fowles.

Now a word or two in what manner the King was brought out every day, and what shewes were presented before him: Alwaies a little afore the shewes came, the King was brought out vpon a mans shoulders, bestriding his necke, and the man holding his legs before him, and had many rich ty. asoles carried euer and round about him: his principall Guard came out before him, and were placed within the railes, round about the Pageant. After the King came out, a number  
10 of the principall of the land, which gaue their attendance vpon the King, as it should seeme, they had their dayes and times appointed them. The shewes that were brought, came in in this manner: First, a crue of shot beeing led by some Gentleman-slaue, after followed the pikes, in the middle of which was carried their colours, and also their musique, which was ten or twelue pannes of *Tombaga*, carried vpon a coulstaße betweene two: these were tuneable, and euery one a note aboue another, and alwayes two went by them which were skilfull in their Country musique, and played on them hauing things in their hands of purpose to strike them, also they had another kind of musique which went both afore and after, but these pannes are the principall. After the pykes followed a crue of Targettiers with darts, then was brought in many sorts of trees, with their fruit growing vpon them, then followed many sorts of beasts and fowles both a-  
20 liue, and also artificially made, that except one had beene neere, they were not to be discerned from those that were aliue.

After these followed a crew attyred like Maskers, which before the King did dance, vault, and shew many strange kind of tumbling trickes, of these there were both men and women. After all these, followed sometimes two hundred, sometimes three hundred women, all carrying Presents only at euery tenth woman, there went an old motherly woman Souldier to keep them in order, which carryed nothing. These Presents were of Rice and Cashes, the which were layd in frames made of split Canes curiously set out for shew, with painted and gilded papers, but the present it selfe was not commonly worth aboue twelue pence or thereabouts. After them followed the rich presents, which was commonly a faire Tuck, and some fairer Cloth of their Coun-  
30 trey fashion, being curiously wrought and gilded, or imbroydered with Gold for the Kings own wearing, the which was carryed also by women hauing two Pikes borne vpright before them. Also euery present which was for the Kings wearing, had a rich Tierasoll borne ouer it. Last of all followed the Heire to that party which sent the presents, which is their yongest sonne, if they haue any, being very richly attyred after their Countrey manner, with many Iewels about their armes and middles, of Gold, Diamonds, Rubies, and other stones, hauing also rich Tierasoles borne ouer them, and a number of men and women attending on them; after hee hath done his obeysance to the King, he sits downe vpon a Mat being layd vpon the ground, which is their order in generall, the presents are all borne by the Kings Pageant into the Court, where there are some Officers appointed to receiue them. After all which past, one within the Kings Pageant,  
40 speakes out of the Deuils mouth, and commands silence in the Kings name, Then begins the chiefe of the Reuels and Musicke, and now and then the shot discharges a Voley. Also the Pike-men and Targettiers with Darts doth shew all their feates of Armes: their shot is very vnskilfull, but the Pikes and Targets are very expert, and alwayes when they come to charge their Enemy, they come towards him dancing, because his Aduersary should haue no steadie ayme to throw his Dart, or make a thrust at him. Likewise amongst some of these shewes there came Iunckes sayling, artificially made, being laden with Cashes and Rice. Also in these were significations of Historicall matters of former times, both of the Old Testament, and of Chronicle matters of the Countrey, and Kings of *Iana*. All these Inuentions the *Iauans* haue beene taught in former times by the *Chinees*, or at least the most part of them; for they themselves are but  
50 Block-heads, and some they haue learned by *Goossarats*, *Turkes*, and other Nations which come thither to trade.

Dancers and Tumblers.

Presents.

Yongest Sonne Heire.

Reuels.

Iunckes and Iunckes.

Histories.

English Present.

Conies, Rarities in *Iana*.

We brought a very faire Pomgranate Tree being full of fruit growing on it, both ripe, halfe ripe, some young, and some budded: this Tree wee digged vp by the roots, which wee set in a frame being made of *Ratanes*, or Carricke Rushes, somewhat like a Birds Cage, but very wide. At the roote of this Tree we placed earth, and vpon that Greene Turfes, so that it stood as if it had beene still growing; vpon these Turfes we put three Siluer-hayred Conies, which our Vice-Admirall had giuen me, and at the top, and round about vpon the boughes, we with small threds made fast a number of small Birds, which would euer be chirping. Likewise, we had foure very furious Serpents, which the *Chinees* there can make artificially, vpon these wee hung the Cloth  
60 which was for the Kings owne wearing, which were fise pieces curiously wrought, and gilded after their fashion. Some other pieces of Stuffle there were also for the King to buttow vpon some of his followers. More wee gaue him a fayre Peternell damasked, and a Case of Pistols damasked, with very fayrer Cases feuerally belonging to them, the which had great silke strings, with Tassels of Gold. Now we had no women to carry these things, wherefore we borrowed thirtie of



the prettyest Boyes we could get, and also two proper tall *Iauans* to beare Pikes before them. *Matter Towerfon* had a very prettie Boy, a *Chinees* sonne, whose Father was a little before slaine by Theeues: this youth we attyred as gallant as the King, whom we sent to present these things, and to make a speech to the King, signifying to him, that if our number had beene equall to our good wils, we would haue presented his Maiestie with a farre better shew.

Fire-workes.

The King and diuers others about him tooke great delight in the Conies. Also our men carried some Fire-workes with them, which were very rare matters to the young King and his play-fellowes, but the women cryed out, for feare they would set the Court a fire.

Hollanders Vanities.

The *Flemmings* gaue a present which they can easily bragge off, small matters, they doe not spare to bragge very much of their King, meaning *Graue Maurice*, whom they call in all these parts at euery word *Raia Hollanda*. Much quarrell arose betwixt our men and them, the *Flemmings* in drinke still beginning and brauing, and vsually getting the worst. I had much to doe to restrayne our men, which yet was necessary considering wee had a great charge of goods, the charge of which lay vpon me. Also wee were but badly housed, and in a dangerous Countrey, likewise if we gaue them blowes, it was likely, a number of them would come vpon vs: we being but few could not defend our selues without shedding of blood, the which would require reuenge. They were about a hundred men in the House, Ship, and Flye-boat, which (no doubt) would haue come vpon vs hauing such an occasion, and wee but thirteene in a Straw-house.

King of Iacatra pompe &amp; homage.

The eighteenth of Iuly, the King of *Iacatra* came in to present his shew before the King of *Bantam*, also to giue his present, and to doe his homage, the which was performed the three and twentieth of Iuly in this manner. In the morning early, the King of *Bantams* Guard (which was on this day an extraordinarie number) were placed in files, their Pikes set vpright in the ground, and their shot lying in order, and euery man sitting by his Armes, being clothed in red Coates. About eight of clocke my selfe with some other of our Merchants and men went to see this shew, and taking vp our standing neere the Kings Pageant, the Kings Guard would often bid vs sit downe, but we would answere, they must first bring vs a forme: for indeed there is no Nation suffered to stand in the Kings or any great mans presence, if they be neere them. Wee and the *Flemmings* were commanded by the Officers to sit downe, as well as the rest, but wee were too stout (knowing they had no such Commission) to stoope vnder their yoke: but for other Nations they would bang them if they refused, although the ground and place where they should sit were neuer so durtie. But the *Iauans*, who cannot indure to haue any stand ouer them, would remoue a good distance from vs, and many of the Kings Guard forlooke their Weapons, and would goe sit as farre off, neither can they indure that one should lay his hand on their head, the which is not for any point of Religion, as some will affirme, but only of meere Pride. Many times, when I haue come into a *Chinees* house, where *Iauans* haue set in the floore, I sitting downe on a Chest, as our order was, they haue all start vp, and ranne out at doores: the *Chinees* would tell vs, if any other Nation should doe so, but we or the *Hollanders*, they would stab them, but they durst not meddle with vs.

Standing a token of honour, sitting of submission; contrary to our Customes.

But now to my former matter. About nine a clocke the King was brought out in the same manner, as I before haue mentioned, some two houres after the King of *Iacatra* came, hauing a guard of some hundred persons about him: so soone as euer hee came in sight, the Kings Guard all rose vp, and euery man proued his Weapon, the which wee had neuer seene before when any shew came in, so that it should seeme that there was great feare, not that the King of *Iacatra* would offer any violence, but there was a number of other pettie Kings, who had great troupes of men, the which Kings were his mortall Enemies, wherefore fearing they might rise against him, we plainly perceiued the King of *Bantams* Guard, had their charge to bee readie to defend the King of *Iacatra*, if such a matter should happen. When hee came neere the innermost file of the Kings Guard, he could not passe to the King but hee must needs goe thorow a ranke of these pettie Kings, whom he knew did most deadly hate him, wherefore fearing the cowardly stab, which is vsed amongst that Nation, he began to looke very gasly, and wildly on it, although he is as stout a man, as any is in all those parts: passe them hee would not, but sat downe, vpon a Leather that was layed on the ground, the which euery Gentleman hath carryed after him for that purpose. So soone as he was set, hee sent to the King, to know if it were his pleasure, hee should come vnto him, whereupon the King sent two of the principall Noblemen about him, to conduct him to his presence, and after the King of *Iacatra* had done his obeysance, the young King imbraced him, and welcommed him according to the Countrey order: after this the King of *Iacatra* sat downe in a place appointed for him. All this while there was some other prettie shewes presented.

Many pettie Kings.

Cowardly stabs.

King of Iacatraes Presents.

About twelue a clocke came his shew and presents. The Souldiers came in order as I haue before declared, being about three hundred in number, then followed so many women with Cashes and strange Fowles both aliue and artificiall, and likewise many strange beasts; amongst which was one furious beast called by them a *Matchan*. This beast is somewhat bigger then a Lion, and very Princely to behold if they be at libertie, they are spotted white and red, hauing many black streakes which came downe from the reines of his backe vnder his belly. I haue seene one of them



them iump at the least eightene foot, by many mens estimation for his pray. They doe kill many people neere the Towne of *Bantam*, and many times the King and all the Countrey, goeth a hunting of them, not onely in the day time, but in the night. This *Matchan*, which I now spake of, was in a great Cage of wood, which was placed vpon Trucks of old carriages, and being drawne in with Buffels, he lay for all the world like a Traytor vpon a hurdle. There was drawne in like manner a huge Gyant, which by our estimation, might bee some thirtie foote in height: also a Deuill came in, in like order: more there was drawne in a Garden hauing many sorts of hearbs and flowers in it. In the middle of which Garden, was a Fiill-pond, wherein was diuers sorts of small Fishes, and all sorts of Fishes which they doe know in those parts, were brought in either aliue, or artificially made. Amongst these things, came in many Maskers, Vawters, Tumblers, very strangely, and saluagiously attired, which did dance and shew many strange feates before the King. There was drawne in likewise a very faire bed-stead, whereon was a faire quilted bed: also eleuen boulsters and pillowes of Silke, embroidered with Gold at the ends. The posts of the bedstead were very curiously carued and gilded, with a faire Canopy wrought with Gold: A number of other pretty toyes, were brought in and presented. Last of all, came in his youngest sonne, riding on a Chariot, but it was drawne with Buffels, which mee thought was very vuseemely. Indeed they haue but few horses, the which are small Nags. I neuer saw any of them put to draw, but onely to ride on, and to runne at Tilt, after the *Barbary* fashion (as I haue heard some *Barbary* Merchants say) which exercise they vse euery Saturday towards Euening, except in their time of Lent, which is a little before ours.

*Matchan* a fierce wild beast.

A huge Gyant and a deuill. A garden and fish pond.

Maskers and Tumblers.

A Chariot drawne by Buffels. Horses few & not vsed to drawe.

The second day after this show was presented, being Friday, and their Sabbath, the King was carried on his Pageant to Church, where he was circumcised. His Pageant was borne by many men, it was reported to me by the Kings Nurse, foure hundred: but I think she lied, for me thought there could not stand so many vnder it.

King of *Bantam* circumcised.

The foure and twentieth of Iuly, our Generall came into the Road from *Ternata*: so soone as we discerned the shippe, and knew her to be the *Dragon*, I tooke a Prow and went aboard to bid him welcome, who declared to me the dangers they had passed, and also of the vnkind dealings which he had of the *Hollanders*, albeit he saued some of their liues. Neuerthelesse, he told mee hee had (though with great paines and turmoyle) gotten a good quantitie of Cloues towards his lading, the which was good newes to vs, wherefore wee gaue God heartie thanks for all, especially that he had brought him thither againe in safetie, not doubting but within short time, we should be able to furnish him with the rest of his lading. The eight and twentieth day, came in the great *Encusen* of *Holland* from *Ternate*: Also the same day the King of *Iacatra* came to see our Generall.

The Generalls returne from *Ternata*.

# ¶ VI.

## Further quarrels betwixt the English and Dutch, with other accidents.

**T**HE first of August in the afternoone, our Generall, and all the rest of the Merchants, being very busie in the Ware-house, taking an Inuentarie of the remainder of prize-goods, and all other goods, there was word brought that the *Flemmings* had wounded two of our men, the which we saw come bleeding in at the gate. Our Generall commanded euery man to get him weapons, with all speed, and to lay them ouer the pates soundly, the which presently was performed: himselfe could find no weapon ready, wherefore hee tooke vp a barre of Iron, but finding that too heauy, he came into the streete onely with a small Cudgell. The *Flemmings* were banged home to their owne gates, one was runne quite thorough the body, what became of him we could not certainly tell, yet some said he escaped it, two more lost their armes, the Merchants with diuers others of their house came with shot. The *Flemmish* Merchants came to our Generall, but hearing that their men began, they answered, that they had but their desarts: and after they had drunke a Cup of Wine, they kindly tooke their leaue of our Generall, and all the rest of the Merchants, and so departed. Newes was presently carried to the Court, how the *Flemmings* and we were by the eares, and that there was two slaine. Some about the King, asked whether they were *English* or *Flemmings*, which were slaine; answer being made, that they were *Flemmings*: They said, it was no matter if they were all slaine. In this broyle, I thanke God, we had no man hurt, but two, the which was done before the complaint came, neither had they any great harme; one hauing a slash ouer the hand, the other a stab vnder the side with a knife, which was not very deepe: this was the first time, but it was not long, but we were at pell mell againe, and againe, where the *Flemmings* sped as they did now.

*English* wounded by the *Dutch*.

*Dutchmen* satisfied with their fellowes reward.

The eleuenth of August, came in two ships from *Cambaya*, who had taken great wealth from the *Portugals*, the same day came in one ship from *Ternate*. The sixteenth day, came in the *Ascension* from *Banda*; The eight of September, the *Dutch* Merchants invited our Generall, and all

Ships from *Cambaya*. The *Ascension* from *Banda*.



New Dutch  
Fray.

his Merchants and Masters to a feast, where there was great cheere, and also great friendship was made betweene vs. The fifteenth day of September, two *Dutch* ships set saile for *Holland*, one being a small ship, which had laden Pepper at *Bantam*; the other, had taken in some Cloues at *Ternate*. The rest of her lading was of prize-goods, which was taken out of the ships which came from *Cambaya*. The one and twentieth day, came in the *Dutch* Admirall from *Banda*. The two and twentieth day, our Generall sent some of his Merchants to the *Dutch* house, to bid him welcome. On which day, a drunken *Flemming* caused a new fray, which began with our Surgeon, and after parts, were taken on both sides, and some of the *Dutch* wounded.

Another drunken  
quarrell of  
a *Dutchman*.

Againe, about one a clocke the same afternoone, our Generall sitting vpon a bench at our gate, talking with a *Portugall* which sate by him, who sometimes had beene of good reputation, there came one of their drunken Swads, and sate downe betweene our Generall and this *Portugall*. Our Generall seeing the rudenesse of this vnmanly *Flemming*, gaue him a boxe on the eare, and thrust him away. Presently, diuers of his consorts came about our gate, drawing their Kniues and Sables, and began to swagger. We taking the But-ends of Pikes and Halberds, and Faggot-stickes, draue them into a Racke-house, who shutting the doore vpon vs, we brake it open, and knocked some of them downe, bringing them away as prisoners to our Generall. So many of the *Flemmings* as came by in peace, our Generall caused to goe into our yard, where they were in safetie, and those that would not, bare it off with head and shoulders. So soone as wee had beaten them well, that tooke the Racke-house, there came another troope of them downe the streete to take their parts, with whom we met; and after a few brabbling words past, we laid on such load, that they were forced to giue ground, and to betake them to their heeles: some of them were beaten downe in the streete, and many had their pates pittifully broken, others were forced to runne thorough a great myrie Ditch, to escape from vs, they were chaled in at their owne gates.

Racke house,  
where hot  
drinks are  
sold.

*Dutchmen* cha-  
stised, and the  
bloudy designe  
thence inten-  
ded.

The Master of their Admiral had occasioned this fray, and gone from ship to ship, to bid them goe weaponed on shore, and kill the *English-men* they met with. And when some went to goe aboard the *Dutch* shippes on businesse, some *English-men* of their Fleete, with weeping eies called to them, that they should not come: For strait order was giuen, to kill as many *English-men* as they could, either aboard or on shore, and willed them to certifie our Generall of it. Wherefore the *Flemmings* haue no cause hereafter to complaine, but to say we dealt kindly with them: for the truth is, it lay in our hands that day, to haue slaine a great number of them, the which had beene done, if our Generall had but giuen the word. These frayes were greatly admired at, of all Nations in that place, that we should dare to bandy blowes with the *Flemmings*, they hauing seauen verie tall ships in the Road, and we but two. There was not one of our men had any harme, onely Master *Sarys* Merchant, who receiued a cut on the fore-finger with a Sable.

M. Sarys.

*Dutch* General  
satisfied.

At the latter end of this fray, the *Dutch* Generall came to our house, with a great Guard of Captaines, Merchants, and diuers others, whom our Generall being in like manner accompanied, met in the streets, and brought him into our house. After the beginning of the matter was declared to the *Dutch* Admirall, he liked well of that we had done. Some of the Captaines about him said, we complained, but their men bore away the blowes, as might appeare by their bloudy pates and shoulders: the *Dutch* Admirall answered, it was no matter, for he saw plainly, the fault was in their men, wherefore hee would take order henceforward, that so many of them should not come ashore at once. After much talke had passed, and a banquet of sweet meates ended, the *Dutch* Admirall kindly tooke his leaue of our Generall: and all the rest of the Merchants, both *English* and *Dutch*, shaking hands one with another.

*Iauan* thecues.

Their taking.

There were certain *Iauans*, which belonged vnto two of the principall men of that Land, next vnto the King, who had stolne nine Muskets and Calliurs out of the *Ascensions* Gunner roome: shortly after two of them comming to steale more, were taken by our people with the manner. Our Generall sent me aboard to examine them, and to bring them ashore. They first told me, they belonged to great men, which were our very good friends, but I mistrusting they did dissemble with me, bid them confesse the truth, and they should find some fauour, then they confessed truly whose Slaues they were, and said the Peeeces were forth comming. After they came ashore, our Generall sent the King and the Protector word of it, and desired he might haue his Peeeces againe; The Protector sent to the Masters of these two Slaues for them, but they louing the Peeeces better then their men, said they had no Peeeces, but what they had bought with their Money, yet they sent to our Generall to desire him, to deferre their execution for a day or two, the which was granted: but because their Masters were no great good willers to the King, the Protector in the Kings Name sent the Executioner to put them to death, with a Guard of Pikes. When they came to the place of execution, our Generall taking pittie of them, would haue giuen them their liues: But the Hang-man said, their liues were in the Kings hands, and not in our Generals, wherefore because the King had sent him, he would execute them. Which the two Thecues very patiently suffered, as the manner of all that Nation is, when they are bound to it. They doe hold it the greatest glorie that can be, to dye resolutely without any show of feare: and surely so they doe, in as carelesse a manner as it is possible for flesh and blood, the

Their execu-  
tion.



the experience of which I haue seene by diuers, both men and women. One would thinke these men should be good Souldiers, but it is not so, this valour is but when there is no remedy. Against the people of those parts of the world, they are reasonable tall men, but they will not meddle with Christians, except they haue some exceeding great aduantage of number, or other meanes.

10 The sixe and twentieth of September, by meanes of a *Ianan* shooting off a Peece, the Towne was set on fire, but by reason wee had good helpe of our Mariners, who were many of them ashore at that time, our house was preserued, but the *Dutch* house being to leeward, although they had neuer so much helpe, could not be saued, but the vpper worke of one of their principall houses, which did ioine to their great house, was burnt, and all their out-houses, wherein lay cables, hawfers, pickled porke, and diuers other things, whereby they sustained great losse. Some that had serued there fve yeares, lost all that they had gotten in those parts.

The Towne set on fire.

*Dutch* house burned.

Not long after this, the Towne on our side the way, was twice fired by the *Ianans* in the night, which put vs to great trouble, in carrying and recarrying our things, but by labour of our Mariners and the *Chyneese*, it was quenched. The third of October, our Generall made a feast, which was for his farewell, whereunto he inuited the *Dutch* Admirall, with all the rest of his Captaines, Masters, and Merchants, where wee were all exceeding merry, and great friendship was made betweene vs.

The Towne twice fiered.

20 The fourth of October, our Generall being accompanied with diuers Merchants and others, went to the Court to take his leaue of the King, and his Nobles. The sixt of October, being Sunday, about ten a clocke, our General, with all that were bound home, went aboard, who going by the *Dutch* house, went in, and tooke his leaue of the *Dutch* Admirall, and the rest of his Merchants. Also there went aboard with him Master *Gabriel Towerfon*, who was to stay for Agent there, and some other Merchants, who after dinner, some went ashore, and some stayed vntill the next day. About three a clocke we wayed Anchor, and with some Ordnance bid the Towne and *Dutch* shippes farewell. About eleuen or twelue a clocke at night, we came to an Anchor vnder an Iland, where the next day we tooke in wood, which our Generall had sent our men before hand to cut ready. The seuenth day towards euening, we wayed Anchor againe, and set saile: Master *Towerfon*, and some other of the Merchants, then tooke their leaue to go ashore, whom wee committed to the protection of the Almighty; and our selues to the curtesie of the Seas, desiring God to blesse both them and vs, and if it be his will, to send vs a happy meeting againe in *England*.

Preparation to depart.

M. *Towerfon*.

## CHAP. V.

40 The second Voyage set forth by the Company into the East-Indies, Sir Henry Middleton being General: wherein were employed foure ships; the Red Dragon, Admirall; the Hector, Vice-Admirall; the Ascension with the Susan: written by Thomas Clayborne in a larger Discourse, a brieve extract whereof is here deliuered.

THE second day of April, 1604. being Munday, about twelue of the clocke, we had sight of the *Lizard*. The three and twentieth day, West South-West to the West-ward, two and twentie leagues, latitude fifteene degrees, and five minutes: and this day we fell with the Westermost part of *S. Iago*, being West by North sixe leagues, and at five of the clocke we stood to the East-ward for *Maio*, the wind at North.

The Isle of *S. Iago*. *Maio*.

50 The foure and twentieth day we fell with *Maio*, and stood to the South-ward of the Iland, and came to anchor at fifteene fathomes, one point North-West and by North, and the other East South-East.

The five and twentieth day we landed, and lost one of our Merchants, who was taken by the people of the Iland. The sixe & twentieth day in the morning, we landed an hundred men to see if we could get our Merchant againe, but could not come neere any of the people of the Iland; so we lett him behind vs, and this night about nine of the clocke wee set saile, the wind at North.

They land in *Maio*.

60 The sixteenth day of May, latitude 00. fifteene minutes, and this day we passed the Equinoctiall. The thirteenth of Iuly in the forenoone, we had sight of Cape *Bona Esperanza* being off vs fifteene leagues. The seuenteenth day we came to anchor in the Road of *Saldania*, hauing sixtie men sicke of the Scuruy, but (God be prayd) they all recouered health before we went from hence. *Saldania* is in latitude thirty three degrees, fittie sixe minutes, or thirty foure degrees. Here M. *Cole* was drowned, being Master of the *Hector*, our Vice-Admirall: and here we stayd fve weekes wanting a day.

They came to an anchor in the roade of *Saldania*. M. *Cole* drowned.



- The twentieth day of August being Munday we weighed, and set sayle out of the Road of *Saldania*, the wind Southerly, and we stood to the West-ward.
- Bantam.* The three and twentieth of December, being Sunday, we came to anchor in *Bantam* Roade, where we found fixe *Holland* shippes, and three or foure *Pinnasses*.
- Amboyna.* The eighteenth day of January, we set sayle out of *Bantam* roade, with the *Dragon* and the *Ascension*; but they parted at *Amboyna*. The Generall went with the *Dragon* to the *Moluccas*, and the *Ascension* (whereof M. *Colthrust* was Captaine) for *Banda*; and the *Hector* and the *Susan* landed Pepper at *Bantam*, and set sayle from thence about the middle of February.
- The Moluccas.*
- Banda.* The twentieth day of February, the *Ascension* arrived at *Banda*, and anchored in foure fathoms and an halfe, by *Nera*, which is the cheifest place in those Ilands. From the South-part of *Amboyna* to *Banda*, the course is East by South, to the South-ward thirtie leagues: the latitude of *Banda* is foure degrees, fortie minutes, and the going in is to the West-ward. There is a very high hill that burneth continually, and that Hill you must leaue on the Larbord-side, and the other great Iland on your Star-boord side. The going in is very narrow, and you cannot see it till you come within halfe a mile: but feare not to stand with the Iland, that the high Hill is on, while you come within two Cables length of it; for so you must doe, and then you shall haue about twentie fathomes; and then stand along still by that Iland about a Cables length from it, if the wind will giue you leaue, and then you shall find shallower water, eight, seuen, fixe fathoms, and in the very narrow of all, you shall haue five fathomes, and so that depth vntill you come into the Road.
- Nero.* By Gods helpe, a man may goe in without any danger, keeping neere vnto the aforementioned Iland: it is somewhat shallow on the Star-boord side, in the narrow of the going in, but that will shew it selfe. There are two small Ilands, one called *Puloway*, and the other *Pulorin*, and they lie about three leagues to the West-ward of the going in: there is no danger about them, but may be very well perceiued. You may leaue those Ilands on which side you please, either at your going in, or comming out.
- Banda is in 4. degrees 40. minutes.*
- An high burning hill in Gunmanappi.*
- Puloway.* About the middle of March, here we found the wind to be variable, and so continued till the middle of Aprill; and then it continued, and stood betweene the East and South-East, foure moneths to our knowledge. But it doth vse to continue five moneths, as the people of the countrey say, and likewise five moneths betweene the West and North-West, and the other two moneths variable. Here in the darke Moones it is giuen much to gusty weather, and much raine.
- Pulorin.* Here we stayed one and twentie weekes, and fixe dayes, in the which time we had cleuen men died, and most of the Fluxe.
- The Monsons.* The one and twentieth day of July, 1605. being Sunday, we set saile from *Banda*, the wind at East South-East, and we stood to the West-ward. The two and twentieth day, we fell with the South-end of *Burro*, the wind at East South-East.
- They stayed in Banda 21. weekes.* The seuen and twentieth day we fell with *Dezelem*, and then we came about the South-end of the Iland, leauing seuen Ilands on our Lar-boord side. We stood close by the wind to the North-ward, faire by the maine Iland of *Dezelem*, to cleare our selues of a small Iland and a shold, that lieth off the South-West part of *Dezelem*, and leauing this Iland, and all the other sholds on our Larboord-side, we stood North, North-West, along the West side of *Dezelem*, while wee came in fixe degrees and tenne minutes: then we steered West eighteen leagues, and fell with the point shold that lieth off the South-West end of *Celebes*: And the very Souther-most part of that shold, lieth in fixe degrees, and being cleare of that, we stood to the West-ward.
- Burro.* The sixteenth day of August, we came to anchor in *Bantam* road.
- Dezelem.* The sixt day of October being Sunday, we set sayle out of *Bantam* roade, with the *Dragon* and the *Ascension*.
- Celebes.* The fifteenth day of Nouember, latitude thirty one degrees, fortie eight minutes, the wind North North-West, thicke foggy weather. This day about tenne of the clocke in the morning, we came within a ships length of a Rocke, or sunken Iland: the water shewed vpon it very browne, and muddie, and in some places very blue, and being a ships breadth or two to the North-ward of it, we saw the water by the ships side very blacke and thicke, as though it had been earth, or grosse sand boyling vp from it. The variation in this place, is one and twentie degrees from North to West decreasing.
- Bantam.* The sixteenth of December, West nine leagues, latitude thirtie foure degrees, and twentie minutes. This day in the morning we had sight of the land of *Ethiopia*, distant from vs some twelue leagues.
- They returned from Bantam for England.* The fixe and twentieth day, latitude thirty foure degrees, thirty minutes. Now being in the latitude, and in the sight of Cape *Bona Esperansa*, and within one league of it, we steered North-West, and North North-West, and North, and as the land lay about the Cape.
- Note.* The seuen and twentieth day, we came to anchor in *Saldania* roade, where we found our Admirall, and the *Hector*, which ship the *Dragon*, our Admirall, met withall seuen dayes before, driuing vp and downe the Sea about foure leagues off the Cape *Bona Esperansa*, with tenne men in her. All the rest of her men were dead, which were in number three and fiftie, which died since
- A sunken Iland.*
- The variation 21. degrees from North to West decreasing.*
- Sight of land.*
- The cape of Bona Esperansa.*
- Saldania road.*
- 53. men dead out of the Hector.*



since she came out of *Bantam*, which time was nine moneths: being in great distresse, shee lost company of the *Susan*, three moneths after she came out of *Bantam* roade, which ship (the *Susan*) was neuer heard of since. Here we came to anchor in seven fathomes, hauing the low point going in North-West by West, and the Sugar-loafe South-West,  $\frac{1}{2}$ . a point to the West-ward, the point of the breach of *Penguin* Iland North-West by North, and the Hill betweene the Sugar-loafe and the low point, West South-West, the peake of the Hill to the East-ward of the Table, South by East.

The *Susan* ver-  
terly lost.

The sixteenth day of January in the morning, we set saile from *Saldania* Road, and went to the Northward of *Penguin* Iland, betweene that and the *Mayne*. When wee had the Iland South from vs about one mile and a halfe we founded, and had ground twentie fathomes, white Corall, and Whistles of shels. When we were cleere of the Iland, we stood off West by South, and West South-west, while we brought the Iland South-east by East off vs, now being about sixe of the clocke in the after-noone, we had sight of the *Hector*, comming out to the Southward of the Iland, for we left her at Anchor when we weighed. Now the wind being at South, we stood all night to the West-ward, close by a wind, in the morning following we had lost sight of the *Hector*, and then we steered away North-west with a low saile while noone, being the seuenteenth day thinking to get sight of the *Hector*, but we could not.

The first day of February, West to the Southward sixteene leagues of Latitude, sixteene degrees and twentie minutes: this day about one of the clocke in the after-noone, wee had sight of Saint *Helena*, bearing West to the Northward from vs, about twelue or thirteene Leagues.

The second day West, and West by South foure Leagues, then hauing the Iland West from vs about eight or nine Leagues, the wind at South-east wee lay off and on, to the Eastward of the Iland, most part of the night, and in the morning following, we stood to the Northward of the Iland.

*Santa Helena*

This day about twelue of the clocke, wee came to anchor in the Road of Saint *Helena*, our Land anchor lay in seuentene fathomes, our shippe rid in twentie fathomes, blackish, grauelly sand. We had one point North-east of vs, and one sharpe Hill like a Sugar-loafe (with a Crosse on the top of it) that bare North-east by East. The Church in the Valley South-east. In this Valley there are many Trees likewise, the high-land South-east vp from the Church, and all the Valley besides is full of Trees: the other point of the Land South-west to the West-ward. Wee moored South-east, and North-west. Our anchor in the offing lay in one and twentie fathomes.

The *Hector*.

The third day at night being Munday we had sight of the *Hector*, comming about the South end of the Iland, but could not fetch into the Roade, yet stood to the North-ward as neere as she could lye, the wind at East.

The foure and fise dayes, our Boates went out to helpe to get her into the Roade, but they could not.

The sixt day at night being a little wind, wee towed her in with our Boates, into thirtie fise fathomes, one mile and a halfe from the shore, bearing from vs South-west by West, distant about two Leagues.

Seven degrees  
fortie fise mi-  
nutes of varia-  
tion,

The eleuenth day, we set saile from Saint *Helena*, the wind at East North-east, and we steered North-west. This North-west part of the Iland lyeth in the Latitude of sixteene degrees, and in seven degrees, fortie fise minutes of Variation. Note this, that the Church that bare South-east of vs, when wee were in the Roade, standeth in the bottome of the fift Valley from that point that bare North-east of vs.

We came to anchor in the Downes, on the sixt of May 1606. where wee rid eight dayes for a faire wind.



## CHAP. VI.

*A Iournall of the third Voyage to the East India, set out by the Company of the Merchants, trading in those parts: in which Voyage were imployed three Ships, viz the Dragon, the Hector, and the \* Consent, and in them the number of three hundred and ten persons, or thereabouts:*

*written by WILLIAM KEELING, chiefe Commander thereof.*

\* The Consent, held no consent with the Dragon and Hector, whose Voyage you shall haue by it selfe. This Iournall of Captaine Keelings and that of Captaine Hawkins, written at Sea-leisure, very voluminous in a hundred sheets of Paper; I haue bene bold to to shorten as to expresse only the most necessary Obseruations for Sea or Land Affaires.

10

## § I.

*Their disasters and putting backe for Sierra Leona, and what happened till they departed from Saldania.*

20



Prill the first 1607. the *Dragon* and *Hector* were fallen as low as the *Downes*: and after their departure from thence their hopes were by diuers disasters so fallen downe, and crossed, that after they had passed the Line in the beginning of Iune, piercing foure or five degree of Southerly Latitude, they were inforced by Gusts, Calmes, Raines, Sicknelles, and other Marine inconueniences to returne Northward: and missing the Ile of *Fernando de Loranha*, certaine of nothing but vncertainties which much amazed them, The Generall on Iuly the thirtieth, hauing consulted with *Taerner* the Master, and hearing his answer that they must bee driuen to returne for *England*, the whole Company expecting no other (all which to recite would at once both becalme and bestorme the Reader) they consulted for their best course, wherein (you shall haue it in his owne words) we had some speech of *Sierra Leona*. I, hauing formerly read well of the place, sent for the \* Booke, and shewed it my Master, who as my selfe, tooke good liking to the place. Wherevpon, my Company beginning to bee grievously diseased, wee, without hope to get *Fernando de Loranha*, (water being our speciall want, and a watering place so nigh) I called a counsell: and after Dinner propounded what was fittest for vs to doe. They were generally of opinion, that we had no reason to stand to the South any longer, for many reasons: and demanding their opinions, concerning a place of watering, *Churchward*, *Sauadge*, and *Taerner*, opined *Mayo* the fittest, how much without reason, I leaue to iudgement. *Earming*, *Pokham*, *Mollmeux*, and my Master, held *Sierra Leona* fittest; and my selfe, the Author thereof, for many causes. Wherefore, we concluded to seeke for *Sierra Leona*. I acquainted my Company with our determinations, to their great comfort.

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\* M. Hackluis books of Voyages are of great profit. This saued the Company, as Sir Th. Smith affirmed to me, 20000. pounds, which they had bin endangered if they had returned home, which necessitie had constrained, if that Booke had not giuen light. Conclusion to seeke *Sierra Leona*. Many flowres, a signe of land. Currents. Sight of land.

This morning the fourth of August, we saw many Flowres, a signe of Land, and this euening we had ground from twentie eight to sixteene fathome Ozy, but no sight of land.

I hoyleed out my Schiffe, and sent her to ride neere vs, to proue the set of the Current: she found by the Log-line, the Current to set South-east by East two miles a watch: howbeit the Schiffe rode wind-road. We steered all this morning East, and East by South, and had from thirtie to twentie, and ten fathome water: no sight of land, and the greatest depth was Ozy, the least a grosse yellow sandie ground.

About nine of the clocke, we espyed the land, being a round plot of meane altitude, bearing North-east from vs, about eight leagues.

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We were at noone in the latitude of seven degrees and fiftie sixe minutes, and haue steered all day East, sometimes North, sometimes Southerly, one point, as our water deepned or shoaled: for we had oftentimes ten fathome vpwards, and at the next cast seven fathome vnder pittie ground. And when we found shoale water, as we bare vp Northerly, we deepned, instantly (a perswasion that we borrowed vpon the shoales of Saint *Anna*, alias *Madera Bomba*) I allow since yesterday at noone, fourteene leagues East, and five leagues West, wind at South, and South by West, and South by East.

60

In the after-noone we had nine, ten, eleuen and twelue fathome water.

The first land pruned *Ilha Verde*, being a very round land, and a notable marke, for whosoever is bound for the place, from the Southwards.

*Ilha Verde* a very round Land.

The



About seuen in the euening, we anchored in twentie fathome water, hard sand, hauing steered six leagues or more North-east, and North North-east, the South part of *Ilha Verde*, bearing East off vs: and the Cape of *Sierra Leona*, being a low point North by East, about eight leagues from vs: but the said land ouer the said Cape, is very high land, and may bee seene in a cleere, fiftene leagues off.

About fixe in the morning, wee made saile for the Roade, and had no lesse then sixteene, fifteen, ten or nine fathomes, till we were North and South with the Rocke, (which lyeth to the Westward of the Cape of *Sierra Leona*) about 1.  $\frac{1}{4}$ . miles; and one mile from the neereft shoare) within halfe a mile thereof, we had then, seuen fathome very good shoaling, betweene vs, and the Rocke. And soone after we had passed the Rock, we had twentie fathome water, and shoalded to eightene, sixteene, twelue, and ten fathome, all the way into the Roade, borrowing very neere the South shore. For there is a sand lying off the North shoare about two miles, or a league from the South shore, whereon the Sea breaketh. Wee road in ten fathome water, good ground, the point of *Sierra Leona*, bearing West Northerly, the North point of the Bay North Westerly, and the foresaid breach or Sand, North, North-east.

Note, that comming in, when we were North and South with the Rocke, it bare with the South point (for *Sierra Leona* is the North point of the South land making the Bay, or Riuer) and *Ilha Verde*, North by West and South by East.

This afternoone, being anchored, we espyed men to weaue vs a-shore. I sent my Boate, which leauing two Hostages, brought foure *Negroes*, who promised refreshing.

My Schiffe founded betweene vs, and the foresaid Breach, and found faire sholding, hauing two fathome water, within two Boats length of the Breach.

Note, that all the Obseruations of the Variation, since our comming from two degrees of North latitude to this place, proued erroneous: for to each distance, hauing reference to any Meridian Easterly thereof, there must be added thirtie leagues, and from such as are referred to Meridians Westerly, must be subtracted thirtie leagues. For it appeareth by our falling with the land, that the ship was so much more Westerly, then we supposed our selues; my selfe notwithstanding the said errour, being as much, if not more Westerly, then any of our Mariners. Howbeit, I wish euery man to trust to his owne experience: for, Instruments may deceiue, euen the most skilfull.

The seuenth, there came *Negroes* of better semblance, aboard with my Boate (for whom, as for all other, wee were faine to leaue one of my men, for two of them in hostage) who made signes, that I should send some of my men vp into the Countrey, and that they would stay aboard in hostage. I sent *Edward Buckbury*, and my Seruant *William Cotterell* with a Present, viz. One course Shirt, three foot of a barre of Iron, a few Glasse Beads, and two Knives. They returned towards night, and brought me from the said Captaine, one small earring of Gold, valued at seuen, eight, or nine shillings sterling: and because it was late, the Hostages would not goe a-shore, but lay aboard all night, without pawne for them.

I sent my Boate, and fetched fise tunnes of fresh water, both very good and easie to come by.

The eleuenth, I went a-shore a fishing, where the people brought their women vnto vs, but feared, we would carry them away. I gaue some trifles, we bought good store of Limons, two hundred for a penny Knife, wind at East.

The twelfth, I went but tooke little fish, wind from North-west to South, rainie weather.

The thirteenth, It rayned without intermission: we got fish enough for a meale.

I bought an Elephants tooth of sixtie three pound *English*, for fise yards blue Callico, and seuen or eight pound of Iron in barre.

The fourteenth, I kept aboard, all day rainie.

The fifteenth, I went and tooke within one houre and a halfe, six thousand small and good fish *Cauillos*.

After noone, with Captaine *Hawkins*, and a conuenient Guard, I went ashore, and to the Village, where we bought two or three thousand Limons. We esteeme it a faire day, wherein we haue three houres dry ouer head.

The sixteenth, I licenced our weekly Workers to recreate themselues with me ashore, where in our large walke, we found not past foure or fise acres of ground sowed with Rice: the superficies of the ground is generally an hard Rocke.

This only day, hitherto, we had faire weather.

The seuenteenth, It was all day faire weather. I appointed making of Limon-water.

The twentieth, *John Rogers* returned and brought me a present of a piece of Gold, in forme of an halfe Moone, valued at fise, six, or seuen shillings sterling. Hee reporteth the people to bee peaceable, the chiefe without state, the landing two leagues vp, and the chiefe Village eight miles from the landing.

The two and twentieth, We went a-shore, where we made six or seuen *Barricoes* full of Limon-water. I opened the Companies Firkin of Knives to buy Limes withall.

The

The Rocke.

A sand on the North shore.

*Sierra Leona*.

Note.

A special note. Variations.

Good admonition.

A good watering place.

Six thousand fishes taken in an houre and halfe. Weather.

Limon-water.



- An Elephant shot. The seventh of September in the after-noon, we went all together a shore, to see if we could shoot an Elephant: we shot seven or eight bullets into him, and made him bleed exceedingly, as appeared by his tracke, but being neere night, we were constrained aboard, without effecting our purposes on him.
- The best road. The best Road and watering place is the fourth Bay, to the East-ward of the point *Sierra Leona*. It floweth neere West South-west, within where we roade: and the water highest vpon a Spring-tyde at the least, twelue foote.
- Latitude of *Sierra Leona*, 8. 36. North. The Variation 1. degr. 50. min. After noone, the wind came at West South-west, and wee anchored in ten fathome water, *Ilba Verde* bearing from vs South-east  $\frac{1}{2}$  South, and the point of *Sierra Leona* North-east by East  $\frac{1}{2}$  Easterly, about three leagues from vs, where wee found the flood to set North-east by North, a strong tyde.
- I haue at no time obserued the Sunne in the Roade, howbeit I haue sundry times purposed the same, both aboard and ashore, but the Master made the Roade by his obseruation, in eight degrees and thirtie fixe minutes of North Latitude, and the point of *Sierra Leona*, bare neere West about a league or foure miles off. The Master also made the Variation to bee one degree, fittie minutes North-easting: but my Instrument was out of order, and I had no time to mend it.
- The fourteenth in the morning, we wayed the wind all Easterly: but about eight it calmed, and we draue to the North againe: after with the ebbe, draue to the South-west by South, toward night, the flood being come, we anchored in 15.  $\frac{1}{2}$  fathome water: the point of *Sierra Leona* bearing North-east by East, about seven leagues off vs. We haue not had lesse then ten fathome water, all day. They found a Current setting North by West, on the sixteenth day.
- Saldania*. The seventeenth of December, About two in the after-noon, we saw the land, the Table at *Saldania* very plaine, and stood in to make it, till three, then I caused the Master to steere East South-east, and South-east by East, to put about the Cape: what time sicke, and whole, desired to put into *Saldania*. Whereupon wee bare vp for *Saldania*, and about noone wee got into the Roade anchoring in 5.  $\frac{1}{2}$  fathome water: the West point bearing West North-west, the Iland North North-west, and the Sugar-lofe South-west.
- The Sugarloafe. The Westernmost Cape Land, and *Penguin* Iland bare South by West, &c. There is a breach South of the Iland, about a mile distant.
- Penguin* Iland. Betweene the Iland and shore are seven miles distance. The Sugar-loafe and the Ile, beare South by East, and North by West. From the West point of the Bay, halfe a mile off is a flat. The Westernmost South land, and point of the Sugar-loafe, beareth South South-west, and North North-east.
- The arriual of the *Consent* at *Saldania*, Iuly 24. 1607. 102. sheepe. 12. bullocks. 2. calves. They bought for 200. yron hoopes, 450. sheepe, 46. cowes, 19. steers, 9. calves, and one Bull. There is another breach, which lyeth East South-east from the Iland halfe a league off. As soone as I was anchored, I sent a shore, finding the people very bold, but deare. I found a shore these words engrauen vpon a Rocke, viz. The foure and twentieth of Iuly, 1607. Captaine *Dauid Middleton* in the *Consent*.
- The one and twentieth, I went ashore, where we bought a hundred and two sheepe, twelue Bullockes and two Calues, whereof I allowed the *Hector* a proportionable share, and this continued diuers dayes in which they bought much Cattell.

## II.

### Their departure from *Saldania*, and what happened after till the shippes parted company.

- Sea shipped. THE first of Ianuary, 1607. by Sunne rising we were both vnder saile, and by fixe in the Euening, we were tenne leagues West Southerly from the South point of the Bay. The nineteenth we shipped much water at the Helme port, and at the hole abaft in my Gallery, about two after mid-night, which wet some of our bales of cloth. Latitude thirty five degrees, twenty two minutes, I allow thirteene leagues South South-East, wind, East North-East, and North-East, sixe leagues drift South, and three leagues North-East wind all Westerly. Our too great quantitie of kintledge goods, maketh our ship to labour maruelously: wherein the Company must haue speciall care, another Voyage.
- Dragon labour-some. The twentieth, I aired and dried our cloath, also oyled the Companies peeces and blades. I strengthened the cases of Callicoes, &c. I allow thirty leagues North-East as we steered, wind at South-West and South. This afternoone, contrary to expectation, and to the admiration of all our Marriners, we saw the land, bearing North North-West, about twelue leagues off, wee in the latitude of thirty foure degrees. And surely, but that I had many deare experiments of the strength of the Westerly current in my last voyage, I should likewise admire: albeit I am more Westerly then any, by reason I doubted currents for causes before noted, beeing by reckoning an hundred leagues more Easterly, then then the sight of land approoueth vs.
- Land. The



The two and twentieth, Latitude thirtie foure degrees, foure minutes. I allow thirtie three leagues East by North, Northerly, wind South and South South-West. But by this reckoning, the ship should haue been in thirtie three degrees, twelue minutes, and wee find her fiftie more South, caused by the Current. Whereby it is euident, that such as depend vpon their dead reckoning and iudgement, without respect had to the currents, must needs make intollerable errors. I bring the ship to her latitude vpon a South line, in her distance Easterly. Note.

I must acknowledge, that in iudgement the Current must be of greatest power hereabouts, the land falling away suddenly North-East, and South-West, and we opening the gut. And I presume, that as we come more Easterly, past the middle of the gut, we shall find the Currents force diminished.

The twentieth, latitude thirtie foure degrees fiftie one minutes. Iudgement alloweth for three watches, nine leagues North-East by East, wind South-West: and for two watches, five leagues South wind, all Easterly, and East North-East: yet note, how we are continually carried to the South, contrary to reasonable iudgement.

The sixe and twentieth, latitude thirtie five degrees, twentie eight minutes. I allow thirteen leagues South South-East wind, at East North-East: so I do not finde that the Current vseth such violence as before, except we should be carried by the streame, as much Westerly off the South, as I allow her Easterly thereof, which would raise or deprese the Pole, in the same proportion: but herein our variation (being well obserued) will resolve vs.

The seuenteenth of February, we saw the land bearing East, about eight leagues from vs, and as I deeme, in the latitude of twentie foure degrees, twenty minutes. We stood in till after sixe a clocke, at what time, being within foure leagues of the shore, we flatted, the *Hector* being too neere a sterne for vs to stay. Where we tacked, we had no ground at eightie or ninetie fathomes, no great maruell, for it is low smooth land.

About noone, we were thwart of two small Islands, seeming to make a good roade: wherefore not knowing our latitude, we stood off till we could obserue, it being nigh noone. Note, wee could haue no ground at sixtie fathomes within two miles of the shore. Two Islands.

The eighteenth, latitude twentie three degrees, thirty seven minutes: wherefore we stood in againe, supposing this to be the place we sought: but comming neere the shore, and hauing sent both Schiffes a head, they found but sixe fathome water; for which, we anchored in senen fathome water, sandy ground, about one in the afternoone, the two Islands and breach bearing South Westerly, a mile from vs. Anchored.

There is an Inlet about three leagues from vs East Northerly, which the Master supposeth to be S. *Augustine*, and we purpose to search the same. I called a Councell, where we resolved to make some small stay at S. *Augustine*. Variation in this place, is fiftene degrees, and thirtie minutes. A Councell. Variat. 15. 30.

Variation againe obserued this morning, is fiftene degrees, twentie sixe minutes, but I was faine to obserue ouer the Land halfe a degree high: otherwise, I should haue made somewhat more variation, and to these two obseruations, I repose great trust. It floweth East. Variat. 15. 26. Tyde.

The nineteenth, we weighed this morning, and in the weighing brake one of our anchors, through defect therein. And surely, the matter deserueth much blame, but I referre me for the particulars, to a Certificate which I purpose to make thereabout. Anchor brake.

We steered for the aboue-mentioned seeming Harbour, or Bay, and found, from whence wee weighed, from tenne, twelue, to twentie fathome: and comming neere the point, in the height of the Bay, we had no ground at an hundred fathomes, till we came very farre into the Bay (our Schiffes being before vs, and hauing ground) and then we had from thirtie to eight fathome, and further in deepe water. We anchored in eightene fathome, and laid another anchor in forty fathome, the South shoare being the deepest water, the other, being by the comming downe of riuers made shallow.

The twentieth, we had seuentie fathome water at the ship, the ground oaze. The land beareth West by South, and North of vs: and to the North are certaine sholds, and a breach, bearing North-West of vs: so that we are but five points of the Compasse, open to winds: but the roade is very pittie ground, and deepe water: and there runneth a strong streame downe the riuer continually. Captaine *Hawkins* came aboard me, whom with both our Schiffes strong, I sent a shore, my selfe being ill at ease. Toward night he returned aboard, without hauing seene any people; but their fresh tracke in diuers places. They left some beades and trifles in a boat which they found, to allure the naturalls. He affirmeth little likelihood of refreshing here: but my fishers from the other side, tell me of Beasts bones good store, and bones haue had flesh. S. Augustine.

*George Euans*, one of the *Hectors* Company, was shrewdly bitten with an *Alegaria*. I willed all speed in filling our water, and in the meane time, purpose to seeke for refreshing. It floweth here neere East, and higheth much water. George Euans bitten by an Alegaria. Tyde. People.

The one and twentieth, we espyed foure Naturalls, I sent to present them beades; &c. they promised by signes store of cattell the morrow.

The two and twentieth, seeing people I went a shore, where we found a subtile people, their

Naturalls bodies



bodies strong, and well framed: their priuities onely carelesly couered, with cloath made of the rindes of trees. We bought one Calfe, one Sheepe, and one Lambe: but they would not deale saue for siluer, by any meanes.

After noone, I rowed vp the riuer, aswell to looke for the best watering, as otherwise. The water is very shallow, and brackish.

The foure and twentieth, I went a shore, seeing one man there, where we bought three Kine, two Steeres, and foure Calues: they cost vs nineteene shillings sterling, besides a few beads.

The Cattell are farre better flesh then those of *Saldania*, with bunches of flesh on their shoulders, like those of the Cammels, saue that they stand more forward.

The people are circumcised, as some affirmed to haue scene.

Here we found the beautifull beast.

Water by the ships side, at an high water very fresh, and at a low water very salt, contrary to sense. Also, fresh water at high water on one side of the ship, and very salt on the other side, the ship tide roade.

The five and twentieth, in a gust at North-West, our ship draue, and the cable broke, and we lost the anchor. We bought one Calfe, and one Sheepe, and one Lambe great tailed, which cost two shillings three pence. I found certaine Spiders, whose webbe was perfect good, and strong as silke.

Note, that all along the low land, from East to West a ledge of rockes lyeth  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from the shore, whereon the Sea breaketh continually: betweene which and the shore, is two fathome water neere to, good for landing, and maruelous full of fish, fit to haile a net in.

The eight and twentieth in the morning betimes, we were vnder sayle to put to sea. There lieth a breach foure miles from the North point of the Bay, South South-East. Note, that the ridge of land, like a rooffe or barn, is about five miles to the Northward of the middest of the Bay. I conceit this Bay of *S. Augustine* to be vnfit for any shippes to exp. & refreshing, it beeing to be had but in small quantitie: the place very vntoward for riding, the water deepe, the ground pittie and foule, as appeareth by the cutting of our cable.

The twelfth of March, latitude fifteene degrees fiftie minutes. We sounded sundry times in the afternoone, and had no ground at ninetie fathome, and before eight, we had ground at twentie, twentie eight, seuteene, and sixteene fathome, all within  $\frac{1}{2}$  a cables length: then wee instantly tacked off, and had nineteene, and twentie foure, and the third cast, no ground at fortie fathome. The ground was small shingle stones like beanes, and we about five or sixe miles from the shore (an vntoward place to fall with in a darke night.) This afternoone, we had a fresh gale at East by North, whereby we haue gotten somewhat North by the land.

The thirteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie five minutes. Yesterday afternoone, wee got somewhat to the North, hauing a fresh gale at East by North. It hath beene calme from mid-night, till eleuen this forenoone, and we haue driuen South as appeareth by the land. We were at noone within three leagues of the shore.

The foureteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie two minutes: so that wee are gotten North but three leagues, and iudgement would haue allowed at least fifteene leagues North North-East. So it seemeth that the Current runneth swift, and I doubt setteth more South then South-west. For this morning, though it were hazy, we were not farre from the shoare, seeing the land all along, and now beeing much cleared we can hardly see it.

The fifteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie minutes. I can allow in iudgement, no lesse then twentie leagues North by East, yett by obseruation we are gone to the South-wind, at South to South-west a faire gale.

We cannot see the land, yett are but tenne leagues from it. I know not what course to take to get out of this Current: for if we put off, and the Current hold, it may indanger vs of *In. de No-*ua: and keeping the shore, God knoweth what dangers there be: and where such a gale stemmes not the streame, it is indiscretion to continue.

The seuteenth, latitude foureteeene degrees fiftie seven minutes, so we haue gotten twentie five leagues North. Iudgement would allow twelue leagues North North-East, Northerly, and she hath runne nine by obseruation: so that the maine power of the Current is lessened. My Master opineth, that the Moones seasons haue peculiar domination ouer these Currents, causing their force, till three or foure dayes after the full. But I rather thinke, that the deepe Bay betweene Cape *Corientes* and *Mosambique*, causeth an indraught, or eddy of some streame, comming either from the North-East, or more Easterly in at the North-East of *S. Laurence*, and so along the land to the Cape *Corientes*: or else the streame, which is affirmed to set from *S. Laurence*, North-west, meeting with the land of *Mosambique*, may by the said falling away of the land, be drawne that way. Which supposition, if it be true, then we committed an error, in falling with the land before we had gotten neerer North, then *Mosambique* point, which trendeth farre into the Sea, and whence the Norther land lieth away North and South next hand; and the Souther land, South-west by &c. for if we had not fallen too much Westerly, and brought the said Cape too nigh our Meridian, we should not haue felt this streame at all.

Nine Beasts  
cost 19. shil-  
lings sterling.  
Oxen with  
bunches on  
their shoulders  
People circum-  
cised.  
A beautifull  
beast.  
Note.  
Anchor lost.  
Three beasts  
cost two shil-  
lings 3. pence.  
Spiders.

Note.

*S. Augustine* vn-  
fit to refresh.

Danger.

Note.

The maine  
power of the  
Current lessened.  
Opinion, of  
the cause of the  
Currents.

Their sailing  
alongst the l-  
land, & trucke  
at *Tamara*, with  
other occur-  
rents I haue  
left out, as bee-  
ing more fully  
knowne by la-  
ter experience.

Leaving *Abbadcuria* they were forced to ride in *De'isa*, a Road on the North of *Socotra*. till the Monson freed them, at which time Captaine Keeling set saile for *Bantam*, and Captaine Hawkins in the *Hesper* for *Surra*, as shall after follow.



## §. III.

*Instructions learned at Delisa of the Moores and Guserates touching the Monsons, and while they rode there. Their coming to Priaman and Bantam.*

**T**HE Moores of this place affirme, that in some yeeres, pieces of *Amber-greece* are found, Huge quantity Poiz twentie kintals, of such bulke, that many men may shelter themselves vnder the of *Amber-greece*. sides thereof, without beeing seene. This is vpon the coasts of *Mombasa*, *Magadoxo*, Note. *Pata*, *Braua*, &c. being indeed all one long Coast.

They of this place make yeerely voyages to the Iles of *Comora*, to buy slaues, and report the people to be very treacherous, hauing at times killed fiftie persons by treason: and therefore they trade aboard. Notes of Comora. a Ilands.

They affirme, that there are eight *Hollanders* vpon *Pemba*, who haue been there three or foure yeeres, whereof two are turned Moores. Eight *Hollanders* vpon *Pemba*, whereof two are *Moores*. The Monson.

They reckon this Monson of South winds, to begin yeerely the first of May, and the extremitie thereof to continue one hundred dayes. The most wind (which they report to be wonderfull) is in Iune and Iuly. For the tenth of August, it beginneth to be lesse wind, and soone after come the North winds, with much raine, for three or foure moneths more: at what time they make the most Aloes vpon the Ile, and is onely the iuyce of *Semper viuens*, put into Goates skins, and so dryed. Aloes how made.

The three and twentieth, I sent a shore to weigh certaine Aloes, and receiued aboard, 1250. pounds, which cost for the Companies accompt, 250. Dollers, and so at other times. We bought in all 1833. pounds neat. The Chiefe sent to borrow five hundred rials of eight, which I refused to lend. I presented him with two yards of Carsey, gallant colour, and a knife of mine. I sent againe a shore, and receiued 575. pound more Aloes, cost 115. Dollers. 1250. pound Aloes. Presents. Aloes 575. pound. Monon.

The foure and twentieth, I vnderstood more, that the West winds began this yeere the last of Aprill, and doe each yeere come eleuen dayes later then the yeere before: so that in thirty three yeeres, they begin againe the same day of the same Moneth; which I conceit not to be truth. That the Easter Monson will come this yeere the thirteenth of October, and continue till Aprill forcible: and then faire weather while May. That the West Monson returneth (both Monsons falling each yeere eleuen dayes later then other) neither haue they more then two Monsons yeerely. That their yeere, called *Neyroose*, beginneth with the first of the East Monsons. That as the West Monson bloweth here all South, so doth the East Monson all North. That after the twenty fifth of September, ships cannot depart from the Red sea to the East-ward. That *Chaul*, *Danbul*, and *Dandaraageepuree*, are good and safe ports, and rich trade townes, vpon the coast of *India*. That at *Saada*, *Ilbookee*, *Auzdane*, *Mootoo*, foure of the Iles of *Comora*, there is abundance of cheape Rice, and the people good. *Inghzeegee*, and *Malale*, two more of the same Ilands, haue small store of Rice, and the people very treacherous: at the first whereof they report, that sixteen yeeres since, an English ship lost many men treacherously, which surely, was Sir *James Lancaster*. The losse of M. *James Lancaster* in Captaine *Raymonds* Voyage.

That this day of (May the six and twentieth) is the two hundred and foure and twentieth of their accompt of *Neyroose*. No raine on the Coast of *Arabia*, till the seuentieth day of this Monson. The three hundred and fift of *Neyroose*, the best time to goe for *Suratt*, to put hence I say, and that in ten or twelue dayes they get thither.

*Burrom*, *Mekella*, and *Cayxem*, are good Harboroughs for both Monsons on the Coast of *Arabia*, but no places for Merchandizing. *Burrom*, *Mekella* and *Caixem*, good Ports. *Xael*.

That *Xael*, or *Xaer*, hath no Harborough nor Road for any time, but would vent Iron and Lead, a *Turke* being *Aga*: and that they send by land for such Commodities to *Caixem*, a dayes journey to the West ward, but there is no going thither at this time. That in both Monsons, there is a continuall extreame Sea-gate vpon the Coast of *Arabia*: the Current also there as the wind. That there is no riding at the entrance of *Suratt*, to haue any shelter of the West shore, for the West Monsons, as well by reason of ill anchor ground, as chiefly the extremitie of Tydes, which (by their reports) ouer-set ships not a ground.

This Road of *Delisa*, is a very good place for the West Monson, but which is strange, two miles either East or West from the Road, it doth continually blow so much wind, that no shippe can ride it. Neither can I giue any reason for it, except the distance twixt vs and the high Mountaines cause it: for there is much low land betwixt vs and them. Iune the foure and twentieth, we set saile to depart. Note.

The three and twentieth of Iuly, we saw an Iland, and about noone two more, wee left two to the North, and one to the South latitude of foure degrees and two minutes, South of the Equinoctiall. The North of these Iles is great, and high land full of Trees. An Iland. 4. degrees, 2. minutes, Southerly. Notes of Iles to Sea-bord of *Priaman*.

Betweene the two Southermost of these three Ilands, ten leagues distant, there lyeth a Breach dangerous about halfe way betweene them: to auoyd which we steered within two leagues of the southermost Iland very good passage, the breach being then to the South about three leagues from



from vs. It lyeth very dangerous for men bound through by night, not hauing knowledge thereof. We could discerne no vnlikelihood of a passage, betweene the two Northermost also, but it is not a league broad. The Southermost Ile is the biggest. Of the two Southermost Iles, the West part of the North, and the East point of the Southermost, beare North and South ten leagues distant. The Breach lyeth from the Easter end of the Northermost of the said two South Ilands, South-east halfe the Channell ouer.

Note. The sixe and twentieth, we were halfe way betweene *Priaman* at *Tecu*, about three leagues from the shore where I noted, viz. The two *Hummokes* of *Tecu*, with the high land ouer them, beare North and by West, and South by East  $\frac{1}{4}$ . a point Easterly. There lyeth a shoale foure mile from the shore, bearing South and North with the high land of *Tecu*. Wee had fortie fye fathome water,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ . leagues from the shore, we then bearing North-east by East from the Road of *Priaman*. There is an Iland about foure leagues from the said Road, North-east and South-west. The three Ilands of *Priaman*, lye South South-east, and North North-west being distant each from other about a mile. Afternoone we got into *Priaman* Roade, and I saluted the Towne with fye Peeces of Ordnance.

Presents. The Gouvernour sent me a Goate. I presented the Gouvernour with three yards of Stammel-cloath, one blue Callico, one piece stocked, one Barrell, and two Sword-blades. The Gouvernour sent me a Goate. The Messenger spake good *Portuguze*, to whom I presented one blue Callico. There came another of *Achen*, with whom I had good conuersation in *Arabicke*, by whom I had great hope of good trade.

I went ashore where with much adoe, we bargained for Pepper. The nine and twentieth, I went ashore betimes, shooting seuen Peeces of Ordnance, and comming to the Gouvernours house, he presented me with a *Buffalo*, and appointed mee to make price of Pepper with sundry chiefe men. Where being set downe among sixtie persons, they first propounded that I must weigh such Pepper as I bought of them in the Towne: Whereabout we had much speech, I desiring to weigh vpon the Iland, but they would weigh in the Towne.

Craft in dawbing. They demanded fiftie Dollers the *Bahar* for Pepper, which much displeased me. For the *Achen* man had willed me to offer but sixteene Dollers, howbeit there was craft in dawbing: for he being a Merchant, would haue ingrossed much Pepper, before I should haue bought, and after would haue sold it me at his owne price. After much time, and many words, we accorded at  $22\frac{1}{2}$ . Dollers the *Bahar*, besides sixe per Cento, Custome. I refused to pay two other Customes, or rather Exactions. The one of a hundred and sixtie Dollers, the other not much lesse: whereto, with 30 much adoe, I consented, and Writings were drawne betweene vs.

Trecherous offer of a Moe. The last night a man speaking *Portuguse*, lay aboard mee, who in the behalfe of the late Gouvernours Wife, by him titled Queene, desired my ayde in taking the Towne, offering mee the one halfe thereof. To whom (not vnacquainted with the finenesse of *Moores*) I refused to intermeddle, it not being answerable to my Prince, and this morning sent him ashore.

I sold Cloth to *Nakhada*, for a hundred fiftie nine Masse of Gold.

Notes of Priaman. The Towne and bounds of *Priaman* yeeld not yeerely aboute fye hundred *Bahars* of Pepper, but with parts neere adioyning, as *Passaman*, *Tecu*, *Beroose*, and the Mountaines ouer the Towne are made two thousand fye hundred *Bahars* yeerely: which quantitie will lade two good shippes, and may bee bought very good cheape, if a Factorie haue meanes to buy all the yeere. But their Haruest is only in August and September, and is fetched away by them of *Achen* and *Iana* only, the *Guserats* not being permitted to Trade there, by 40 the King of *Achen* his expresse commandement. So that a ship (touching at *Suratt*) and buying, especially blue Callicoes, white Callicoes, blue striped, and checkered Stuffles, and some small and fine Pintatoes leauing a Factorie, shall lay the best foundation for gaine, against another yeere, that euer I haue heard off: I say, against another yeere, for that I see not, how ships can goe to *Cambaya*, and come hither time enough in one yeere. And in such case the King of *Achen* his Letter must be procured, for our safer proceeding in these parts.

The eighteenth of September, In the morning we made saile, the Lord prosper vs.

The nineteenth, At noone, we were West North-west from the point, to the South of *Priaman*, ten leagues we steered to the East-ward of *Ilha de Tristexa*. 50

Note. The twentieth, before day, we saw an Iland, a head, and steered East South-east, to go cleere off it: wee went to the Eastward of it foure leagues, the Ile *Sumatra* being seuen leagues from vs.

Notes. The one and twentieth, I allow sixe and twentie Leagues South-east by South, we were within sixe or seuen leagues of *Sumatra*, and West from vs about foure leagues was another great Iland: so that Nauigation vpon this Coast is carefully to be performed, for wee find no such Iles projection.

Latitude three degrees, twentie minutes, I allow eightene leagues South South-east winde 60 Northerly.

Iland. Wee being nine or ten leagues from *Sumatra*, haue scene another small Iland to Sea-board of vs, three or foure leagues off.

The



The first of October, 1608. Latitude five degrees and thirtie minutes, I pricke by the Land, being twelue leagues from vs, and haue gone faster to the South then by reckoning.

The second, we saw land in the morning, which we made for the Salt Iland, but it prooued a round Hummock vpon *Sumatra*. We haue made almost no way, yet are at noon in five degrees and fiftie five minuts, by help to the South. The third, we saw the Salt Ile bearing Northeast by North, some foure or five leagues from it. It lyeth in latitude sixe degrees six minutes. Wee were when we first saw the Iland, within foure leagues or lesse of the South land: whether Ilands (which I thinke) or *Iana*, it bare from vs East, South-east wind all night, fresh at West and North-west.

Note.  
Salt Ile, in the  
straight of  
*Sanda*.

Note the South land are Iles, and lye the Wester part, with the Salt Iland (or roundest and highest Iland of the Straights mouth) South-west by South, &c.

Note.

The neereft of the South Ilands, being the Westernmost of them, is sixe leagues distant from the Salt Iland.

The Salt Iland, lyeth halfe Seas ouer, and the distance twixt *Sumatra* and the Souther land is twelue or fourteene leagues.

The Salt Iland, with the point including the whole Bay, wherein is *Bantam* Road, lye East North-east, and West South-West (which I should haue set first.)

The Salt Iland with the highest South land of *Sumatra* (it being a round Hummock, and with the North-west point of *Iana*, to the East-ward of the foure Ilands, which I formerly call the South land) beare East South-east, and West North-west. The Hummocke of *Sumatra*, and point of *Iana*, being about twentie leagues distant.

This euening, we had the Salt Iland, foure leagues North from vs.

The fourth, in the morning we were within five or sixe leagues of the point, including *Bantams* whole Bay, East North-east from vs. There are before wee come to the said point two Rockes full of Trees, bearing each with other North and South foure miles distant betweene which two we steered. The Southermost lyeth very neere *Iana* and the Northermost halfe way and more, betweene the point of *Bantam* and another low ragged Iland, which (with other two to the Northward of it) beare with the Northermost Rocke, West South-west, and East South-east, betweene which Ilands we doe not know of any passage.

Note that that ragged Iland maketh the Straight, and we came to the South thereof.

We got into the Road of *Bantam* where we found sixe *Holland* ships, whereof two were almost laden with Cloues, and two were to be laden with Pepper.

We arrived at  
*Bantam*.

I found thirteene *English* aliue, whereof foure were Merchants. I receiued a Letter from Captaine *David Middleton*.

The sixt, I paid *Vncte* and *Tegin* the two *Chineses* their wages, and released them.

The twentieth, I called my Merchants, and hauing formerly resolu'd to retorne with the *Dragon* for *England*, vpon speciall considerations, I now questioned concerning the imployment of our Pinnace not yet finished: where we concluded that *Browne* and *Sidall* should goe in her for *Banda*.

Counsell and  
resolution, to  
send the Pin-  
nace for *Banda*.

*Iohn Hearne*, *Iohn Saris*, and *Richard Saunge* to remayne at *Bantam*. Also, that so soone as the Pinnace could retorne from *Banda*, *Iohn Saris* should goe in her to *Suquedana* vpon *Borneo*.

The fifteenth of Nouember, I sent for *Iaques Lermite*, and discouered vnto them a purpose in the *Ianans*, to cut their throates whereof I vnderstood very particularly.

The two and twentieth, the Ambassador of *Siam* came to visit mee, and dined with me. Hee affirmeth that a thousand Clothes red, would vent in his Countrey in two dayes, and great quantitie yeerely; they clothing their Elephants and Horses therewith.

Vent of Red  
*English* cloth  
in *Siam*.

Gold is there abundant, and worth (as hee reporteth) three times the weight in Siluer, beeing good Gold. There are also precious stones in quantitie, and cheape. And that their King would account it, one of their greatest happineses to haue commerce with so great a King as his Maiestie of *England*: with whom, as he vnderstood, the King of *Holland* was not comparable.

The King of  
*Holland*.

The eight and twentieth, I tooke leaue of the King, the Gouvernour, the Admirall, the old *Sabandare*, *Iura Bassa*, *Tanyong*, and of the *Hollanders*, with purpose to be aboard the morrow.

The nine and twentieth, I went aboard for altogether.

The second of December, within night, our Merchants came aboard, bringing a Letter from the King of *Bantam*, to his Maiestie of *England*, and two *Picolls* of *Canton*, in present vnto him.

Kings Present.

The twelfth, wee espyed a Sayle, which prooued the *Hector*, yere wee got out of the Straights. She had no Captaine he remaying at *Suratt*, I vnderstood, that the *Portugals* had taken eightene *English*, whereof diuers of our Factors, and goods to the value of nine thousand Dollers.

*Hector*.  
M. Will. Har-  
kins Captaine  
of the *Hector*  
left at *Surat*.

The fourteenth, we got into *Bantam* Roade againe, forced to a longer Voyage or losse of reputation:

The sixteenth, there came a small *Flemming* from *Amsterdam*, with newes of peace, betweene *Spaine*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*: and that his comming was to desist from their purpose to *Malacca*.

Newes of  
peace twixt  
*Spaine* and the  
*Netherlanders*.



I appointed Master *Molineux* and *Pockham* for *England*, the rest with me for the *Maluccoes*.  
The seuenteenth, I remoued to the *Hector*, and the Masters shifted ships.

The one and twentieth, I speeded Master *Towersson* with all things, willing his departure with all speed.

Dragon set saile  
for England.

The three and twentieth, The *Dragon* made saile from *Bantam*, the Lord prosper her.

### § IIII.

*Their Voyage to Banda, Obseruations by the way,  
Actions there.*

10

**T**he first of January, 1608. About one in the morning we weighed, and with a gale off the shore, got about the East point, East North-east from where wee roade three leagues.

A dangerous  
shoale.

Thence to another point, South-east Easterly three leagues, betweene the two points lyeth a shoale, hauing little water, a great length: to preuent which, it is good to steere halfe way betweene *Iana*, and the *Iles Tonda*, which are five leagues distant.

To the Eastward of the second point, close aboard the shoare lyeth the *Ile Tanara*, and is not 20  
seene of such as come farre off, it lyeth so neere the shoare.

From the second to the third points, bearing East South-east, are foure leagues. And  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile off that point North by West lyeth the *Ile Lackee*, twixt which and the point is but  $1\frac{1}{2}$  fathom water by report. We roade all night, hauing the *Ile East* a league off, fixe fathome water.

The fourth, wee weighed and steered within  $\frac{1}{2}$  a league of *Lackee*, hauing seuen or eight fathome water. The *Iland Lackee*, with the West point including *Iacatra*, lyeth East South-east foure leagues distant. There lyeth a dangerous sand off the West point of *Iacatra*: so it is good to borrow of the *Iland* lying opposite vnto the said point.

*Iacatra*:  
Presents.

The eighth, I went to *Iacatra*, and anchored farre out. The King sent his *Sabandare* to desire Powder and Match, and I presented him thirtie pound of Powder, and a roll of Match. I bought of them a *Portugall Boy* (which the *Hollanders* had giuen vnto the King) who would by no meanes forsake Christianitie: hee cost mee fortie five Dollers. The points, as wee roade, bare North-west and East by North foure leagues distant: the Towne and highest of the Eastermost hills South by East, and the West hill South by West from vs. Wee haue seene since wee came from *Bantam*, thirtie or fortie *Ilands*.

The tenth in the after-noon, we weighed and got vnder saile.

There lyeth a sunken *Iland*, euen with the water about two leagues West by North from the East point of *Iacatra*. We left it on our Larbord, going betweene it, and the Easter *Iland*. The two points making *Iacatra Bay*, beare East South-east, and West North-west foure leagues distant.

The Eastermost *Iland* lyeth in a straight Line betweene both points.

40

The eleuenth, we were at noone ten leagues North-east from the East point of *Iacatra*.

The twelfth, we were at noone South-west by South two leagues from an *Iland*, hauing made East by South thirtie leagues way. And there is a shoale South and North with the said *Iland* three leagues from *Iana*, called *Los tres Hermanos*: the *Ile* lyeth ten leagues from *Iana*, but not so farre Easterly as is proiected. The said *Iland* beareth with the highest hill we see vpon *Iana* North by West. There is a point of *Iana*, which with the same and the former *Iland*, beareth South by West Westerly.

*Madura*.

The fifteenth, we were neere *Madura*, contrary to my expectation. I suppose that the *Ile* of *Iana* is not so long as it is proiected: or else wee haue found a set to the East-ward. A round *Ile*, and the highest Easter land of *Iana*, beare with vs South South-west, halfe West about fixe leagues from vs, the *Ile* within three leagues of vs.

Another *Ile* is with vs Northwest five leagues from vs. I pricked according to the land, and doe ouerleape thirtie leagues.

The sixteenth, I allow sixteene leagues East, North-east.

The seuenteenth, I allow sixteene leagues East by North.

An *Iland* not  
mentioned.  
\* Or *Nuiafira*.

At noone, wee were two leagues South-east by South from an *Iland* which trendeth East by North two leagues long (no mention hereof in *Platts*.)

The eighteenth, at noone, wee were neere the *Iles* \* *Nossaferes*, it was North by West a league off vs. It trendeth North-west and South-east two or three leagues long, in latitude five 60  
degrees, thirtie minutes.

I allow thirtie fixe leagues East North-east.

We saw another flat *Iland* to the North thereof.

The nineteenth, I allow eighteene leagues East, wind Westerly.



The twentieth, we yet see no land, albeit the ship hath runne more ground, since wee made *Nossafes* then the distance projected betweene them. This evening wee saw three Iles to the North of vs, foure or five leagues or more: they were low land, and lay a good length East and West, all small Ilands. We sounded thwart of them, and had but nineteene fathome water.

The three Iles  
of *Gicaliam*.

The one and twentieth, this fore-noone we saw the land of *Celebes*, and esteeme the distance twixt it and our being yesternooone, nine and twentie leagues as we steered East, and I deeme the Iles we saw yesterday, the Easter of them to be three and twentie leagues from *Celebes*. But wee could not fetch *Macassar* by any meanes, the wind fresh Northerly, and North-west. We anchored in twelue fathome water, the South point of *Celebes*, bearing East by South sixe leagues from vs. Note, that the falling with *Celebes*, by reckoning nine and twentie leagues before we came to it, was caused by making error in the East end of *Iaua*. For whereas I over-leaped thirtie leagues there, as by the fifteenth. I was ashore heere, before wee had his length nine and twentie leagues. Wherefore I opine that the ordinary distance betweene *Bantam* and *Celebes*, being two hundred thirtie five leagues is neere the truth. Also, that betweene *Celebes* and *Nossafes* is seuentie sixe leagues, or else, that the Iles we saw the eighteenth were not (as we supposed) *Nossafes*. We brake our Cable and lost our Anchor.

*Celebes*.

Note.

The distance  
betweene *Ban-*  
*tam* and *Celebes*,  
is 235. leagues.

The three and twentieth, from the point where wee road to another point, that is East by South ten leagues thence, to another low point East by North Northerly eight leagues (and one league East of the said East point, is the notable round land) to another low point is six leagues East, and thence to another point, three leagues North-east by East, but this distance is to the East-ward of the Straights. We haled it all night vnder the notable round land, it beeing foure leagues East North-east from vs. The highest South land of *Celebes*, and the West point of *Desolam*, beare North North-west, tenne or twelue leagues distant. The West end of *Desolam*, and the low East point of *Celebes* (which is the narrowest of the Straights) beare South by West twelue or fourteene leagues off. The Coast of *Desolam* is neere South-west.

*Desolam*.

The straight  
of *Desolam*.

The East end of *Desolam*, with the Iles making the Straight, and the East land of *Celebes*, in sight lye all in a right line, South and North neere.

The foure and twentieth, This morning we saw *Cambina*, and cannot possibly bee more then twentie leagues East North-east from the Straights of *Celebes*.

*Cambina*.

We were at one afternoone, North-east by North eight leagues from the West point thereof, it being a very high and round hill, the rest higher, but thicke land. The Wester part of what we see lyeth South-east by South, and the Easter part South-east by East, eight leagues long at the least.

The five and twentieth, We haue done little, but are still vnder the Iland, and see land to the North, whether *Celebes* or what I know not.

The seuen and twentieth, This morning wee were North and South with land lying twelue leagues East South-east from the East-side of *Cambina*. Comming neere it, the Wester part produced two Ilands, lying East North-east, &c.

The great Iland lyeth East by North five leagues, making three or foure head-lands.

*Buton*.

There lyeth a round Iland South from the said head-lands, eight leagues distant. From the Easter point to another North-east  $\frac{1}{2}$ . North three leagues thence, to another North-east sixe leagues thence, to another North-east by North three leagues. From the last point saue one, South-east by East, eight leagues lyeth a shoale sixe leagues long as it beareth.

The eight and twentieth, From the said point North-east eight leagues lyeth the Iland *Ticabessa*, whereof we had sight. And from the said point North-east by North fourteene leagues lyeth the East or North-east point or part of *Buton*.

*Ticabessa*.

Toward night came a Caracoll with fortie or fiftie men aboard me, sent from the King of *Buton*, among which were the Kings Vncle, and Sonne, who knew *Sidall* and *Spalding*.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, we were five leagues North-East, Northerly from the point neere *Ticabessa*, and within three leagues of the North part of *Ticabessa*, which are two or three Iles. At noone, we were sixe leagues South-East from the East point of *Buton*, whereby we haue more way since, then the ship can haue runne.

*Ticabessa*.

The third, latitude foure degrees twenty five minutes. I allow twenty foure leagues East North-East wind, North-west and North North-West, but we are set Southerly.

February, 1668

The fourth in the morning about eight, we saw *Burro*, the East point whereof was North-East by East seuen leagues off, and the West point North by West nine leagues off. I allow twelue leagues, North-east winde Westerly.

*Burro*.

The fift, taking aduise what to doe, all men opined fittest to goe for *Banda*; winds not seruing for the *Moluccos*, we concluded to goe thither. From the last Easter point of *Burro*, to another foure leagues East and West. The Ile *Bloy* lieth South and North from the Eastermost end of *Burro*, four or five leagues. We saw *Amboyno* from *Burro*, East by North twelue leagues, and lieth ten leagues long East, to the Eastward whereof lie other Iles, East and West of good quantitie.

Counsell.

*Bloy*.

*Amboyno*.

The sixt, we saw the high land of *Banda*, and is (in my opinion) twentie five leagues distant from the Easter part of *Amboyno*, East by South  $\frac{1}{2}$  Southerly. The seuenth *Pulorin*, with the lit-



*Puloway.*  
*Pulorin.*  
Anchored in  
the roade of  
Banda.

Our Kings  
Letters and  
Presents to  
*Nera.*

Monson.

*Urtatan.*

*Lantor.*  
Our Kings  
Letter.

The *Hollanders*  
Spie.  
No e of the  
*Hollanders.*

\* *Bechara.*

Three *Hollan-*  
*ders.*  
Loſſe of 74.  
*Hollanders.*

Not second.

Accorded for  
Spice with the  
*Bandaſſes.*

Cattee *Banda.*

Accord with  
*Puloway.*

Six *Hollanders.*

April the first.  
1609.

An *Engliſh*  
hou e.

Two *Hollan-*  
*ders.*  
Note.

tle round Ile to the North, beareth South by Eaſt five leagues diſtant. *Puloway* with *Pulorin*, Eaſt South-eaſt, and Weſt Northweſt, three leagues off.

The eight, we got into the roade or harbour of *Banda*, where the people and *Hollanders* came to welcome me. There is a ſmall flat Iland lyeth to the North of *Pulorins* Eaſt end. *Puloway* and the entrance of the Harbourough Weſt Notherly, three leagues diſtant. The two points of the Sound beare North  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Eaſt, &c. one  $\frac{1}{2}$ . mile diſtant. He that is bound in, muſt borrow on the North ſide, cloſe vnder the higheſt Hill. We roade in fixe  $\frac{1}{2}$ . fathome water, the Soundes entrance beeing Weſt South-weſt one mile off vs, *Nera* one mile North, and the low point of the round hill, Weſt one mile. The *Hope* was put to the Eaſt, and came Piloted in the morrow.

The ninth, I went a ſhore, and deliuered his Maieſties Letter to *Nera*, together with a Preſent, being the beſt gilt cup with a couer, the beſt Head-piecc and Gorget, and one of M. *Buckes* Pieces, 10 which coſt twenty five Dollers. It was receiued with the moſt State that hath been knowne: but they would bethinke themſelues for our houſe till to morrow. The *Hollanders* ſhot five Chambers at my landing, and five at my going aboard. I dieted with them. They report, that the Eaſt Monſon bloweth eight moneths, and beginneth twixt the firſt and tenth of May.

The eleuenth, we agreed for the building of our houſe.

The one and twentieth, I went to *Urtatan*, to haue conference with the people, where I promiſed to be at *Lantor* the Sunday following.

The five and twentieth, in the afternoone, I was called, and went to *Lantor*, where I deliuered the Kings Letter, the ſmall gilt cup with a couer, the faire gilt Target, one Piece ſtocked, and a Barrell, which they receiued reſpectuely. 20

*Nakhada China* (as the *Hollanders* Spie) came aboard mee in the night, to counſell me to ſpeed. Where the *Dutch* haue a Factorie, let no man looke for better meaſure, large gifts being better regarded then good dealing.

The thirteenth, they of *Lantor* demanded *Serepinang* one hundred and fortie rialls of eight, and I required leaue to ſell my cloath, as I might, with a publike price making. The Prieſt was ſent from the State, to demaund payment of *Rooba*, *Rooba*, before we traded: which I denied, except vpon condition the whole Country would bind themſelues to lade me with Mace and Nuts, within foure moneths. At one hundred Dollers, he tooke time to \* *be chary*. I answered, that perceiving they deferred time till the *Hollanders* annuall (which was now in ſuſpence, the Monſons beeing almoſt ſpent, and already ſome Eaſt winds come in) I would not giue paſt ninetie ryalls: 30 wherewith he tooke his leaue, hauing as ſmooth an out-ſide, as rough in mind.

The ſixteenth, there came in three tall *Hollanders*, without anchoring, ſhot thirtie, ſixteene, and nine pieces of excellent Ordnance. Two of theſe ſhippes came from *Tarenate*, hauing loſt *Paul Van Carden* their Admirall, with ſeuentie foure men taken by the *Spaniard*, who would hearken to no other ranſome for him, except the Fort of *Machian*, by him formerly taken, might be reſigned. The *Dutch* offered fiftie thouſand Dollers for him.

The ſeuenteenth, the *Hollanders* viſited me by *Sr Brewer*.

The eighteenth, the *Hollanders* of the two leaſt ſhippes, came to viſite me, and ſupped with me: but an *Engliſhman* reporteth, that they meane to ſurpriſe vs ere a moneth expire.

The nineteeth, the States ſent againe for *Rooba*, *Rooba*, which I reſuſed to pay, ſo they ſent 40 againe, to tell me, that now they are together: but except I would exceed one hundred Dollers, I ſhould ſaue my labour and not trouble my ſelfe. I ſent them word againe, that though I laded not a graine, I would not giue about one hundred. They ſent ſoone after to call me, where after long diſpute, we accorded at one hundred Dollers, *Rooba*, *Rooba*, three hundred and eightie Dollers, and *Serepinang* fifty Dollers, beſides *Piſſalin*, a dutie to the foure *Sabandares*, of foure peeces *Saraſſa*, or *Malaian* Pintadoes.

We receiued a Beame and waight, the Cattee poize ninetie nine Dollerss, and in the haber-depoize, five pound thirteene  $\frac{1}{2}$ . ounces: ſo our Rials are too light.

The twentieth, this day we began to weigh, and the *Hollanders* comming aſhore, made price at one hundred, with foure hundred *Rooba*, *Rooba*, fiftie *Serepinang*, and foure cloathes. 50

We payed the *Hollanders* vnder-hand price, elſe we muſt haue bene idle.

The three and twentieth, I made a ſecret accord with the Chiefe of *Puloway*, to ſend a Factory thither, and were conſtrained to lend them three hundred Rials, and giue *Serapinang* one hundred Rials, with foure *Malaian* Pintadoes.

The foure and twentieth, the *Dutch* hearing of my accord with *Puloway*, ſought to preuent me.

The nine and twentieth there came fixe great ſhippes *Hollanders*, into the Roade, whom I ſaluted with nine Peeces, answered with three: beſides two ſmall Pinnaffes.

The firſt of April, receiued by the *Hope* from *Puloway*, 225.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Cattees, Mace, and 1307.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . C. 60 Nuts, which Mace (all bought by him) I marked with B. for diſtinction.

The fourth, I went aboard to cure mine eye, which by the heat of Nuts, watching, &c. was very ſore. I left the houſe and goods with *Augustine Spalding*. There arriued from the *Molucc*-coſt two ſmall *Hollanders*. Note, that now the wind every morning, bloweth hard Eaſterly.

The ninth, the *Dutch* Admirall, *Peter Williamſon Warboef*, went aſhore to *Urtatan*. The Fleete ſhot



shot fortie Peeces of Ordnance : his ship but five. He deliuered a letter from Count *Maurice*, without present, whereof when the people demanded, answer was made : that they had one, but it was not yet accorded what it should be. This I vnderstood.

The tenth, the *Sabandar* at my request, sent for the same Letter, which being in *Portuguse*, I perused, and found it onely an authoricall Instrument, binding the Prince and State, to confirme what their Admirals and Councils should accord with other States. It was written in Paper, sealed vnder the Contents, and left open for all.

The eleuenth, we began to bring our Nuts aboard, thereto constrained by the *Dutch* : their Note.  
 meaning was, to goe ashore within a day or two : so that we could neither select the best, nor  
 10 let them lie long enough in sweate.

The twelfth, this night after the first watch, the States sent foure men to request my company ashore instantly, which I refused to doe till morning.

The thirteenth, I went betimes ashore, where the *Sabandar* of *Nera* came to visit me, and then after much talke, I propounded (as I had sundry times formerly done) the formall deliuering of *Bandan*, to the vse, and in the Name of his Maiestie of *England*, our Soueraigne, before the *Hollanders* did land, or begin their purposed Fort. They seemed to like well thereof, and concluded to be chary thereabout, and giue me answer to day : but I doubt their inconstancies.

The fifteenth day, the *Dutch* went ashore, twentie Boats, one thousand and two hundred men: the Naturals fled.

The eighteenth, I went ashore, and sent for some *Hollanders* of note, to speake with mee, to  
 20 whom I made knowne many wrongs I had receiued since their comming in : wishing redresse, and affirming, that though we were not at present strong enough to right our selues, yet his Maiestie of *England*, our Soueraigne, would not permit his Subiects to sustaine any dammage by their meanes, without speciall and sound satisfaction.

I affirmed, that notwithstanding wrongs receiued, I could not chuse but Christianly aduertise them, that the people purposed to poyson their water, and to that end warned me not to drink thereof. He thanked me, and hauing beene with their Admirall, requested me from him, to haue patience concerning Rice, till he had had counsaile therein. (Necessitie hath no Law.)

The twentieth, I went ashore to fetch the Rice, in part of *Daton Putee* his debt to the Company : but the *Hollanders* had dishonestly taken the same, notwithstanding the Admirall promised that I should haue it. Thence I went among the *Iauans*, to haue bought some Rice, who generally affirmed, that the *Hollanders* had straightly charged them, not to sell me any : neither durst  
 30 they, though I offered five Dollers the *Coyoung* more then the *Dutch* paid. At my comming home, I found him that the Admirall had formerly sent vnto me, whom I requested to tell his Admirall, that I esteemed his so taking my Rice, a great wrong : and that if he were a Gentleman, he would not permit his base people to abuse me as I walked among them. Whereto was answered, that he was a Weauer. I reprehended the reporter, being an *English-man* seruing them, who affirmed, that his owne people spake so of him generally. Thence I tooke my Prow, and went to *Labatacca*, where I found such small doings, as was not fit to keepe people thereabout : wherefore I appointed them to come away in the Skiffe, which I would send for them and their  
 40 goods to day.

The two and twentieth, I went to *Comby*, where the *Dutch* did vs much wrong, euen in our yard : whereof hauing sundry times complained without redresse, is argument, that it proceeded by order from the chiefe.

The foure and twentieth, they began their Fort.

The five and twentieth, a *Dutch* Pinnasse from *Puloway*, would giue me no newes of *Browne* there. I manned my Skiffe, and went to *Puloway*, where I found litle Spice. The people desired me to stay at *Ayre Putee*, promising to lade me, offering to enact among the the penaltie of death, to such as would sel one Cattee of Spice to the *Hollanders*. I seemed to distrust their words, hauing once before deceiued me : whereupon they offered to passe writings and oathes. I questioned  
 50 the bringing of it aboard, which they refused, fearing the *Dutch*. I offered to send one *English-man* in each Prow, and to runne the hazzard if the *Dutch* tooke it : but they would not hazzard their people.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning, putting into my Boate foure Suckles of Mace, and many Nuts, with three Chiefe, to consider what to doe : by the way the Chiefe affirmed, that if we would not deale with them, their Spice should rot vpon the trees, and they would all dye, ere they would deale with the *Hollanders*. But they are wicked and faithlesse *Moores*, neither know I what to doe. Forby going for the *Moluccos*, I must loose two thousand Dollers owing here, and trade there vncertaine : and staying two moneths more heere, will preuent going to  
 60 the *Moluccos* : At last we agreed.

The nine and twentieth, the Chiefe being conuented, after many protests, they made mee a writing to deale with me onely, for all their Spice at *Puloway*, and *Puloron*, and at *Ayre Putee*, *Ayre Putee*. and not to sell or part with the *Hollanders* one Cattee thereof.

The *Hollanders* offered twelue thousand Dollers among the Countrey, to make their peace, and

*My m<sup>r</sup> the Ea<sup>l</sup>a.*

*Note.*

*Note.*

The *Hollanders*  
much wrong  
vs.  
*Dutch* Fort began.

4.



Note.

and driue vs hence, which they refused : and desired me often, and earnestly, not to conceit ill, in that they permitted the *Dutch* to come ashore, and sell their Cloath, being vpon a speciall consideration, to me immateriall.

May the  
fourth, 1609.

The fourth of May 1609. I went to *Puloway*, where I found the *Hollanders* offer Cloath at  $\frac{5}{7}$  our price. I found a thousand Cattees Nuts, and two hundred Cattees Mace, which they of *Pulorin* had sold vs, not weighing to the *Hollanders* one Cattee.

The quarrels  
twixt the *Dutch*  
and *Bandesses*,  
grew partly out  
of the leuity  
of these, and  
partly out of  
the insolency  
of those which  
exercised for-  
tifications in  
stead of mer-  
chandising, &  
spare no the  
liberty of the  
living, or ie-  
pulchres of  
the dead.

The eight, the *Dutch* there sent to request the conueyance of a Letter, and a sick man aboard them, which I promised : but my Nuts being readie to lade, *Nakhada Goa* came to me from the Chiefe, to intreate me, not to carrie their man or letter, but stay also my selfe, which I refused, and fitted hence. Whereof hee hauing informed, they sent me word againe by him : that if I went, they would make purchase of whatsoever I left behind, and account vs enemies : whereupon I stayed.

Hence mur-  
ders and ho-  
stilitie. See my  
P. l. g. l. 5. c. 16. §. 3.

The ninth, the people sent and required me, not to depart these foure daies. As I was going to bed, there came a command vpon our liues, that we should not stirre out of doores : and presently thereupon, I heard that the *Dutch* were vpon their knees to the people. I armed my selfe and went out among them, where I found the *Dutch* ouercome with feare ; and demanding the cause of comming aboard so late, they answered, that one of them was shot into the legge with a Truncke, as he slept in their house : which caused them to seeke my helpe, and were intercepted by the way. I went home with them, and leauing three *English* with two of them in their house, I brought two *Dutch* home with me.

Note.  
Shot with a  
Truncke.

The tenth, in the morning, I caused the goods of the *Dutch* (at their earnest request) to be brought home to my house, whereat the Countrey seemed offended with me.

Note.  
*Dutch* Admiral  
murdered.

There was counsaile taken, and resolution to kill the *Dutch*, but *Nakhada Goa* preferred their liues. The *Dutch* were commanded by the people, not to stirre out of doores, vpon paine of their liues, their goods and money registred. This euening many Prowes and men went hence.

Note.  
*English* curtesie  
to the *Hollan-  
ders*: but how  
repaid since,  
the world hath  
scene.

The twelfth, at night, there returned a Prow with newes, that they had slaine the *Dutch* Admirall, with all his chiefe followers and counsaile.

The thirteenth, I had much adoe to keepe the *Dutch* from being slaine, by those of *Campon Awrat*, whose *Sabandar* was slaine by the *Dutch*.

The foureteenth, two *Dutch* Pinnasses arriued, and the Countrey would faine haue gotten them ashore : whereof my people, by order aduised them. They of *Campon Awrat* came all armed, to haue slaine the *Dutch*, which with much intreaty and danger, I preuented. About noone, I sent away my Schiffe with Letters, of, and for the *Dutch*. This night, wee had much adoe to preferue the *Dutch* aliue with carefull watch.

The fifteenth, my Schiffe returned with Letters, from, and for the *Dutch*.

The sixteenth, the States consulted and resolved, that with me the *Dutch* should be safe : but would not permit them aboard their shippes. I came aboard, and brought Letters from, and to the *Dutch*, and at the Harboroughes mouth, was hayled by five *Dutch* Shallops, and other Boates.

Note.

The twentieth, in the euening, *Simon Hoen*, Viceadmirall, came aboard me, giuing me many thankses, for kindnesse shewed to the *Dutch* at *Puloway*. I shot seauen parting Guns.

Our house sold

The fine and twentieth, I manned my Prow, and went to *Labatacca*, where they desired a man or two Ledgers, to buy their Spice, which I promised them. The *Hollanders* pulled downe my house, and satisfied me for the same, one hundred and fiftie Dollers, besides fortie of the boards. When I was going to bed, *Van Bergell*, and *Samuel King*, came from the Vice-admirall, to let me know, that they had counselled concerning my Trade at *Labatacca*, and concluded to permit my quiet Trade there : except at such times, as they should come to surprize the same. Also, they requested me not to take offence, if their Boates laied mine aboard, to search what aide I did to their enemies, which I tooke in ill part. And in preuention of which inconueniences, I propounded vnto them : that if they would pay me such debts, as *Nera* and *Cumber* owed me, amounting to twelue or thirteene hundred Dollers, I would trade at *Puloway* and *Pulorin* only : whereof they promised me answer to morrow.

The sixe and twentieth, *Van Bergell* brought me word, that I might trade at *Labatacca*.

The seauen and twentieth, I sent *Matthew Porter* with a *Cargason* to *Labatacca*.

The one and thirtieth, I went to *Labatacca* to forward businesse. About supper time, *Van Bergell* and *Samuel King* came aboard me, desiring priuate speach with me from their Vice-Admirall : and going into my Cabbine, after many *Italian*-like Complements, they deliuered me a note from their Vice-Admirall, permitting vs trade, but prohibiting victuall and munition to be carried to the people, which they held for enemies, and requesting that their Boates might passe by them to be searched to that ende, which else should be done by force, \* threatening confiscati-  
on of ship and goods.

\* I haue left  
out (feare  
the tedious-  
nesse) this  
& other letters  
on both sides.

I answered ; that I would follow my trade, wherein if he wronged me, it would be too heauy for him to answer. That I had a remainder of the Rice, with I formerly acquainted him, which I would sell, except they tooke an vnanswerable course therein. That for Munition, I had in the shippe



shippe not past twenty hand-gunnes, belonging to sundry poore men, the sale whereof I neither could nor would preuent, except they would buy them, which I would cause to be reasonably sold. Concerning my subiection to their search, I answered, to haue rather my estate, and life hazarded here, then my hitherto vnspotted reputation at my comming home: nay, I should therein become a Traytor vnto my Soueraigne, wherewith my conceit was neuer stained.

The second of Iune, I sent the Vice-Admiral and Councell a few lines in Answer thereof, by Iune, 1609.  
*Augustine Spalding*, seeking all wayes of Peace.

The third, I receiued a note from the *Dutch*, whereby they would continue their search by all meanes, offering to buy the hand-gunnes, but not permit the Rice to be carried. Whereto instantly by their Messenger, I answered, as followeth;

**T**HE Vice-Admirall, M. Simon Iahntson Hoen, &c. of the Dutch Fleete, may please to know; My reply.  
That to the ende, to take away all cause of quarrell from them to vs, and shew the World our honest cause, and their wilfulnesse: Whereas they will not permit my Rice to bee carried to Puloway, I will likewise therein consent to them, vpon condition, that they shall reuoke their purposed search. And to the end, they shall haue some securitie for the performance, I will passe my yet vn falsified word; or if that (through your incredulitie) be not sufficient, mine oath vnto your Deputies, or your selues, generally at pleasure to the same effect. But if herein you will not (through desire of quarrell with the English) consent vnto my reasonable request: then be pleased to knowe, that I will send it, at what price or hazard soener. Concerning our munition, I write nothing; your purpose to buy the same, beeing preiudiciall to your owne doubts, which I pray let bee done speedily for your owne satisfactions. Thus I commit you to the Almighty who prosper your honest proceedings, as I wish to mine owne. From aboard the Hector in Banda, this third of Iune, 1609.

WILLIAM KEELING.

Toward night, they sent me againe their last resolution (they hauing called foure Counsell thereabout) holding their determination for the search. Whereupon, considering their purposes, and that the least breach would prooue totall, wherein sixtie two men, against a thousand or more, could not performe much (to the hazarding of ship and goods or at least not permission to lade, their Fort commanding all) I yeelded as vpon constraint to the search.

The fift, I went with my last Rice to Puloway, the Hollanders hauing first sent aboard, and searched, to our great discontents; notwithstanding which, the ship at Lantor weaued vs, and called vs aboard. I refused; they said they would shoote: but I neither went aboard, nor they shot.

The foureteenth, I went to Labatacca, where I bought some Spice, and put away some cloth. The foure and twentieth, I went to Cumber, whence I stowed eleuen Suckles Mace.

The five and twentieth, I went to Lantor to recouer some debts made by Sidall, which were denied. The sixe and twentieth, I sent my great boat for Puloway. I went to Labatacca, whence I stowed two Suckles Mace.

The seuen and twentieth, my Boat returned with Spice from Puloway. The Ianans began to haue conference with the Hollanders.

The nine and twentieth, I went to Cumber, whence I stowed foureteene Suckles Mace.

The first of Iuly, 1609. I went to Cumber to account with debtors. The second, the Hollanders (with all the strength they could make, leauing the shippes and fort weakly manned) went and tooke Labatacca: where, as they say, they killed twenty or sixteene persons, and burned the Towne, bringing away pots and pannes. I am verily perswaded, that fortie men would haue done as much as they did, with more then tenne times so many.

The fourth, I sent to Cumber, and one of my Guserates counsellled me to goe no more: for they distrust my Intelligence with the Dutch.

The sixteenth, before day, the Hollanders with their whole power went to the East-ward, and hauing burned certaine boates, and returning to take Salomo, were there at much strife about landing, not who should land soonest, but who might stay longest aboard. By which, and other their defaults, they were repulled with the losse of fixe men, besides many hurt: among whom the Gouverneur, M. Iacob de Bitter, is reported to haue behaued himselfe worthily there. Afterward, Matthew Porter and others, desired to goe a shore, which I permitted, by whom one sent me word, that the Hollanders meant to take me, and wished me to looke well to my shippe and selfe. The cause, as he saith, was this: They report that the two last nights wee made signes a shore, (and were by the people answered) of the Hollanders prouision to land: whereof, God knoweth, that I knew nor heard not.

The seuenteenth, the Dutch sent Van Bergell, and Samuel King aboard mee, requesting to know when I hoped to be gone: wherein I could not satisfie them, Puloway delaying mee, as it doth. They offered to make good all my debts, if I would be gone speedily, which I refused: affirming that the Company would not feele so small a losse. Also, that I could not answer it at home, hauing stayed till now, that lading is readie. We had some speach concerning the supposed

Dutch resolution.

Iuly, 1609.

Labatacca taken by the Hollanders.

Salomo repulled by the Dutch.

Note.



fed signes, which we should make to the Countrey against them: Wherein I made iust protests to the contrary.

They affirmed vs to haue made signes two nights together, and said, that many Depositions were taken thereupon: (a signe of their purpose to quarrell with vs.) Also, that one of my men yesterday being in their Fort demanded, why we made signes to the Countrey? should answer: that we had reason so to doe, the Countrey being so much indebted vnto vs, and the Dutch hindering vs what they can. Which imposture, I had no patience longer to hearken vnto, but paw-  
ned my hand that they could not proue any thing, first or last: wishing them to take their cour-  
les. Howbeit, that I might vtterly preuent all cause of mistrust in them of vs euen in the whole  
Worlds opinion: I offered to goe ride in *Laboan Iana*, where I might neither know their stir-  
rings, nor could make signes to hurt them. 10

The eighteenth, in the afternoone the Dutch sent many of their chiefe aboard me, who at first demanded kindly, whether I continued in my former determination of lading here? whereto I answered yea. Whereupon they desired me to take some course to goe hence in friendship, I an-  
swered, that now Spice was readie, I hoped to get hence within twentie dayes laden, and in friendship. Many reasons passed betweene vs: but when they saw my purpose, they deliue-  
red me a note from their Vice-Admirall and Councell, wherein were forged as many vntruthes as lines. The Copie whereof followeth.

The Dutch  
their note,  
fraughted  
with as many  
vntruths, as so  
few lines may  
well containe:  
shewing their  
ingrate affecti-  
ons, for all  
Christ's helps  
by our Nati-  
on performed

**T**He Generall Master William Keeling, May please to know, that it hath beene by our Deputies 20  
proffered vnto him, that if he thought good to transport ouer to vs, the Debts remayning among the  
Bandanese, and then in friendship withdraw from the Roade, with his shippe (which himselfe heretofore  
hath partly made mention of to some of vs) we are resolved to deale with him in that behalfe. And al-  
beit, this reasonable proffer, to eschew quarrell, is by vs to him motioned: yet hath the Generall afore-said,  
denied to accept the same. Notwithstanding we haue sufficient occasion enough, with good reason to com-  
mand him, with his said ship, to withdraw from forth this Roade, and out of our Fleete also, without the  
command of the Artillery of the Fortresse of Nassau: and that the fore-said Generall may understand  
the reasons which moued us to the same we haue at large remonstrated the same, as followeth.

vnto them. &c. together with their selfe worthlesse ouer-weening.

The eight of Aprill, 1609. The Worshippfull Admirall Peter Williamson Var Hoef, being an-  
chored with his Fleete, in the Islands of *Banda*, and there vnderstanding of the Merchants of the  
vnited East India Company, how they were through the Inhabitants of *Banda*, daily constray-  
ned and molested, and also sometimes dispossessed of their Clothes and Merchandizes, which they  
held for themselves at such rates as they pleased, satisfying for them, as and when they thought  
good: and so remayned indebted so much, as their debt vnto the Generall East India Company,  
amounted vnto aboue twentie thousand Rials of eight, without intention to recontent the same.  
And further that our Liegers, concerning their liues, haue euer liued in very doubtfull estate, fea-  
ring, least daily they would vntimely practice their ends, as appeared few yeares past, they haue  
murdered our Merchants, and forcibly taken other some, and after their custome, made Heathens 40  
of them.

Wherefore the Admirall afore-said was moued by all friendly meanes, to make a Castle or For-  
tresse, whereby our Liegers, and Merchandizes, might rest in better safety, both against the Por-  
tugall, and against all other our Enemies: which by most of the chiefe *Oran-Cayas*, was con-  
descended vnto. And thereupon, haue wee proceeded to the building of a Fortresse, vpon the  
Iland *Neyra*. Which Fortresse, being about halfe finished, the Admirall Var Hoen abouesaid,  
hath procured a Conuention of the chiefe *Oran-Cayas*, and Councell of the Ile of *Banda*, to meet  
with him, and other of his Councell at *Ratoo*: and there to haue entred in treatie of a friendly  
accord and contract together. To which effect, the said Admirall appointed the *Fiscall*, or lu-  
stice of the Fleet, besides other of good account, as Hostages, to continue at *Keyacke*: that there-  
by, they, the rather or with lesse feare might come to the Admirall afore-said, and his Councell. 50

Thus the Admirall, with diuers of his Councell, together with a Company of his Souldiers,  
the two and twentieth of May, 1609. came to *Ratoo*, the nominated place of Conuention;  
their being a *Bandanese* approached vnto him out of the Woods; who told the Admirall,  
that the *Oran-Cayas*, and other chiefe of the Iles, were neere there in the Woods, but  
were so timorous of the Souldiers, that the Admirall had with him, as they feared to  
come vnto him: and therefore prayed him and his Counsell to come vnto them. The Ad-  
mirall vnderstanding the report, passed towards them, together with his said Councell, and left  
his Souldiers at their appointed place. And being entred amongst them, hee found the Woods  
replenished with armed *Black-Moores*, *Bandanese*, and *Oran-Cayas*, who instantly incircled 60  
them, and without much conference betweene them passed, were by them treacherously and  
villanously massacred, and gaue euery of our chiefe, no lesse then twentie wounds. This Stra-  
tagem thus performed, they presently assaulted the Company of Souldiers, intending to haue  
serued them with the like sawce. But they partly in feare, and doubt of some treachery, armed  
them-

The building  
of this Fort,  
how it was li-  
ked of the In-  
habitants, the  
Premisses de-  
clare. Besides,  
they prophane  
their Bu-  
riall ground to  
that purpose,  
an odious ab-  
omination to  
the *Bandanese*.  
And how vn-  
likely is it that  
they would ad-  
mit a Fort to  
captivate their  
libertie, and  
there neere their  
Mesgid to pro-  
phane their  
Religion?  
Their practises  
since may a-  
waken the  
Readers Ob-  
seruation.  
The two and  
twentieth of  
May, 1609.  
The Admirall  
and Councell  
of the *Holla-  
ders* slaine.



themselves, and stood in their defence, and encountered one another, so as in fine they betooke themselves to their best refuge, with losse of some of their chiefe, and so fled vnto *Cayack*: and there haue murdered the *Fiscall* or Iustice afore-said, with the rest of the hostages, besides diuers others of our people, who were walked into the Woods, to gather *Cocus* Nuts: insomuch, as at that time, were murdered about forty of ours by the *Bandanesses*, contrary to their oathes and promises. All which, prouoketh vs to execute and practise all reuenge possible, toward the inhumane treacherous *Bandanesses*: which occasions pricke vs forward, to prosecute this present bloody warre against them. Then followed many presumptions of his assistance of the *Bandanesses*, by *English* Powder and Munition, by signes, &c. which I omit. They conclude on those suppositions.

10 We, by vertue of our Commission, and Patent of his Princely Excellency, commaund the foresaid Generall to withdraw with his ship from forth our Road out of our Fleet, and without the command of the Artillery of the Fortresse of *Nassau*, within the time of five daies, after the date hereof. And in that we haue conquered, by force of Armes, the Iland *Nera*, so doe we also pretend, and hold the Roades thereabout depending, as the Road of *Labatacca*, &c. to bee vnder our command: and will not permit any (the time that we warre with the *Bandanesses*) to anchor there.

Thus by vs ordained, past, and absolutely resolued vpon by the Vice-Admirall, and residue of the Councill in the shippe of *Hollandia*, vpon the Roade of *Banda*, the eight and twentie of Iuly, 1609.

20 *Simon Johnson Hoen, Iacob de Bitter, Hen: Van Bergell, Iohn Cornelisson Wijst, Will: Iacobson, Simon Martens, Rufger Tomassen, Marlahen. 1609. Peter Bahuc. 1609. Will. Vanderuort, alias, Secret.* Iuly eightene, 1609.

Whereto I briefly answered by word, that I could not answere my so going hence (lading being now ready) to my Countrey: and that vnlesse I were otherwise commaunded then by words, I would ride here till I were laden, which would be within five and twenty daies at the vttermost. They affirmed, that this their signification to me, was answere. Whereto I applyed, that oftentimes rash men threatned to kill, which they durst not for life performe. I shot five parting Peeces.

30 The nineteenth, I sent away my Schiffe for *Puloway*, to know of riding there. *Van Bergell* came aboard to search the Boate; I willed him to tell the Vice-Admirall, that I would leaue a *Factorie* at *Puloway*, in case of constraint: and without constraint I would not hence.

The twentieth, about one this morning, my Schiffe returned from *Puloway*, without note of our debts, or Inuentory of goods, the principall causes of my writing. He onely affirmed, that the people were willing to pay their debts, if we could stay fifteene or twentie daies: also offering vs their best Road at *Puloway*. The *Dutch* and we came to some accord for the time of our stay, and for our debts, the Monson also inuiting vs thereto, and the Trade which already we had.

40 The first of August 1609. peace generally published twixt the *Dutch* and Countrey, is an vncomfortable argument, of the *Puloways* breaking with vs. The *Dutch* sent me a Letter of credit, for the receipt of my debts left at *Banda*, payable at *Bantam*. The *Hollanders* this euening shot an hundred and fiftie Peeces of Ordnance, for ioy of peace. Vpon the Gouernors earnest treatie, I went to see the *Dutch* Fort, whose square may be foote, hauing thirtie Peeces of Ordnance in circa, whereof eight very good Brasse Demi-cannons.

The first of August, 1609.

Peace between the *Hollanders* and the *Bandanesses*.

The fourth, I sent my Boat to fetch away goods, wherein came a Seruant of *Nakhada Guse-ral*, by whom I vnderstood that the *Pulowans* were resolued to let me haue no more Spice, except some little, to shaddow their wrong vnto vs: wherefore I sent the Boat againe for *Browne*. Being faire by the Towne, shot five Peeces, the better to procure my people thence: they not perceiuing that we tooke any displeasure at their ill dealings. I sent againe for *Browne*; which Boat staying long, I shot two seuerall warning Peeces. Whereupon M. *Browne* came aboard me, but not *Spalding*: affirming, that they would not let him come, before I came ashore. Wherfore I stood againe to the Eastward, and comming somewhat neere the Towne, the King of *Macassar* came aboard me, to redeeme his pawne, and brought *Spalding* and the three *Dutch* aboard mee, more thanks to the loue of his good pawne, then their honesties.

Perfidy of the *Hollanders*.

The King of *Macassar* cometh aboard.

The tenth, I weighed an halfe hundred by our ordinary *Banda* Beame, and it weighed nine Cattees, whereby the Cattee appeareth to weigh five pound, foureteene  $\frac{1}{2}$ . ounces haberdupoise. I weighed also the single Cattee, which made five pound foureteene  $\frac{1}{2}$ . ounces haberdupoise.

*Banda* waights.

The eleuenth, we anchored neere *Macassar* vpon *Celebes*, I being very desirous to goe thither, hoping vpon reports, to finde Cloues there for Cloth.

*Macassar* vpon *Celebes*.

60 The twelfth, I sent my Schiffe armed, to inquire of the place, who returning, heard that *Macassar* was yet  $\frac{1}{2}$ . a daies saile to the North: and that three moneths since, there was a *Dutch* ship lost in sight of the Towne: vpon which dangerous report, we gaue ouer the search of *Macassar*.

A ship of *Holland* lost before *Macassar*.

The one and twentieth, we anchored in *Iaccatra*, where we found the *Banda* and *Enquisen*, two *Dutch* shippes, hauing bene eight daies there: who brought our people (in the *Hope*) and their goods from *Amboyno*.

The



They arrive in  
the Road at  
Bantam.

The sixe and twentieth, comming neere the point, we met a Praw with *Raffe Hearne*, sent by Master *John Saris* to me, who had readie three thousand foure hundred eighty one bagges of Pepper. We got betimes into the Roade, and *John Saris* came aboard me in a Dutch Boat.

The thirteenth, vpon the Kings request, I sent five and twentie armed men to make him pasture, which he willed in honour of his hauing the last night, made conquest of his Wives virginities.

The three and twentieth, hauing taken in there foure thousand and nine hundred bags of Pepper, I questioned the leauing of a Factorie, where to we accorded.

Factory at  
Bantam.

The seuen and twentieth, I appointed the Factorie at *Bantam*, (viz:) *Augustine Spalding*, Factor, at fiftie pound sterling a yeare: *Francis Kellie*, Chirurgion, fortie five shillings a moneth: *John Parsons* thirtie shillings a moneth: *Robert Neale*, twentie nine shillings a moneth: *Augustine Adwell*, foure and twentie shillings a moneth: *Esheldred Lampre*, twentie shillings a moneth: *William Drimer*, twentie shillings a moneth: *William Wilson*, two and twentie shillings a moneth: *William Lamwell*, sixteene shillings a moneth: *Phillip Badnedg*, sixteene shillings a moneth: *Francisco Domingo*, twelue shillings a moneth: *Iuan Seraan*, ten shillings a moneth: *Adrian*, Master *Towersons* Boy, ten shillings a moneth. I also hired sixe persons to goe with vs for *England*, and make all possible speed.

The nine and twentieth, we ended with the Gouvernor about our customes, with much adoe.

The thirtieth, we deliuered the Companies businesse from *Saris* to *Spalding*, giuing him speciall charge of the Dutch insolency and hate towards vs, and therefore to haue little to do with them.

October, 1609.

The second of October, 1609. I went and tooke my leaue of the Gouverneur, and desired his fauour to our Factor, which he promised in seeming hartily.

The third, betimes I came aboard for adue, hauing visited all my friends.

The first of Nouember, 1609. About the distance sixe hundred and fiftie from *Bantam*, wee were in five and twenty degrees South Latitude, hauing foure and twenty degrees variation, and foure and twentie daies running it.

Storme.

The nine and twentieth, we had all day an hard gale of wind, which towards night prooued a storme, at West South-west from the North-ward, and put vs to try with our maine course, continuing all night, and the next day. Wherein (as sundry other times before) we haue found a report of *Linschot* to be true, that generally all Easterly winds comming about to the North-ward, if it proue raine, presently the wind commeth about to the West South-west, and there bloweth. We were in two and thirtie South when the storme tooke vs, and had about thirtie degrees variation, and vpwards.

Note.

Variation thir-  
teene degrees.

December the  
eight, 1609.  
*Terra Donatall*.

The eight of December, 1609. We fell betimes in the morning, with *Terra Donatall*, some fixe leagues off vs, the Wester part where the variation was about eight  $\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. We were at noone vnder thirtie one degrees, and seuen and twentie minuts of Latitude, wee standing South South-East (wind at South-west) vnder low sailes.

We met a *Hollander*, and vnderstood by them, that the *Erasmus* (a ship of the Fleete, which made homewards, at my arriuall with the *Dragon* at *Bantam*) being very leaky at Sea, and the rest of the Fleete so leauing her, steered for the Iland *Mauritius*, and there vnladed the said *Erasmus*, leauing the goods there, with five and twentie persons to guard the same, till it might be sent for; the rest of her company being now in this ship;

The latitude  
and descrip-  
tion of the Ile  
*Mauritius*.

That vpon *Mauritius* were two hauens; the one, called the North-west, lying vnder twenty degrees, somewhat lesse; the other, the South-East in twenty degrees and fiftene minuts, all kind of refreshments being there to bee had: as Fish, Turtles, Manatees, in great abundance, Bowles infinite, and Goates, newly by them brought thither, in some reasonable number; Hogs also, and the place very healthfull. The Iland is betweene thirtie and fortie leagues in circuit: and the variation there being one and twentie degrees the North-westing. They came from *Bantam* in May, were a moneth getting *Mauritius*, stayed there foure moneths and an halfe, and haue bene fixe weekes thence, whereof seuentene daies with contrary winds.

Cape Das  
*Aghulas*.

The two and twentieth, we were in Latitude thirty five degrees, twentie eight minuts, and within seauen leagues of the Cape *Aghulas*, which riseth like two Iles, we being South-East off it: but comming more thwart like three Ilands, two Bayes North making three perspicuous points low, and seeming round. We sounded about seauen in the euening, and had seuentie seuen fathome water, Oazy ground, being South off the shore, about five leagues the most, and as I gesse, newly got to the Westward of the Flats shoalest.

I obserued the Sunnes setting, and found small variation, hauing eight and twentie  $\frac{1}{2}$  degrees (South of the West) Azimoth, our latitude being about five and thirtie degrees, and six and twentie minutes.

Note.

A man bound home vpon this Coast, finding no weather for obseruation, either for latitude or variation, may boldly and safely keepe himselfe in sixtie fathome water, and shelly ground: and when he findeth Oazy, is very neere Cape *Das Aghulas*: and when he loofeth ground at one hundred and twenty fathome line, he may resolue that he hath past the said Cape, prouided hee be within the latitude of thirty sixe degrees.

The



The three and twentieth, we steered all night, West by North, and West North-west, a fresh gale Easterly, and in the morning, saw the land all along, about eight or ten leagues from vs high land. About noone, we were neere Cape *Buona Speranza*, hauing runne twixt Cape *D'aghulas* and it, in seuentene houres. We got within three leagues of the Sugar-loafe, and stood off and on all night. Cape De Buona Speranza.

The eight and twentieth, I receiued by the *Dutch* Boate sixe sheepe (the fattest that euer I saw) from the Island: the taile of one of them was eight and twenty inches broad, and weighed five and thirty pound weight.

I receiued of the *Dutch* a Maine Top-sayle (whereof we had extreame want) and deliuered them a note to the Company, to receiue twelue pound twelue shillings for the same: besides, their promises to vs for other wants, are very honest and Christian-like. We tooke fat sheep left on *Penguin* Island, and set leane in their room: I left a note also there of my comming, and the state of my company, as others had done before. Maine top saile bought.

The tenth of Ianuary, in the morning, wee were vnder sayle homeward. Note, that all the time we had beene heere, the wind hath beene Westerly, and Southerly: and the two former times that I was heere, at the same season, it blew stormes Easterly. Ianuary the tenth. 1609. Set Sayle.

The twentieth, we passed the Southerne Tropicke, about noone. The *Dutch* came and supped with me: shot three parting Peeeces. South Tropic.

The thirtieth, before day, we saw *S. Helena*, hauing steered sixtie fixe leagues West in that latitude. We roade on the North-west part thereof, a mile from the shore, North-west from the Chappell, in two and twenty fathome sandy ground. The Island may lie truly two hundred and seenty, or two hundred and eightie leagues to the West-ward, from the land of *Aethyopia*, we were faine to steere close in vnder the high-land, to get ground, the bancke being steepe too, and without no anchoring. Santa Helena.

The ninth of February, wee weighed, and made sayle home-ward: hauing receiued aboard heere, for refreshing, nineteene Goates, nine Hogges, and thirteene Pigges. February 9. Set sayle from S. Helena.

The sixteenth, we saw the Ile *Ascension* seuen or eight leagues West South-west from vs. Ascension.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning, the wind being Westerly, and reasonable faire weather, we steered with the *Dutch* (who had made a Wast vpon his Mizen Mast-head for vs.) He told vs, that he had but eight or nine men standing, the rest sicke, and fixe and forty dead. A grievous chastisement vnto them, and to vs, a neuer sufficiently acknowledged mercy: that they who offered to spare me ten or twenty men, or more vpon occasion, should so generally decay, and we loose no one, nay euery one in good health. We left the Dutch to our Christian griece.

Toward night, at my Companies earnest sute, considering our leake, with many other iust causes, on our part, besides our want of meanes to aide them, though we should accompany them: they hauing (without any our speech or motion to the like end) desired vs to acquaint such *Dutch*, as we should meete with their distresse, that they might take the best course for their ayde, wee made saile, and left them not without sensible and Christian greefe, for our want of meanes to helpe them. Latitude forty nue degrees and fixe minutes.

The first of May, 1610. We had very faire weather, wind South-west, latitude forty nine degrees, and thirteene minuts. May 1610.

The second, betimes in the morning, the wind came at South, and blew an hard storme, which put vs into our fore-course.

Toward night, we spake with a *Lubecker*, who told vs, that *Silley* bare East by North (thirtie eight *Dutch* miles, which is fiftie leagues) from vs: and the weather being faire, we made saile. I told them of the distressed *Dutch*.

The ninth, in the morning, *Beachy* was North North-East, three leagues from vs.

The tenth, about Sun-set, we anchored in the Downes.



## CHAP. VII.

*Captaine WILLIAM HAVKINS, his Relations of the Occurrences which happened in the time of his residence in India, in the County of the Great MOGOLL, and of his departure from thence; written to the Company.*

## §. I.

*His barbarous usage at Surat by Mocrebbchan: The Portugals and Iesuits treacheries against him.*

\* Captain Keeling and he had kept company together all the voyage before related (& not needfull to be repeated) to the Roade of *D. Lisa* in *Socatra*, whence on June the 24. Captaine Keeling departed in the *Dragon*, as you haue heard; the other in the *Hector* for *Surat* (the meane while built a Pinasse) on the fourth of August hauing receiued from the Generall a duplicate of the Commission vnder the Great Scale. He commeth on shoare the 28. of August, 1608.  
*Chanbana.*  
*Mocrebbchan.*

The Captaine of the ship that Sir Edward Michelborne tooke.

Excessive rain.

**A**T my arriuall vnto the Bar of *Surat*, being the foure and twentieth of August, 1608. I presently sent vnto *Surat Francis Buck*, Merchant, with two others, to make knowne vnto the Gouvernour, that the King of *England* had sent me as his Embassadour vnto his King, with his Letter and Present: I receiued the Gouvernours answere, both by them, and three of his Seruants sent me from *Surat*, that he, and what the Country afforded, was at my command: and that I should be very welcome, if I would vouchsafe to come on shore. I went accompanied with my Merchants, and others, in the best manner I could, befitting for the honour of my King and Country. At my comming on shore, after their barbarous manner I was kindly receiued, and multitudes of people following me, all desirous to see a new come people, much nominated, but neuer came in their parts. As I was neere the Gouvernours house, word was brought me that he was not well, but I thinke rather, drunke with *Affion* or *Opion*, being an aged man. So I went vnto the chiefe Customer, which was the onely man that Sea-faring caules belonged vnto (for the government of *Surat*, belonged vnto two great Noblemen; the one being Vice-Roy of *Decan*, named *Chanbana*; the other, Vice-Roy of *Cambaya* and *Surat*, named *Mocrebbchan*, but in *Surat* hee had no command, saue onely ouer the Kings Customes) who was the onely man I was to deale withall. After many complements done with this chiefe Customer, I told him that my comming was to establish and settle a Factory in *Surat*, and that I had a Letter for his King from His Majesty of *England*, tending to the same purpose, who is desirous to haue league and amitie with his King, in that kind, that his Subiects might freely goe and come, sell and buy, as the custome of all Nations is: and that my ship was laden with the commodities of our land, which by intelligence of former traouellers, were vendible for these parts. His answere was, that he would dispatch a Foot-man for *Cambaya*, vnto the Nobleman his Master: for of himselfe he could doe nothing without his order. So taking my leave, I departed to my lodging appointed for mee, which was at the Custome-house: In the morning, I went to visit the Gouvernour, and after a Present giuen him, with great grauity and outward shew of kindnesse, he entertained me, bidding me most heartily welcome, and that the Countrey was at my command. After complements done, and entring into the maine affaires of my businesse, acquainting him wherefore my comming was for these parts: he answered me, that these my affaires did not concerne him, because they were Sea-faring caules, which did belong vnto *Mocrebbchan*, vnto whom hee promised me to dispatch a Foot-man vnto *Cambaya*, and would write in my behalfe, both for the unlading of my shippe, as also concerning a Factorie. In the meane while, he appointed me to lodge in a Merchants house, that vnderstood the *Turkish*, being at that time my Trough-man, the Captaine of that shippe which Sir Edward Michelborne tooke.

It was twentie daies ere the answer came, by reason of the great waters and raines that men could not passe. In this time, the Merchants, many of them very friendly feasted me, when it was faire weather that I could get out of doores: for there fell a great raine, continuing almost the time the Messengers were absent, who at the end of twenty daies I brought answer from *Mocrebbchan*, with Licence to land my goods, and buy and sell for this present Voyage: but for a future Trade, and settling of a Factorie, he could not doe it without the Kings commaundement, which he thought would be effected, if I would take the paines of two moneths trauell, to deliuer my Kings Letter. And further, he wrote vnto his chiefe Customer, that all, whatsoever I brought, should be kept in the Custome-house, till his Brother *Sheck Abder Rachim* came, who should make all the hast that possibly could bee, for to chuse such goods as were fitting for the King: (these excuses of taking goods of all men for the King, are for their owne private gaine.) Vpon this answere, I made all the hast I could, in easing our shippe of her heauy burthen of Lead, and Iron, which of necessitie must be landed. The goods being landed, and kept in the Customers power,



power, till the comming of this great man, perceiuing the time precious, and my ship not able long to stay, I thought it conuenient to send for three Chests of Money, and with that to buy Commodities of the same sorts, that were vendible at *Priaman* and *Bantam*, which the *Guzers* carry yearely thither, making great benefit thereof. I began to buy against the will of all the Merchants in the Towne, whose grumbling was very much, and complaining vnto the Governour and Customier, of the leaue that was granted me, in buying those Commodities, which would cut their owne throates at *Priaman* and *Bantam*, they not suspecting that I would buy Commodities for those parts, but onely for *England*.

At the end of this businesse, this great man came, who gaue me licence to ship it: before the shipping of which I called a Councell, which were the Merchants I had, and those that I thought fitting for the businesse I pretended, demanding euery ones opinion according to his place, what should be thought conuenient for the deliuey of his Maiesties Letter, and the establishing of a Trade. So generally it was agreed and concluded, that for the effecting of these waighty affaires, it neither would, nor could be accomplished by any, but by my selfe, by reason of my experience in my former trauels and language: as also I was knowne to all, to be the man that was sent as Embassadour about these affaires. After it was concluded, and I contented to stay, I made what hast I could in dispatching away the ship, and to ship the goods. This done, I called Master *Marlow*, and all the company that was on shore before mee, acquainting them with my pretence, and how they should receiue for their Commander Master *Marlow*: willing them that they obey and reuerence him, in that kind as they did me. This done, I brought them to the water side, and seeing them imbarke themselves, I bad them farewell.

The next day, going about my affaires to the great mans brother, I met with some tenne or twelue of our men, of the better sort of them, very much frighted, telling me the heauiest newes, as I thought, that euer came vnto me, of the taking of the Barks by a *Portugal* Frigat or two: and all goods and men taken, onely they escaped. I demanding in what manner they were taken, and whether they did not fight, their answer was no: *M. Marlow* would not suffer them, for that the *Portugals* were our friends: and *Bucke*, on the other side, went to the *Portugall* without a pawne, and there he betrayed vs, for he neuer came vnto vs after. Indeed, *Bucke* went vpon the oath and faithfull promise of the Captaine, but was neuer suffered to returne. I presently sent a letter vnto the Captaine Maior, that he release my men and goods, for that we were *Englistmen*, and that our Kings had peace and amity together. And that we were sent vnto the *Mogols* countrey by our King, and with his letter vnto the *Mogol*, for his subiects to trade in his Countrey: and with his Maiesties Commission for the gouernment of his subiects. And I made no question, but in deliuering backe his Maiesties subiects and goods, that it would be well taken at his Kings hands: if the contrary, it would be a meanes of breach. At the receipt of my letter, the proud *Rai* call braued so much, as the Messenger told me, most vildly abusing his Maiestie, tearing him King of Fishermen, and of an Iland of no import, and a fart for his Commission, scorning to send me any answer.

It was my chance the next day, to meete with a Captaine of one of the *Portugal* Frigats who came about businesse sent by the Captaine Maior. The businesse as I vnderstood, was that the Governour should send me as prisoner vnto him, for that we were *Hollanders*. I vnderstanding what he was, tooke occasion to speake with him of the abuses offered the King of *England*, and his subiects: his answer was, that these Seas belonged vnto the King of *Portugall*, and none ought to come here without his license. I told him, that the King of *Englands* license was as good as the King of *Spaines*, and as free for his Subiects, as for the King of *Spaines*. & he that saith the contrary, is a traytor, and a villaine, & so tel your great Captaine, that in abusing the King of *England*, he is a bale villaine, and a traytor to his King, and that I will maintaine it with my sword, if he dare come on shore. I sending him a challenge, the *Mores* perceiuing I was much moued, caused the *Portugal* to depart. This *Portugal* some two houres after, came to my house, promising me, that he would procure the libertie of my men and goods, so that I would be liberall vnto him: I entertained him kindly, and promised him much, but before he departed the Towne, my men and goods were sent for *Goa*.

I had my goods readie, some five dayes before I could be cleare, and haue leaue, for they would not let them be shipped, vntill this great man came, which was the third of October: and two dayes after, the ship set sayle, I remaining with one Merchant *William Finch*, who was sicke the greater part of his time, and not able to stirre abroad to doe any businesse: the rest were two seruants, a Cooke, and my Boy. These were the companie I had, to defend our selues from so many enemies, which lay daily lurking to destroy vs: aiming at me for the stopping of my passage to the great *Mogol*. But God preserued me, and in spight of them all, I tooke heart and resolution to goe forwards on my trauels. After the departure of the ship, I vnderstood that my goods and men were betrayed vnto the *Portugal*, by *Mocreb-chan*, and his followers: for it was a plot laid by the Iesuite and *Mocreb-chan*, to protract time till the Frigats came to the Bar, and then to dispatch me: for till then, this dogge *Mocreb-chan* his brother came not: and the comming of these Frigats was in such secrecy, that till they had taken vs, we heard no newes of them.

S f a

After

Our two Barks taken by the Portugals, and thirtie men in them.

This not fighting, was vprayed to our men by the Indians with much disgrace, sincere couered with interest your self fights with th. Portugals. The intollerable pride of the Portugall Captaine.

The English prisoners sent for Goa.

The third of October. The ship departed leaving M. William Hawkins and his seruants in the Countrey. The perfidy & treason of Mocreb-chan and the Iesuite Peñero.



After the departure of my ship, I was so misused, that it was vn-sufferable, but so long as my ship was at the Bar, I was flattered withall. But howsoeuer, well vied or ill, it was not for mee to take thought for any thing, although remaining in an heathen Countrey, inuironed with so many enemies, who daily did nothing else but plot to murder me, and cosen me of my goods, as hereafter you shall vnderstand. First, misused by *Mooreb-chan*, as to haue possession of my goods, taking what he pleased, and leauing what he pleased, giuing me such a price as his owne barbarous conscience afforded: that from thirtie five would giue but eightene, not regarding his brothers bil, who had full authoritie from him: and how difficult it was to get money from his chiefe seruant, after the time expired, as it is best knowne to vs, who tooke the paines in receiuing a small part thereof, before his comming to *Surat*: and after his comming, I was barred of all: although he outwardly dissembled, & flattered with me almost for three moneths, feeding me with faire promises of payment, and other kindneses. In the meane time, he came to my house three times, sweeping me cleane of all things that were good, so that when he saw, that I had no more good things left, he likewise by little and little degraded me of his good looks. Almost all this time, *William Finch* was extreame sicke of the Fluxe, but thanks be to God recovered past all hope, I, on the other side, could not peepe out of doores for feare of the *Portugals*, who in troops lay lurking in by-ways, to giue me assault to murder me, this beeing at the time that the Armada was there.

The first plot  
of the *Portu-  
gals* to kill me.

The first plot laid against me, was: I was inuited by *Hogio Nazam* to the fraughting of his ship for *Mocha*, as the custome is, they make at the fraughting of their ships great feasts, for all the principallest of the Towne. It was my good hap at that time, a great Capitaine belonging to the Vice-Roy of *Guzerat* resident in *Amadaur*, being sent about affaires vnto *Surat*, was likewise inuited to this feast, which was kept at the water side: and neere vnto it, the *Portugals* had two Frigats of their Armada, which came to receiue their tribute of the shippes that were to depart, as also refreshment. Out of these Frigats, there came three gallant fellows to the Tent where I was, and some fortie followers *Portugals*, scattering themselves along the Sea side, ready to giue an assault when the word should be giuen. These three Gallants that came to the tents, armed with coats of Buffe downe to the knees, their Rapiers and Pistols by their sides, demaunded for the *English* Capitaine: vpon the hearing of which, I arose presently, and told them that I was the man, and perceiuing an alteration in them, I laid hand on my weapon. The Capitaine *Mogol*, perceiuing treason towards me, both he and his followers drew their weapons: and if the *Portugals* had not been the swifter, both they and their scattered crew (in retiring to their Frigats) had come short home.

The second  
plot.

Another time, they came to assault me in my house with a Friar, some thirty or fortie of them: the Friars comming was to animate the souldiers, and to giue them absolution. But I was alwaies wary, hauing a strong house with good doores. Many troopes at other times, lay lurking for me and mine in the streetes, in that kind, that I was forced to goe to the Gouvernour to complaine, that I was not able to goe about my businesse, for the *Portugals* comming armed into the Citie to murder me: which was not a custome at other times, for any *Portugals* to come armed as now they did. He presently sent word to the *Portugals*, that if they came into the City armed againe, at their owne perils be it. At *Mooreb-chan* his comming, with a Iesuite named *Padre Pineiro* in his company (who profered *Mooreb-chan* fortie thousand Rials of eight, to send me to *Daman*, as I vnderstood by certaine aduise giuen me by *Hassun Ally*, and *Ally Pomimory*) I went to visit him, giuing him a Present, besides the Present his brother had: and for a time, as I haue aboue written, I had many kind outward shewes of him, till the time that I demanded my money. After that, his dissembling was past, and he told me plainly, that he would not giue mee twentie *Manadies per Vare*, but would deliuer me backe my cloath. Vpon which dealings, I dissembled as well as I could with him, intreating leaue for *Agra*, to the King, telling him that *William Finch* was the man that I left as my chiefe in this place: and in what kind soeuer his pleasure was to deale with me, he was the man to receiue either money or ware. Vpon which answer, he gaue me his license and letter to the King, promising me fortie horsemen to goe with me, which hee did not accomplish. After license receiued, the Father put into *Mooreb-chan* his head, that it was not good to let me passe: for that I would complaine of him vnto the King. This he plotted with *Mooreb-chan* to ouerthrow my iourney, which he could not doe, because I came from a King: but he said, that he would not let me haue any force to goe with me. And what else hee would haue him to doe, either with my Treuchman and Coachman, to poyson or murder me, if one should faile, the other to doe it: this inuention was put into *Mooreb-chans* head by the Father. But God for his mercie sake, afterward discovered these plots, and the Counsell of this Iesuite tooke not place. Before the plotting of this, the Iesuite and I fell out in the presence of *Mooreb-chan*, for vile speeches made by him of our King and Nation, to bee vassals vnto the King of *Portugall*: which words I could not brooke, in so much, that if I could haue had my will, the Father had neuer spoken more, but I was preuented.

*Padre Pineiro* a  
Iesuite, a pa-  
rerne of Iesui-  
ticall sanctitie.  
How franke  
would the Ie-  
suites haue bin  
to Iudas, be-  
yond those  
Priests which  
g'ue but thirty  
pieces for the  
price of bloud,  
and those but  
of two shillings  
sixe pence the  
piece? whereas  
this Iesuite of-  
fers forty thou-  
sand Royals  
(who can de-  
ny them Royall  
Merchants?) at  
four shillings  
sixe pence the  
piece.  
Iesuites policy.  
Iust Iesuitisme.



## §. II.

*His Journey to the Mogoll at Agra, and entertayment**at Court.*

**N**ow finding *William Finch* in good health, newly recovered, I left all things touching the Trade of Merchandizing in his power: giving him my remembrance and order, what he should doe in my absence. So I began to take up Souldiers to conduct mee, being denyed of *Mocrebchan*, besides Shot and Bow-men that I hired. For my better safety, I went to one of *Chanchanna* his Captaines, to let mee haue fortie or fiftie Horsemen to conduct me to *Chanchanna*, being then Vice-Roy of *Decan*, Resident in *Bramport*, who did to his power all that I demanded, giuing me valiant Horsemen *Pattans*, a people very much feared in these parts: for if I had not done it, I had bene ouer-throwne. For the *Portugals* of *Daman* had wrought with an ancient friend of theirs a *Raga*, who was absolute Lord of a Prouince, (betweene *Daman*, *Guzerat* and *Decan*) called *Cruly*, to be readie with two hundred Horsemen to stay my passage: but I went so strong and well prouided, that they durst not incounter with vs: so likewise that time I escaped.

Then at *Dayta*, another Prouince or Princedome, my Coachman being drunke with certaine of his Kindred, discovered the Treason that hee was to worke against mee, which was, that hee was hired to murder me: he being ouer-heard by some of my Souldiers, who at that present came and told me, and how it should be done in the morning following, when we begin our trauell: (for wee vsd to trauell two houres before day) vpon which notice, I called the Coachman vnto me, examining him, and his friends before the Captaine of the Horsemen I had with mee: who could not deny; but hee would neuer confesse who hired him, although hee was very much beaten, cursing his fortune that he could not effect it: for he was to doe it the next morning, so I sent him Prisoner vnto the Gouvernour of *Suratt*.

But afterward by my Broker or Truchman, I vnderstood that both hee and the Coachman were hired by *Mocrebchan*, but by the Fathers perswasion, the one to poyson me, and the other to murder me: but the Truchman receiued nothing till he had done the deed, which hee neuer meant to doe, for in that kind hee was alwayes true vnto mee: thus God preserued me. This was five dayes after my departure from *Suratt*, and my departure from *Suratt* was the first of February 1608. So following on my trauels for *Bramport*, some two dayes beyond *Dayta*, the *Pattans* left me, but to be conducted by another *Pattan* Captaine, Gouvernour of that Lordship, by whom I was most kindly entertained. His name was *Sherchan*, being sometime a Prisoner vnto the *Portugall*, and hauing the *Portugall* Language perfect, was glad to doe mee any seruice: for that I was of the Nation, that was enemie vnto the *Portugall*. Himselfe in person, with fortie Horsemen, went two dayes ioureny with mee, till hee had freed mee from the dangerous places: at which time he met with a troupe of Out-lawes, and tooke some foure aliue, and slew and hurt eight, the rest escaped. This man very kindly writ his Letter for me, to haue his house at *Bramport*, which was a great curtesie, otherwise I could not tell where to lodge my selfe, the Towne being so full of Souldiers: for then began the Warres with the *Decans*.

The eighteenth of the said Moneth, thanks be to God, I came in safetie to *Bramport*, and the next day I went to the Court to visit *Chanchanna*, being then Lord Generall and Vice-Roy of *Decan*, giuing him a Present; who kindly tooke it: and after three houres conference with him, he made me a great Feast, and being risen from the Table, inuested me with two Clokes, one of fine Woollen, and another of Cloth of Gold: giuing mee his most kind Letter of fauour to the King, which auayled much. That done he imbraced me, and so we departed. The Language that we spoke was *Turkish*, which he spake very well.

I remayned in *Bramport* vnto the second of March; till then I could not end my busineses of Monies that I brought by exchange, staying likewise for a Carrauan, hauing taken new Souldiers, I followed my Voyage or iourney to *Agra*: where after much labour, toyle, and many dangers, I arriued in safety the sixteenth of Aprill, 1609. Being in the Citie, and seeking out for an house in a very secret manner, notice was giuen the King that I was come, but not to be found: He presently charged both Horsemen and Footmen in many troupes, not to leaue before I was found, commanding his Knight Marshall to accompany mee with great state to the Court, as an Embassador of a King ought to be: which he did with a great traine, making such extraordinary haste, that I admired much: for I could scarce obtayne time to apparell my selfe in my best attyre. In fine, I was brought before the King, I came with a slight present, hauing nothing but cloth, and that not esteemed: (for what I had for the King, *Mocrebchan* tooke from me, wherewith I acquainted his Maiestie.) After salutation done, with a most kinde and smiling countenance, he bade me most heartily welcome, vpon which speech I did my obeysance and dutie againe. Hauing his Maiesties Letter in my hand, he called me to come neere vnto him, stretching downe his hand from the Seate Royall, where he sate in great Maiestie something high for to be

He setteth forward on his iourney from *Suratt* toward *Agra*.

Another dangerous Plot of the *Portugals*. *Cruly* Prouince.

*Dayta* another Prouince.

They vsd to trauell two houres before day.

The Iesuites bloudie plot discovered. *Virtus an virus, quis in leuita requirat?* M. Hawkins departed from *Suratt*. The first of February 1608.

His arriuall at *Bramport*.

Hee stayeth in *Bramport* till the second of March. His arriuall at *Agra* the sixteenth of Aprill, 1609.

He came before the King.



Iesuiticall  
Charitic.

The Mogoll  
skilfull in the  
Turkish tongue.

Spies vpon e-  
uery Noble-  
man.

M. Will. Haw-  
kins had bin in  
the West Indies.

The Kings sti-  
pendary wages  
and honorable  
Pensions to his  
Nobles.

Iesuiticall  
Christianitie.

seene of the people : receiuing very kindly the Letter of me, viewing the Letter a prettie while, both the Seale, and the manner of the making of it vp, he called for an old Iesuite that was there present, to reade it. In the meane space, while the Iesuite was reading it, hee spake vnto mee in the kindest manner that could bee, demanding of mee the contents of the Letter, which I told him : vpon which notice, presently granting and promising me by God, that all what the King had there written, he would grant and allow withall his heart, and more if his Maiestie would require it. The Iesuite likewise told him the effect of the Letter, but discommending the stile, saying, it was basely penned, writing *Vestra* without *Maiestad* : my answer was vnto the King, and if it shall please your Maiestie, these people are our enemies : how can this Letter be ill written, when my King demandeth fauour of your Maiestie ? he said, it was true.

Perceiuing I had the *Turkish* Tongue, which himselfe well vnderstood, hee commanded me to follow him vnto his Chamber of Presence, being then risen from that place of open Audience, desiring to haue further conference with me : in which place I stayed some two houres, till the King came forth from his women. Then calling mee vnto him, the first thing that hee spake, was that he vnderstood that *Mocrebchan* had not dealt well with mee, bidding mee bee of good cheere, for he would remedie all. It should seeme, that *Mocrebchans* enemies had acquainted the King with all his proceedings : for indeed the King hath Spies vpon euery Nobleman. I answered most humbly, that I was certaine, all matters would goe well on my side, so long as his Maiestie protected me. Vpon which speech he presently sent away a Post for *Suratt*, with his command to *Mocrebchan*, writing vnto him very earnestly in our behalves : coniuring him to bee

none of his friend, if hee did not deale well with the *English*, in that kind, as their desire was. This being dispatched and sent, by the same Messenger, I sent my Letter to *William Finch*, wishing him to goe with this command to *Mocrebchan* : at the receipt of which hee wondred that I came safe to *Agra*, and was not murthered, or poysoned by the way, of which speech *William Finch* aduertised me afterward.

It grew late, and hauing had some small conference with the King at that time, he commanded that I should daily be brought into his presence, and gaue a Captaine named *Houssaber chan* charge, that I should lodge at his house, till a house were found conuenient for me : and when I needed any thing of the King, that he should bee my Solicitor. According to command, I resorted to the Court, where I had daily conference with the King. Both night and day, his delight was very much to talke with mee, both of the Affaires of *England* and other Countries, as also many demands of the *West Indies*, whereof hee had notice long before, being in doubt if there were any such place, till he had spoken with me, who had beene in the Countrey.

Many dayes and weekes being past, and I now in great fauour with the King, to the grieve of all mine enemies, espying my time, I demanded for his Commandement or Commission with Capitulations for the establishing of our Factory to be in mine owne power. His answer was, whether I would remayne with him in his Court, I replied, till shipping came : then my desire was to goe home, with the answer of his Maiesties Letter. Hee replied againe, that his meaning was a longer time, for he meant to send an Embassador to the King of *England*, at the coming of the next shipping : and that I should stay with him vntill some other bee sent from my King, to remayne in my place, saying this : Thy staying would be highly for the benefit of thy Nation, and that he would giue me good maintenance, and my being heere in his presence, would bee the cause to right all wrongs that should be offered vnto my Nation : and further, what I should see beneficiall for them, vpon my petition made, hee would grant : swearing *By his Fathers Soule*, that if I would remayne with him, he would grant me Articles for our Factorie to my hearts desire, and would neuer goe from his word. I replied againe, that I would consider of it. Thus daily inticing me to stay with him, alleaging as is aboue written, and that I should doe seruice, both to my naturall King and him, and likewise he would allow me by the yeare, three thousand and two hundred pounds sterling for my first, and so yeerely, hee promised mee to augment my Liuing, till I came to a thousand Horse. So my first should be foure hundred Horse. For the Nobilitie of *India* haue their Titles by the number of their Horses, that is to say, from fortie to twelue thousand, which pay belongeth to Princes, and his Sonnes. I trusting vpon his promise, and seeing it was beneficiall both to my Nation and my selfe, beeing dispossessed of that benefit which I should haue reaped, if I had gone to *Bantam*, and that after halfe a dozen yeeres, your Worships would send another man of sort in my place, in the meane time, I should feather my Nest, and doe you seruice : and further perceiuing great iniuries offered vs, by reason the King is so farre from the Ports, for all which causes aboue specified, I did not thinke it amisse to yeeld vnto his request. Then, because my name was something hard for his pronuntiation, hee called me by the name of *English Chan*, that is to say, *English Lord*, but in *Persia*, it is the Title for a Duke, and this went currant throughout the Countrey.

Now your Worships shall vnderstand, that I being now in the highest of my fauours, the Iesuites and *Portugals* slept not, but by all meanes sought my ouerthrow : and to say the truth, the principall *Mahumetans* neere the King, enuyed much that a Christian should bee so nigh vnto him. The Iesuite *Peniero* being with *Mocrebchan*, and the Iesuites here, I thinke did little regard their



their Masses and Church matters, for studying how to overthrow my Affaires: aduice being gone to Goa, by the Iesuites here, I meane in *Agra*, and to *Padre Peneiro* at *Surat* or *Cambaya*, hee working with *Moorebchan* to be the *Portugalls* assistance, and the Vice-Roy sending him a great Present, together with many Toyes vnto the King with his Letter. These presents and many more promises, wrought so much with *Moorebchan*, that he writeth his Petition vnto the King, sending it together with the present, aduertising the King, that the suffering of the *English* in his land, would be the cause of the losse of his owne Countries, neere the Sea-Coasts, as *Suratt*, *Cambaya*, and such like: and that in any case he entertaine me not, for that his ancient friends the *Portugalls* murmured highly at it: and that the fame is spread amongst the *Portugalls*, that I was General of ten thousand Horsemen, readie to giue the assault vpon *Diu*, when our shipping came.

The practice of the *Portugalls* against our Trade.

Lying, a great stratageme.

The Kings answer.

The Vice-Royes Letter likewise was in this kind: the Kings answer was; that he had but one *Englishman* in his Court, and him they needed not to feare, for hee hath not pretended any such matter: for I would haue giuen him Liuing neere the Sea parts, but he refused it, taking it neere me heere. This was the Kings answer, vpon which answer, the *Portugalls* were like madde Dogges, labouring to worke my passage out of the World. So I told the King, what dangers I had passed, and the present danger wherein I was, my Boy *Stephen Graener*, instantly departing this World, my man *Nicholas Vfflet* extreame sicke, and this was all my *English* Company, my selfe beginning to fall downe too. The King presently called the Iesuites, and told them that if I dyed by any extraordinary casualltie, that they should all rue for it. This past, the King was

*Nicholas Vfflet*.

very earnest with me to take a white Mayden out of his Palace, who would giue her all things necessary with slaues, and he would promise mee shee should turne Christian: and by this meanes my meates and drinckes should be looked vnto by them, and I should liue without feare. In regard she was a *Moore*, I refused, but if so bee there could bee a Christian found, I would accept it: At which my speech, I little thought a Christians Daughter could bee found. So the King called to memorie one *Mubarique Sha* his Daughter, who was a Christian *Armenian*, and of the Race of the most ancient Christians, who was a Captaine, and in great fauour with *Ekber Padascha*, this Kings Father. This Captaine dyed suddenly, and without will, worth a Masse of Money, and all robbed by his Brothers and Kindred, and Debts that cannot be recouered: leauing the Child but only a few Iewels. I seeing shee was of so honest a Descent, hauing passed my word to the King, could not withstand my fortunes. Wherefore I tooke her, and for want of a Minister, before Christian Witnesses, I married her: the Priest was my man *Nicholas*, which I thought had beene lawfull, till I met with a Preacher that came with Sir *Henry Middleton*, and hee shewing me the error, I was new married againe: so euer after I liued content and without feare, she being willing to goe where I went, and liue as I liued. After these matters ended, newes came hither, that the *Ascension* was to come by the men of her Pinnasse, that was cast away neere *Suratt*, vpon which newes, I presently went to the King and told him, crauing his Licence, together with his Commission, for the setting of our Trade: which the King was willing to doe, limiting me a time to returne, and be with him againe.

*Mubarique Sha* an *Armenian* Christian, *Ekber Padascha*.

Hee takeith a Christian Gentlewoman to Wife. Shee came ouer with him for *England*, but he dying by the way, shee was after married to *M. Towerfon*. The Pinnasse of the *Ascension* cast away neere *Suratt*. The Kings Commission in the fauour of the *English* vnder his great Seale with golden Letters. The *Ascension* cast away. The greater part of the Kings Nobles are *Mahumetans*. Some of the *Ascensions* Company and *M. Alexander Sharpy* their General came to *Agra*.

But the Kings chiefe *Vizir Abdal Hassan*, a man enuious to all Christians, told the King, that my going would be the occasion of warre: and thus harme might happen vnto a great man who was sent for *Goa*, to buy toyes for the King. Vpon which I speech, the Kings pleasure was I should stay, and send away his Commission to my chiefe Factor at *Surat*, and presently gaue order, that it should be most effectually written. In fine, vnder his great Seale with Golden Letters, his Commission was written, so firmly for our good, and so free as heart can wish. This I obtained presently, and sent it to *William Finch*. Before it came there, newes came that the *Ascension* was cast away, and her men saued, but not suffered to come into the Citie of *Surat*. Of that likewise I told the King, who seemed to be very much discontented with that great Captaine *Moorebchan*, my enemy: and gaue me another commandement for their good vlage, and meanes to be wrought to saue the goods, if it were possible. These two commandements came almost together, to the great ioy of *William Finch* and the rest, admiring much at these things. And now continuing these great fauours with the King, being continually in his sight, for the one halfe of foure and twentie houres seruing him day and night, I wanted not the greater part of his Nobles that were *Mahumetans*, to be mine enemies. For it went against their hearts, that a Christian should be so great & neere the King: and the more, because the King had promised to make his Brothers children Christians, which two yeares after my coming he performed, commanding them to be made Christians. A while after came some of the *Ascensions* Company vnto me (whom I could haue wished of better behauiour, a thing pryed into by the King.) In all this time, I could not get my debts of *Moorebchan*, till at length he was sent for vp to the King, to answer for many faults, and tyrannicall In-iustice, which he did to all people in those parts, many a man being vndone by him, who petitioned to the King for Iustice. Now, this Dogge to make his peace, sent many bribes to the Kings sonnes, and Noble-men that were neere the King, who laboured in his behalfe. After newes came that *Moorebchan* was approached neere, the King presently sent to attach all his goods, which were in that abundance, that the King was two moneths in viewing of them, euery day allotting a certaine quantitie to be brought before me:

and




and what he thought fitting for his owne turne he kept, and the rest deliuered againe to *Mocrebchan*. In the viewing of these goods, there came those Peeces and Costlet, and Head-peece, with other Presents that he tooke from me for the King of mine owne, not suffering mee to bring them my selfe: at the sight whereof, I was so bold to tell the King what was mine. After the King had viewed these goods, a very great complaint was made by a *Baniaw*, how that *Mocrebchan* had taken his Daughter, saying; she was for the King, which was his excuse, deflowering her himselfe: and afterwards gaue her to a *Brammen*, belonging to *Mocrebchan*. The man who gaue notice of this Child, protested her to passe all that euer he saw for beautie. The matter being examined, and the offence done by *Mocrebchan*, found to be true, hee was committed to prison, in the power of a great Noble-man: and commandement was giuen, that the 10 *Brammene* his priuy members should be cut off.

Before this happened to *Mocrebchan*, I went to visite him diuers times, who made me verie faire promises, that he would deale very kindly with mee, and be my friend, and that I should haue my right. Now being in this disgrace, his friends daily solliciting for him, at length got him cleere: with commandement, that he pay euery man his right, and that no more complaints be made of him if he loued his life. So *Mocrebchan* by the Kings command, paid euery one his due, excepting me, whom he would not pay, but deliuer me my Cloath, whereof I was desirous, and to make, if it were possible, by faire meanes, an end with him: but he put me off the more, delaying time till his departure, which was shortly after. For the King had restored him his old place againe, and he was to goe for *Goa*, about a faire ballace Ruby, and other rare things promi- 20 sed the King:

¶. III.

The M O G O L S inconstancie, and Captaine H A V V K I N S departure with  
S<sup>r</sup> H E N R I E M I D D L E T O N to the Red-Sea: Thence to  
Bantam, and after for England.

LL my going and sending to *Mocrebchan* for my Money or Cloath, was in vaine, I being abused so basely by him, that I was forced to demaund Iustice of the King, who commanded that the Money be brought before him: but for all the Kings commaund he did as he listed, and doe what I could, he cut me off twelue thousand and fise hundred *Mamadies*. For the greatest man in this kingdome was his friend, and many others holding on his side, murmuring to the King, the suffering of *English* to come into his Countrey: for that we were a Nation, that if we once set foot, we would take his Countrey from him. The King called me to make answer to that they said: I answered his Maiestie, that if any such matter were, I would answer it with my life: and that we were not so base a Nation, as these mine enemies reported. All this was, because I demaunded my due, and yet cannot get it. At this time, those that were neere fauourites, and neere vnto the King, whom I daily visited, and kept in withall, spake in my behalfe: and the King holding on my side, commanded that no more such wrongs be offered me. So I thinking to vse my best in the recouery of this, intreating the head Vizir that he would be meanes that I receiue not so great a losse; he answered me in a threatening manner: that if I did open my mouth any more, hee would make me to pay an hundred thousand *Mamadies*, which the King had lost in his Customes by entertaining mee, and no man durst aduenture by reason of the *Portugall*. So by this meanes I was forced to hold my tongue, for I know this Money was swallowed by both these Dogges. Now *Mocrebchan* being commaunded in publicke, that by such a day he be ready to depart for *Guzerat*, and so for *Goa*, and then come and take his leaue, as the custome is: in this meane time, three of the principallest Merchants of *Surat*, were sent for by the Kings commaundement, and come to the Court about affaires, wherein the King or his Vizir had imployed them, being then present there when *Mocrebchan* was taking his leaue; this being a plot laid both by the *Portugals*, *Mocrebchan*, and the Vizir. For some fixe daies before a Letter came vnto the King from the *Portugall* Vice-roy, with a Present of many rare things. The Contents of this Letter were, how highly the King of *Portugall* tooke in ill part the entertaining of the *English*, he being of an ancient amitie with other complements: and withall, how that a Merchant was there arriued, with a very faire ballace Ruby, weighing three hundred and fiftie Rotties, of which stone the pattern was sent. Vpon this newes, *Mocrebchan* was to be hastened away, at whose comming to take his leaue together with *Padre Pineiro*, that was to goe with him, the aboue named Merchants of *Surat* 60 being then there present, *Mocrebchan* began to make his speech to the King, saying, that this and many other things he hoped to obtaine of the *Portugall*, so that the *English* were disanulled: saying more, that it would redound to great losse vnto his Maiestie and Subiects, if hee did further suffer the *English* to come into his parts. Vpon which speech he called the Merchants before the

A Letter from  
the Viceroy of  
the East-India  
to the Mogull,  
against the  
*English*.

A speech of  
*Mocrebchan* to  
the King a-  
gainst the  
*English*.



the King, to declare what losse it would be, for that they best knew. They affirmed, that they were like to be all vndone because of the *Englisb*, nor hereafter any toy could come into this countrey, because the *Portugal* was so strong at sea, and would not suffer them to goe in or out of their Ports; and all their excuse was, for suffering the *Englisb*.

These speeches now and formerly, and lucre of this stone, and promises by the Fathers of rare things, were the causes the King ouerthrew my affaires; saying, Let the English come no more: presently giuing *Mocreb-chan* his commandement, to deliuer the Viceroy to that effect, that he would neuer suffer the *Englisb* to come any more into his ports.

I now saw, that it booted me not to meddle vpon a sudden, or to make any petition vnto the King, till a pretty while after the departure of *Mocreb-chan*; and seeing my enemies were so many, although they had eaten of me many Presents. When I saw my time, I made petition vnto the King. In this space, I found a toy to giue, as the order is: for there is no man that commeth to make petition, who commeth empty-handed. Vpon which petition made him, he presently graunted my request, commanding his Vizir to make me another commandement in as ample manner as my former, and commanded that no man should open his mouth to the contrary: for it was his pleasure that the *Englisb* should come into his Ports. So this time againe I was a floater. Of this alteration, at that instant the Iesuite had notice: for there is no matter passeth in the *Mogols* Court in secret, but it is knowne halfe an houre after, giuing a small matter to the writer of that day: for there is nothing that passeth, but it is written, and writers appointed by turnes, so that the Father, nor I, could passe any businesse, but when we would we had notice. So the Iesuite presently sent away the most speedy messenger that could be gotten, with his Letter to *Pade Pineiro*, and *Mocreb-chan*, aduertising them of all that had passed. At the receipt of which, they consulted amongst themselves, not to go forward on their voyage for *Goa*, till I were ouerthrown againe. Wherefore *Mocreb-chan* wrote his petition vnto the King, and letters vnto his friend, the head Vizir, how it stood not with the Kings honour to send him, if he performed not what he promised the *Portugal*: and that his voyage would be ouerthrowne, if he did not call in the commandement he had giuen the *Englisbman*. Vpon the receiuing and reading of this, the King went againe from his word, esteeming a few toyes which the Fathers had promised him, more then his honour.

The Kings commandement vpon false information against the *Englisb*.

None make petition to the King without some Present.

Now beeing desirous to see the full issue of this, I went to *Hogio Iahan*, Lord General of the Kings Palace (the second man in place in the Kingdome) intreating him that he would stand my friend. He very kindly, presently went vnto the King, telling him that I was very heauy and discontent, that *Abdall Hassan* would not deliuer me my commandement, which his Maiestie had graunted me. The King answered him (I being present, and very neere him) saying, It was true, that the commandement is sealed, and ready to be deliuered him: but vpon letters receiued from *Mocreb-chan*, and better consideration by me had on these my affaires in my Ports in *Guzerat*, I thought it fitting not to let him haue it. Thus was I tossed and tumbled in the kind of a rich Merchant, adventuring all he had in one bottome, and by casualtie of stormes or pirates, lost it all at once. So that on the other side, concerning my liuing, I was so crossed, that many times this *Abdall Hassan* his answer would be vnto me; I know wel enough you stand not in such need, for your Master beareth your charges, and the King knew not what he did in giuing to you, from whom he should receiue. My answer was, that it was the Kings pleasure, and none of my request; and seeing it is his Maiesties gift, I had no reason to looke it: so that from time to time, he bad mee haue patience, and he would find out a good liuing for me. Thus was I dallied withall by this mine enemy, in so much that in all the time I serued in Court, I could not get a liuing that would yeeld any thing, giuing me my liuing still, in places where Out-lawes raigned: only, once at *Labar* by an especiall commandement from the King, but I was soone depriued of it: and all that I receiued from the beginning, was not fully three hundred pounds, a great part whereof was spent vpon charges of mentent to the Lordships. When that I saw that the liuing which the King absolutely gaue me, was taken from me, I was then past all hopes: for before, at the newes of the arriual of shipping, I had great hope, that the King would performe former grants, in hope of rare things that should come from England. But when I made Arse or Petition vnto the King concerning my liuing, he turned me ouer to *Abdal Hassan*: who not onely denied me my liuing; but also gaue order, that I be suffered no more to enter within the red rayles: which is a place of honour, where all my time I was placed very neere vnto the King, in which place there were but fise men in the Kingdome before me.

The red Railles a place of Honour.

Now perceiuing that all my affaires were ouerthrowne, I determined with the Councell of those that were neere me, to resolute whereto to trust, either to be well in, or well out. Vpon this resolution I had my petition made ready, by which I made known vnto the King, how *Abdall Hassan* had dealt with me, hauing himselfe eaten what his Maiestie gaue me: and how that my charges of so long time (being by his Maiestie desired to stay in his Court, vpon the faithful promises he made me) were so much, that it would be my vtter ouerthrow: therefore I besought his Maiesty that he would consider my cause, either to establish me as formerly, or giue me leaue to depart.

His



His answere was, that he gaue me leaue, commanding his safe conduct to bee made mee, to passe freely without molestation, throughout his Kingdome. When this Commandement was made, as the custome is, I came to doe my obeysance, and to take my leaue, intreating for an answere of my Kings Letter. *Abdall Hassan* comming vnto me from the King, in a disdainfull manner vtterly denyed me: saying, that it was not the custome of so great a Monarch, to write in the kind of a Letter, vnto a pettie Priuce, or Gouvernour. I answered him, that the King knew more of the mightinesse of the King of *England*, then to be a petty Gouvernour. Well, this was mine answere, together with my leaue taken.

Will. Finch determined to returne overland for *England*.

I went home to my house, studying with all my endeauours to get all my goods and debts together, and to buy commodities with those Monies, that were remayning vsing all the speed I could, to cleere my selfe of the Countrey: staying only for *Nicholas Vfflet*, to come from *Labor*, with a remainder of *Indico*, that was in *William Finches* power, who determined to goe ouer land, being past all hopes for euer imbarcking our selues at *Surat*: which course I also would willingly haue taken, but that as it is well knowne, for some causes I could not trauell thow *Turke*, and especially with a woman. So I was forced to currie fauour with the Iesuites, to get mee a safe conduct or *Seguro*, from the Vice-Roy to goe for *Goa*, and so to *Portugall*, and from thence to *England*: thinking, as the opinion of others was, that the Vice-Roy giuing his secure Royall, there would be no danger for me. But when my Wifes Mother, & Kindred saw that I was to carry her away, suspecting that they should neuer see her any more, they did so distaste me in these my trauels, that I was forced to yeeld vnto them, that my Wife go no further then *Goa*, because it was *India*: and that they could goe and come and vilit her, and that, if at any time I meant to goe for *Portugall*, or any other-where, that I leaue her that portion, that the custome of *Portugall* is, to leaue to their Wiues when they dye: vnto which I was forced to yeeld to giue them content, to preuent all mischiefes. But knowing that if my Wife would goe with me, all would bee of no effect, I effected with the Iesuite to send for two *Secures*, the one concerning my quiet being, and free libertie of conscience in *Goa*, and to bee as a *Portugall* in all Tradings and Commerce in *Goa*: (this was to shew my Wifes Parents.) The other was an absolute grant for free passage into *Portugall*, and so for *England*, with my Wife and Goods, without any disturbances of any of my Wiues friends: and what agreements I made with them to be void and of none effect, but I should stay or goe, when I pleased with free libertie of conscience for my selfe. This last *Securo* I should receiue at *Cambaya*, which at my departure for our shippes was not yet come, but was to come with the Carrauan of *Frigats*.

Nicholas Bangham.

This and much more the Fathers would haue done for me, only to rid me out of the Countrey: for being cleere of me they should much more quietly sleepe. About this time, I had notice of the comming of three *English* ships, that were arriued at *Mocha*, and without faile their determination was to come for *Surat*, at the time of the yeare: hauing this Aduertisement by *Nicholas Bangham* from *Bransport*, who departed from me some six weekes before, both for the recovery of certaine Debts, as also with my Letter to our shipping, if it were possible to send it, aduertising them of my proceedings.

In this time of my dispatching, newes came of *Mocreb-chans* returne from *Goa*, with many gallant and rare things, which hee brought for the King. But that *Ballase Ruby* was not for his turne, saying it was false; or at the least, made his excuse for feare, that if he should giue the *Portugall* his price, and when it came into the Kings power, it should bee valued much lesse (which ouer-plus he should be forced to pay, as hee had done in former times, for other things) hee left it behind him. And besides, I vnderstood, that *Mocreb-chan* had not his full content as he expected of the *Portugalls*. And likewise, at this instant, the Vizir, my enemy was thrust out of his place, for many complaints made of him, by Noblemen that were at great charges and in debt, & could not receiue their liuings in places that were good, but in barren & rebellious places: and that he made a benefit of the good places himselfe, & robbed them all. For these complaints and others, he had much ado to escape with life, being put out of his place, & sent to the Wars of *De- 50* can. Now one *Gaibbeig* being the Kings chiefe Treasurer (a man that in outward shew made much of me, & was alwayes willing to please me, when I had occasion to vse him) was made chiefe Vizir: and his Daughter married with the King, being his chiefe Queene or Paramor. This Vizirs sonne and my selfe were great friends, he hauing beene often at my house, and was now exalted to high Dignities by the King. Perceiuing this alteration, and being certified of the comming of shipping, by certaine aduise, sundry wayes. Knowing the custome of these *Moors* that without gifts and bribes, nothing would either goe forward or bee accomplished, I sent my Broker to seeke out for Jewels, fitting for the Kings Sister and new Paramour: and likewise, for this new Vizir, and his sonne.

Three English ships at the Barre of *Surat*.

Now after they had my Gifts, they beganne on all sides to sollicite my cause: at which time newes came to *Agra*, by *Banians* of *Diu*, how that of *Diu*, three *English* ships were scene, and three dayes after other newes came, that they were at the Barre of *Surat*. Vpon which newes the great Vizir asked me what Toy I had for the King, I shewed him a Ruby Ring that I had gotten: at the sight of which he bade me make readie to goe with him at Court time, and he would make my



my Petition to the King, and told me that the King was already wonne. So once more comming before his Greatnesse, and my Petition being read, he presently granted mee the establishing of our Factorie, and that the *English* come and freely trade for *Surat*: willing the Vizir that with all expedition my commandement be made, vpon which grant the Vizir made signe vnto mee, to make obeysance, which I did according to the Custome. But now what followed? A great Nobleman and neerest Favourite of the King, being the dearest friend that *Macrebhan*, and likewise *Abdall Hassan* had, brought vp together from their child-hood, and Pages together vnto the King, began to make a speech vnto the King: saying, that the granting of this would be the vtter ouerthrow of his Sea Coasts and people, as his Maiestie had bene informed by petition from diuers of his Subjects: and besides, that it stood not with his Maiesties honour to contradict that which he had granted to his ancient friends the *Portugals*, and whosoever laboured for the *English*, knew not what he did; if knowing, hee was not his Maiesties friend. Vpon the speech of this Nobleman, my businesse once againe was quite ouerthrowne, and all my time and presents lost: the King answering, that for my Nation, hee would not grant Trade at the Sea Ports, for the inconuenience that diuers times had bene scanned vpon. But, for my selfe, if I would remayne in his seruice he would command, that what he had allowed me, should be given me to my content: which I denyed, vnlesse the *English* should come vnto his Ports according to promise, and as for my particular maintenance, my King would not see me want. Then desiring againe answer of the Kings Letter, he consulted a while with his Vizirs, and then sent mee his denyall. So I tooke my leaue and departed from *Agra*, the second of Nouember 1611. being of a thousand thoughts what course I were best to take: for I still had a doubt of the *Portugalls* that for lucre of my goods they would poyson me. Againe, on the otherside, it was dangerous by reason of the Warres to trauell thorow *Decan* vnto *Masulipatan*: by land, by reason of the *Turkes*, I could not goe: and to stay I would not amongst these faithlesse Infidels.

He departed from *Agra* the second of Nouember 1611.

I arriued at *Cambaya*, the last of December, 1611. where I had certaine newes of the *English* ships that were at *Surat*. Immediately I sent a Footman vnto the ships with my Letter, with certaine aduice, affirmed for a truth, by the Fathers of *Cambaya*, vnto me, that the Vice-Roy had in a readinesse prepared to depart from *Goa*, foure great ships, with certaine Gallies, and Frigats for to come vpon them, and Treasons plotted against Sir *Henry Middletons* person: of which newes, I was wished by the Fathers to aduise Sir *Henry*: which I found afterward to bee but their policie, to put him in feare, and so to depart, and withall, I wished them to be well aduised. And as for me my shifts were to goe home, by the way of the *Portugalls*, for so I had promised my Wife and her Brother, who at that present was with me: and to delude him and the Fathers till I had notice for certaine, that I might freely get aboard without feare, which I was assured to know at the returne of my Letter; in the meane time, I did all that I could to dispatch her Brother away: who within two dayes after departed for *Agra*, not suspecting that I had any intent for the ships. *Nicholas Vfflet* now departing from mee to suruey the way, being two dayes iourney on his way, met with Captaine *William Sharpeigh*, Master *Fraine*, and *Hugh Greece* sent by Sir *Henry* to *Cambaya* vnto mee, which was no small ioy vnto mee. So vnderstanding of the place (which was miraculously found out by Sir *Henry Middleton*, and neuer knowne to any of the Countrey) I admired and gaue God thanks: for if this place had not bene found, it had bene impossible for mee to haue gotten aboard with my goods. Wherefore making all the haste that I could, in dispatching my selfe away, I departed from *Cambaya*, the eighteenth of Ianuary 1611. and came vnto the ships the six and twentieth of the said moneth, where I was most kindly receiued by Sir *Henry Middleton*. From this place we departed the eleuenth of February 1611. and arriued at *Dabul* the sixteenth of the same: in which place we tooke a *Portugall* ship and Frigat, out of which we tooke some quantitie of goods. And from thence we departed the fift of March 1611. for the Red Sea, with an intent to reuenge vs of the wrongs offered vs, both by *Turkes* and *Mogols*: at which place wee arriued the third of Aprill 1612. Here we found three *English* ships, their Generall was Captaine *John Saris*. Hauing dispatched our businesse in the Red Sea, wee set saile from thence the sixteenth of August, 1612. and arriued in *Tecu* in *Sumatra*, the nineteenth of October 1612. and hauing ended our businesse there, we departed in the night, the twentieth of Nouemb. 1612. and came on ground the same night, three leagues off, vpon a Bed of *Corall*, in three fathome water, or thereabouts, and by the great mercie of God we escaped: but were forced to returne backe againe to stop her leakes, the goods being taken out, and some damage receiued. Now her leakes being somewhat stopped, and her goods in, not losing an houre of time, wee departed from thence the eight of December, 1612. and arriued at *Bantam* the one and twentieth of the same: where Sir *Henry Middleton* not finding the Trade sufficient to goe home that yeare, was forced to stay and carine her. Hauing ended account with him, as himselfe liked best. I tooke my goods and shipped them in the *Salomon*, which came for our Voyage, for sauing of a greater Freight: but I could not be admitted to goe in her my selfe; Captaine *Saris* I thanke him, accommodated me in the *Thomas*, and it was agreed, that the *Salomon* and wee should keepe company together. From thence we set saile on the thirtieth of Ianuary 1613. and arriued in *Saldania* Roade, the

A fained policie of the *Leuites*.

Hee came aboard the *English* Fleet. They departed with the *English* Fleet from *Surat* to *Dabul*. A *Portugall* ship taken. 1612. They arriue at the mouth of the Red Sea. The Fleet of M. *John Saris*. They arriue at *Tecu* in *Sumatra*. They arriue at *Bantam*, Dec. cember, 1612.



one and twentieth of April 1613. and comming neere some two hundred leagues from the Cape, we had much foule weather and contrary windes. Here we found foure sayle of *Hollanders* that departed *Bantam* a moneth before vs. There was great kindnesse betwixt vs, especially to me, in regard that they had heard much of my great estate in *India*, by an Agent of theirs, that was Lieger at *Masulipatan*. Some eight dayes after the Expedition came in, and brought mee a Letter from your Worships, and deliuered it vnto me two dayes after their arriuall. The wind comming faire, we departed from *Saldania* the one and twentieth of May, 1613.

The Expedition  
arriued in *Saldania*.  
Many aduises  
of the Authour

Touching Forts, Indian Factories, &c. I haue omitted as not so fitting euery Eye. Their departure from *Saldania*.

### ¶ IIII.

*A briefe Discourse of the strength, wealth, and Government, with some Customes of the great Mogol: which I haue both seene and gathered by his chiefe Officers, and Ouer-seers of all his Estate.*



I first, I begin with his Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen. As Christian Princes vse their degrees by Titles, so they haue their Degrees and Titles by their number of Horses: vnlesse it bee those that the King most fauoureth, whom he honoureth with the Title of *Chan*, and *Immirza*. None haue the Title of *Sultan* but his Sonnes. *Chan* in the *Persian* Language, is as much as a Duke, *Immirza* is the Title for the Kings Brothers Children.

*Uzbek.*

*Manfiddars.*

These *Ragas* be  
Gentiles.

Thirtie fixe  
thousand Offi-  
cers and Sti-  
pendaries of  
the Court.  
The *Rupia* is  
two shillings  
sterling, some  
say two shil-  
lings and three  
pence: some  
two shillings  
and sixe pence.

They that be of the *Fame* of twelue thousand Horsemen belong to the King, and his Mother, and eldest Sonne, and one more, who is of the blood Royall of *Vzbeck*, named *Chan Azam*. Dukes be nine thousand *Fame*, Marquesses five thousand *Fame*, Earles three thousand, Viscounts two thousand, Barons a thousand, Knights foure hundred, Esquires an hundred, Gentlemen fifty, Yeomen from twentie down-wards. All they that haue these numbers of Horsemen, are called *Manfiddars*, or men of Liuing, or Lordships. Of these there be three thousand, that is to say, foure be of twelue thousand Horse a-piece, and they be the King, his Mother, *Sultan Peruis*, Prince, and *Chan Azam*. Of nine thousand Horsemen there bee three, that is to say, *Sultan Chorem*, the Kings third Sonne, *Chancharna*, and *Kelich Chan*. Of five thousand there bee eighteene, named *Hassuff Chan*, *Chan Icham*, *Abdula Chan*, *Raga Manging*, *Ray Durga*, *Raga Surging*, *Ramadas Rechua*, *Raga Bassu*, *Emirel Vnera*, *Mahabet Chan*, *Chan Dowran*, *Sedris Chan*, *Hogio Bey Mirza*, *Mirza Cazé*, *Estebar Chan*, *Abulfet Dekenny*, *Ielam Cully Chan*, *Sheik Ferid*. Of three thousand there be two and twentie, to wit, *Chan Alem*, *Imirza Ereg*, *Imirza Darab*, *Hogio Iahan*, *Hogio Abdal Hassan*, *Mirza Gaysbey*, *Mirza Shemchadin*, *Mirza Chadulla*, *Seffer Chan*, *Kazmy Chan*, *Mirza Chin Kelich*, *Sauf Chan*, *Lalla Bersingdia*, *Mirza Zeady*, *Mirza Ally Echerchuly*, *Terbiat Chan*, *Mirza Laschary*, *Mirza Charucogly*, *Mirza Rustem*, *Ally Merdon Badur*, *Tasbey Chan*, *Abulbey*. The rest bee from two thousand downwards till you come to twentie Horses, two thousand nine hundred and fiftie. Of Horsemen, that receiue pay monethly, from fixe Horse to one, there be five thousand, these bee called *Haddies*. Of such Officers and men as belong to the Court and Campe, there be thirtie fixe thousand, to say, Porters, Gunners, Watermen, Lackeyes, Horse-keepers Elephant-keepers, Small shot, Frasses, or Tent men, Cookes, Light bearers, Gardiners, Keepers of all kind of Beasts. All these be payd monethly out of the Kings Treasure, whose Wages be from ten to three *Rupias*.

All his Captaines are to maintaine at a seuen-nights warning, from twelue thousand to twentie Horse, all Horsemen three *Leckes*, which is three hundred thousand Horsemen: which of the Incomes of their Lordships allowed them, they must maintayne.

*The Kings yeerely Income of his Crowne Land, is fiftie Crou of Rupias, euery Crou is an hundred Leckes, and euery Leck is an hundred thousand Rupia.*

*Candahar.*

The compasse of his Countrey is two yeares trauell with Carrauan, to say, from *Candahar* to *Agra*, from *Soughtare* in *Bengala* to *Agra*, from *Cabul* to *Agra*, from *Decan* to *Agra*, from *Surat* to *Agra*, from *Tatta* in *Sinde* to *Agra*. *Agra* is in a manner in the heart of all his Kingdomes.

His Empire is diuided into five great Kingdomes, the first named *Pengab*, whereof *Labor* is the chiefe Seate; the second is *Bengala*, the chiefe Seat *Sonargham*; the third is *Malua*, the chiefe Seate is *Ugam*; the fourth is *Decan*, the chiefe Seate *Bramport*; the fifth is *Guzerat*, the chiefe Seat is *Amadanar*. The chiefe Citie or Seate Royall of the Kings of *India*, is called *Delly*, where hee is established King: and there all the Rites touching his Coronation are performed.

There are sixe especiall Castles, to say, *Agra*, *Guallier*, *Neruer*, *Ratamboore*, *Hassier*, *Roughtaz*. In euery one of these Castles he hath his Treasure kept.

In



In all his Empire there are three Arch-enemies or Rebels, which with all his Forces cannot be called in, to say, *Amberly Chapu* in *Decan*: in *Guzerat*, the Sonne of *Muzafer*, that was King, his name is *Bahador* of *Malua*, *Raga Rahana*. His Sonnes be five, to say, *Sultan Coussero*, *Sultan Pernis*, *Sultan Chorem*, *Sultan Shariar*, and *Sultan Bath*. Hee hath two yong Daughters, and three hundred Wiues, whereof foure be chiefe as Queenes, to say, the first, named *Padascha Barn*, Daughter to *Kaime Chan*: the second is called *Noore Mahal*, the Daughter of *Gais Beyge*: the third is the Daughter of *Seinchan*: the fourth is the Daughter of *Hakim Hamann*, who was Brother to his Father *Echer Padascha*.

10 His Treasure is as followeth, The first, is his severall Coine of Gold.

**I**nprimis, of *Seraffins Echeri*, which be ten *Rupias* a piece, there are sixtie *Leckes*. Of another sort of Coyne, of a thousand *Rupias* a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of another sort of halfe the value, there are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of Gold of twenty *Toles* a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of another sort of tenne *Toles* a piece, there be five and twenty thousand pieces. Of another sort of five *Toles*, which is this Kings stampe, of these there be fiftie thousand pieces.

A *Tole* is a *Rupia Chalangy*, of Siluer, and ten of these *Toles*, are the value of one of gold.

Of Siluer, as followeth.

20 **I**nprimis, of *Rupias Echeri*, thirteene *Cron* every *Cron* is an hundred *Leckes*, and every *Leck* an hundred thousand *Rupias*, is one thousand three hundred *Leckes*. Of another sort of Coine of *Selim Sha* this King, of an hundred *Toles* a piece, there are fiftie thousand pieces. Of fiftie *Toles* a piece, there is one *Lecke*. Of thirtie *Toles* a piece, there are fortie thousand pieces. Of twentie *Toles* a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of ten *Toles* a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of five *Toles* a piece, there are five and twentie thousand pieces. Of a certaine Money that is called *Sauoy*, which is a *Tole*  $\frac{1}{4}$ , of these there are two *Leckes*. Of *Iagaries*, whereof five make sixe *Toles*, there is one *Lecke*. More should haue bene coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was commanded.

30 Here followeth of his Jewells of all sorts.

**I**nprimis, Of *Diamantes*  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *Battman*, these be rough, of all sorts and sizes, great and small: but no lesse then  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *Caratts*. The *Battman* is fifty five pound waight, which maketh eightie two pounds  $\frac{1}{2}$  weight *English*. Of *Ballace Rubies* little and great, good and bad, there are single two thousand pieces. Of Pearle of all sorts, there are twelue *Battmans*. Of *Rubies* of all sorts there are two *Battmans*. Of *Emeraudes* of all sorts, five *Battmans*. Of *Eshime*, which stone commeth from *Cathaia*, one *Battman*. Of stones of *Emen*, which is a red stone, there are five thousand pieces. Of all other sorts as *Corall*, *Topasses*, &c. There is an infinite number.

*Eshime* a precious stone comming from *Cathaya*.

40 Here followeth of the Jewels wrought in Gold.

**O**F Swords of *Almaue* Blades, with the Hilt and Scabberds set with diuers sorts of rich stones, of the richest sort, there are two thousand and two hundred. Of two sorts of *Poniards* there be two thousand. Of *Saddle Drummes*, which they vie in their Hawking, of these there are very rich ones of Gold, set with stones, five hundred. Of *Brooches* for their heads, whereinto their Feathers be put, these be very rich, and of them there are two thousand. Of *Saddles* of Gold and Siluer set with stones, there are one thousand. Of *Tenkes* there be five and twentie, this is a great Launce couered with Gold, and the Fluke set with stones, and these instead of their colours, are carryed, when the King goeth to the warres, of these there are five and twentie. Of *Kutasoles* of state, for to shaddow him, there be twentie. None in his Empire dareth in any sort haue any of these carryed for his shadow but himselte, of these, I say, there are twentie. Of *Chaires* of Estate, there be five, to say, three of Siluer, and two of Gold: and of other sorts of *Chaires*, there be an hundred of Siluer and Gold, in all an hundred and five. Of rich *Glasses*, there be two hundred. Of *Vases* for Wine very faire and rich, set with Jewels, there are an hundred. Of drinking Cuppes five hundred, but fiftie very rich, that is to say, made of one piece of *Ballace Ruby*, and also of *Emerods*, of *Eshim*, of *Turkish* stone, and of other sorts of stones. Of *Chaines* of Pearle, and *Chaines* of all sorts of precious stones, and *Ringes* with Jewels of rich *Diamants*, *Ballace Rubies*, *Rubies* and old *Emerods*, there is an infinite number, which only the Keeper thereof knoweth. Of all sorts of plate, as *Dishes*, *Cups*, *Basons*, *Pots*, *Beakers* of Siluer wrought, there are two thousand *Battmans*. Of Gold wrought, there are one thousand *Battmans*.

*Eshim* stones of *Cathay*.

T r

Here



Here followeth of all sorts of Beasts.

Or Kasimire.

OF Horses there are twelue thousand. Whereof there bee of *Persian* Horses foure thousand, of *Turkie* Horses six thousand, and of *Kasimire* two thousand, all are twelue thousand.

Of Elephants, there be twelue thousand, whereof five thousand bee teeth Elephants, and seven thousand of thee ones, and yong ones, which are twelue thousand. Of Camels there be two thousand. Of Oxen for the Cart, and all other seruices, there bee tenne thousand. Of Moyles there be one thousand. Of Deere like Buckes for game and sport, there be three thousand. Of Ounces for Game, there be foure hundred. Of Dogges for hunting, as Grey-hounds and other, there be foure hundred. Of Lions tame there are an hundred. Of Buffaloes, there be five hundred. Of all sorts of Hawkes there bee foure thousand. Of Pidgeons for sport of flying, there bee ten thousand. Of all sorts of singing Birds, there be foure thousand.

Of Armour of all sorts at an houres warning, in a readinesse to arme five and twentie thousand men.

His daily expences for his owne person, that is to say, for feeding of his Cattell of all sorts, and amongst them some few Elephants Royall, and all other expences particularly, as Apparell, Victuals, and other petty expences for his house amounts, to fiftie thousand Rupias a day.

The expences daily for his Women by the day, is thirtie thousand Rupias.

All this written concerning his Treasure, Expences and monethly pay is in his Court, or Castle of *Agra*: and euery one of the Castles aboue nominated, haue their seuerall Treasure, especially Labor, which was not mentioned.

The Mogoll  
heire to euery  
man.

Raga Gaginat  
his wealth.

Daily suruey  
of the Kings  
wealth.

Elephants  
Royall.

The Custome of this *Mogoll* Emperour is to take possession of his Noblemens Treasure when they dye, and to bestow on his Children what he please: but commonly he dealeth well with them, possessing them with their Fathers Land, diuiding it amongst them: and vnto the eldest Sonne, hee hath a very great respect, who in time receiueth the full title of his Father. There was in my time a great *Indian* Lord or Prince, a *Gentile* named *Raga Gaginat*, vpon whose goods the Kings seizing after his death, he was found (besides Iewels and other Treasure) to haue sixtie *Maunes* in Gold, and euery *Maune* is five and fiftie pound waight. Also his custome is, that of all sorts of Treasure, excepting Coine, to say of all sorts of Beasts, and all other things of value, a small quantitie is daily brought before him. All things are seuerally diuided into three hundred and sixtie parts, so that hee daily seeth a certaine number, to say, of Elephants, Horses, Camels, Dromedaries, Moyles, Oxen, and all other: as also a certaine quantitie of Iewels, and so it continueth all the yeere long: for what is brought him to day is not seene againe, till that day twelue moneth.

He hath three hundred Elephants Royall, which are Elephants whereon himselfe rideth: and when they are brought before him, they come with great iollitie, hauing some twentie or thirty men before them with small Stremers. The Elephants Cloth or Couering is very rich, eyther of Cloth of Gold, or rich Veluet: hee hath following him his shee Elephant, his Whelp or Whelpes, and foure or five yong ones, as Pages which will bee in number some sixe, some seven, and some eight or nine. These Elephants and other Cattell, are dispersed among his Nobles and men of sort to ouer-see them, the King allowing them for their expences, a certaine quantitie: but some of them will eate a great deale more then their allowance commeth vnto. These Elephants Royall eate tenne Rupias euery day in Sugar, Butter, Graine, and Sugar Canes. These Elephants are the goodliest and fairest of all the rest, and tame withall, so managed, that I saw with mine eyes, when the King commanded one of his young Sonnes named *Shariar* (a Childe of seven yeeres of age) to goe to the Elephant to bee taken vp by him with his snout: who did so, deliuering him to his Keeper that commanded him with his hooke: and hauing done this vnto the Kings Sonne, he afterwards did the like to many other Children. When these Elephants are shewed, if they who haue the charge of them bring them leane, then are they checked and in disgrace; vnlesse their excuse bee the better: and so it is with all things else in that kinde, that euery man striueth to bring his quantitie in good liking, although hee spend of his owne.

The Kings  
Tents as large  
in compasse as  
*London*.

Forty thou-  
sand Elephants

When hee rideth on Progresse or Hunting, the compasse of his Tents may bee as much as the compasse of *London* and more, and I may say, that of all sorts of people that follow the Campe, there are two hundred thousand: for hee is provided, as for a Citie. This King is thought to be the greatest Emperour of the East, for Wealth, Land, and force of Men: as also for Horses, Elephants, Camels and Dromedaries. As for Elephants of his owne, and of his Nobles, there are fortie thousand; of which the one halfe are trayned Elephants for the Warre: and these



these Elephants of all beasts, are the most vnderstanding. I thought good here to set downe this one thing, which was reported to me for a certainty, although it seemed very strange. An Elephant hauing iournyed very hard, being on his trauell, was misused by his Commander, and one day finding the fellow asleepe by him, but out of his reach, hauing greene Canes brought him to eate, split the end of one of them with his teeth, and taking the other end of the Cane with his snout, reached it toward the head of the fellow, who being fast asleepe, and his turbant fallen from his head (the vse of *India* being to weare their haire long like Women) he tooke hold with the Cane on his haire, wreathing it therein, and withall, haling him vnto him, vntill he brought him within the compasse of his snout, he then presently killed him. Many other strange things  
10 are done by Elephants.

He hath also infinite numbers of *Dromedaries*, which are very swift, to come with great speed, to giue assault to any Citie, as this Kings Father did: so that the enemies thought he had beene in *Agra*, when he was at *Amadaur*: and he came from *Agra* thither in nine daies, vpon these *Dromedaries*, with twelue thousand choyce men, *Chan-channa* being then his Generall. The day being appointed for the battell, on a suddaine newes came of the Kings arriual, which stricke such a present feare into the *Guzerats*, that at that time they were ouerthrowne and conquered. This King hath diminished his chiefe Captaines, which were *Rasbootes*, or *Gentiles*, and naturall *Indians*, and hath preferred the *Mahumetans* (weak spirited men, void of resolution) in such sort, that what this mans Father, called *Echer Padafha*, got of the *Decans*, this King *Selim*  
20 *fha*, beginneth to loose. He hath a few good Captaines yet remaining, whom his father highly esteemed, although they be out of fauour with him, because that vpon his rebellion against his father, they would not assist him, considering his intent was naught: for he meant to haue shortened his Fathers daies, and before his time to haue come to the Crowne. And to that purpose, being in *Attabafe*, the regall seate of a kingdome called *Porub*, hee arose with eighty thousand horse, intending to take *Agra*, and to haue possession of the Treasury, his Father being then at the warres of *Decan*: who vnderstanding of his Sonnes pretence, left his conquering there, and made hast to come home to saue his owne. Before the Kings departure to the warres, hee gaue order to his Sonne to goe with his Forces vpon *Aranna*, that great Rebell in *Malua*, who  
30 comming to parle with this Rebell, he told the Prince, that there was nothing to bee gotten by him but blowes: and it were better for him, now his Father was at *Decan*, to goe vpon *Agra*, and possesse himselfe of his Fathers treasure, and make himselfe King, for there was no man able to resist him. The Prince followed his counsell, and would haue prosecuted it, but his Fathers hast before, vpon notice giuen, preuented his purpose: at whose arriual at *Agra*, hee presently sent vnto his Sonne, that he make choyce either to come and fall at his feete, and be at his mercy to doe with him as he pleased, or to fit himselfe for the battell and fight it out. He well considering the valour of his Father, thought it meetest to submit himselfe, and stand to his Fathers mercy: who after affronts shewed him and imprisonment, was soone released and pardoned, by reason of many friends, his Mother, Sisters, and others.

This *Selim Padafha* being in his rebellion, his father dispossessed him, and proclaimed heire apparant, his eldest Sonne *Coffero* being eldest Sonne to *Selimfha*: for his owne Sonnes younger Brothers to *Selim*, were all dead in *Decan* and *Guzerat*: yet shortly after his Father dyed, who in his death-bed had mercy on *Selim*, possessing him againe. But *Coffero*, who was proclaimed heire apparant, stomached his father, and rose with great troopes, yet was not able to indure after the losse of many thousand men on both sides: but was taken, and remaineth still in prison in the Kings Pallace, yet blinde, as all men report: and was so commaunded to be blinded by his father. So since that time, being now eight yeares after, he had commaunded to put all his sonnes confederates to death, with sundry kinds of death; some to bee hanged, some spitted, some to haue their heads chopped off, and some to bee torne by Elephants. Since which time hee hath  
50 raigned in quiet, but ill beloued of the greater part of his Subiects, who stand greatly in feare of him. His custome is every yeare to be out two moneths on hunting, as is before specified. When he meaneth to begin his journey, if comming forth of his Pallace, hee get vp on a Horse, it is a signe that he goeth for the warres: but if he get vp vpon an Elephant or Palankine, it will bee but an hunting voyage.

My selfe in the time that I was one of his Courtiers, haue seene many cruell deeds done by him. Foure times a weeke, he commaundeth his braue Elephants to fight before him: and in the time of their fighting, either comming or going out, many times men are killed, or dangerously hurt by these Elephants. But if any be grievously hurt (which might very well escape) yet neuerlesse that man is cast into the Riuer, himselfe commaunding it, saying: dispatch him, for as long as he liueth, he will doe nothing else but curse me, and therefore it is better that he dye presently. I haue seene many in this kind. Againe, hee delighteth to see men executed himselfe, and torne in peeces with Elephants. He put to death in my time his Secretary, onely vpon suspicion, that *Chan-channa* should write vnto the *Decan* King, who being sent for and examined about this matter, denied it: whereupon the King not hauing patience, arose from his seate, and  
60 with

*Dromedaries*  
swiftness.  
From *Agra* to  
*Amadaur* in  
nine daies.

*Selims* rebell-  
ion.

\* Or *Rabani*.

*Sultan Coffer*  
proclaimed.

Hee was not  
blinded, and  
is since (as you  
shall see in Sir  
*Tha. Roers* relati-  
ons) deliuered  
out of prison.

Cruell Execu-  
tions.



with his Sword gaue him his deadly wound, and afterwards deliuered him to bee torne by Elephants.

Seuerity.

Likewise, it happened to one who was a great friend of mine (a chiefe man, hauing vnder his charge the Kings Ward-robe, and all Woollen Cloath, and all sorts of mercery, and his *China* dishes) that a faire *China* dish (which cost ninetie Rupias, or fortie five Rials of eight) was broken, in this my friends time, by a mischance (when the King was in his progresse) being packed amongst other things, on a Cammell, which fell and broke all the whole parcell. This Nobleman knowing how deere the King loued this dish aboue the rest, presently sent one of his trusty seruants to *China-machina*, ouer land to seeke for another, hoping that before he should remember that dish, he would returne with another like vnto it: but his euill lucke was contrarie. 10 For the King two yeares after remembred this dish, and his man was not yet come. Now, when the King heard that the dish was broken, he was in a great rage, commanding him to be brought before him, and to be beaten by two men, with two great whips made of cords: and after that he had receiued one hundred and twenty of these lashes, he commanded his Porters, who be appointed for that purpose, to beate him with their small Cudgels, till a great many of them were broken: at the least twenty men were beating of him, till the poore man was thought to bee dead, and then he was haled out by the heeles, and commaunded to prison. The next day the King demaunded whether he was liuing, answer was made, that he was: whereupon, he commanded him to be carried vnto perpetuall prison. But the Kings Sonne being his friend, freed him of that, and obtained of his Father, that he might bee sent home to his owne house, and 20 there be cured. So after two moneths, he was reasonably well recouered, and came before the King, who presently commanded him to depart the Court, and neuer come againe before him, vntill he had found such a like dish, and that hee trauell for *China-machina* to seeke it: the King allowed him five thousand Rupias towards his charges; and besides, returning one fourth part of his liuing that he had before, to maintaine him in his trauell. He being departed, and foureteene moneths on his trauell, was not yet come home: but newes came of him, that the King of *Persia* had the like dish, and for pitties sake hath sent it him, who at my departure was on his way homeward.

*China-machina*.

Sultan Peruis.

Likewise, in my time it happened, that a *Pattan*, a man of good stature, came to one of the Kings Sonnes, named *Sultan Peruis*, to intreat him to bestow somewhat on him, by petition deliuered to one of the Princes chiefe men, at the deliuey whereof, the Prince caused him to come neere: and demanding of him whether hee would serue him; he answered, No, for he thought that the Prince would not grant him so much as he would aske. The Prince seeing him to be a pretty fellow, and meanelly apparelled, smiled, demanding what would content him: hee told him plainly, that hee would neither serue his Father nor him, vnder a thousand Rupias a day, which is 100. pound sterling. The Prince asked him what was in him that he demanded so much; he replied, make tryall of me with all sorts of weapons, either on horsebacke, or on foote, and for my sufficient command in the warres, if I doe not performe as much as I speake, let mee dye for it. The houre being come for the Prince to go to his Father, he gaue ouer his talk, commanding the man to be forth comming. At night the Kings custome being to drinke, the Prince 40 perceiuing his Father to be merry, told him of this man: so the King commaunded him to be brought before him. Now while he was sent for, a wilde Lyon was brought in, a very great one, strongly chained, and led by a dozen men and keepers: and while the King was viewing this Lyon, the *Pattan* came in, at whose sight the Prince presently remembred his Father. The King demanding of this *Pattan*, whence he was, and of what parentage, and what valour was in him, that he should demand so much wages: his answer was, that the King should make tryal of him. That I will, saith the King, goe wrastle and buffet with this Lyon. The *Pattans* answer was, that this was a wild beast, and to goe barely vpon him without weapon, would be no triall of his man-hood. The King not regarding his speech, commanded him to buckle with the Lyon, who did so, wrastling and buffeting with the Lyon a pretty while: and then the Lyon being 50 loose from his keepers, but not from his chaines, got the poore man within his clawes, and tore his body in many parts: and with his pawes tore the one halfe of his face, so that this valiant man was killed by this wilde beast. The King not yet contented, but desirous to see more sport, sent for ten men that were of his horse-men in pay, being that night on the watch: for it is the custome of all those that receiue pay, or liuing from the King, to watch once a weeke, none excepted, if they be well, and in the Citie. These men one after another, were to buffet with the Lyon, who were all grievously wounded, and it cost three of them their liues. The King continued three moneths in this vaine, when he was in his humors, for whose pleasure sake, many men lost their liues, and many were grievously wounded. So that euer after, vntill my comming away, some fifteene young Lyons were made tame, and played one with another before the 60 King, frisking betweene mens legs, and no man hurt in a long time.

Proud demand

Cruell command.

Bloody experiments.

Jewels and Gemmes.

Likewise, he cannot abide, that any man should haue any precious stone of value, for it is death if he know it not at that present time, and that he hath the refusall thereof. His Jeweller, a *Ban-*  
*nian*,



nian, named *Herranand*, had bought a Diamond of three Mettegals, which cost one hundred thousand Rupias: which was not so closely done, but newes came to the King: *Herranand* likewise was befriended, being presently acquainted therewith, who before the King sent for him, came vnto him, and challenged the King that he had often promised him that he would come to his house: the King answered that it was true. *Herranand* therefore replied, that now was the time, for that he had a faire Present to bestow vpon his Maestie: for that he had bought a stone of such a weight. The King smiled, and said, Thy lucke was good to preuent me. So preparation was made, and to the *Bannians* house he went. By this meanes, the King hath ingrossed all faire stones, that no man can buy from five Carats ywards, without his leave: for he hath the refusall of all, and giueth not by a third part so much as their value. There was a Diamant cutter of my acquaintance, that was sent for to cut a Diamant of three Mettegals and a halfe, who demanded a small foule Diamant to make powder, wherewith to cut the other Diamant. They brought him a Chest, as he said, of three spannes long, and a spanne and halfe broad, and a spanne and halfe deepe, full of Diamants of all sizes and sorts: yet could he find neuer any one for his purpose, but one of five Rotties, which was not very foule neither.

Costly entertainment.

An ineffimable rich coffre of Diamonds.

He is exceeding rich in Diamants, and all other precious stones, and usually weareth euery day a faire Diamant of great price, and that which he weareth this day, till his time be come about to weare it againe, he weareth not the same: that is to say, all his faire Jewels are diuided into a certaine quantitie or proportion, to weare euery day. He also weareth a chaine of Pearle, very faire and great, and another chaine of Emeralds, and ballace Rubies. Hee hath another Jewell, that commeth round about his Turbant, full of faire Diamants and Rubies. It is not much to be wondered, that he is so rich in Jewels, and in Gold and Siluer, when he hath heaped together the Treasure and Jewels of so many Kings, as his forefathers haue conquered, who likewise were a long time in gathering them together: and all came to his hands. Againe, all the money and Jewels which his Nobles heape together, when they die come all vnto him, who giueth what hee listeth to the Noblemens wiues and children: and this is done to all them that receiue pay, or liuing from the King. *India* is rich in siluer, for all Nations bring Coyne, and carry away commodities for the same; and this Coyne is buried in *India*, and goeth not out: so it is thought, that once in twentie yeeres it commeth into the Kings power. All the lands in his Monarchie are at his disposing, who giueth and taketh at his pleasure. If I haue lands at *Lahor*, being sent vnto the warres at *Decan*, another hath the lands, and I am to receiue mine in *Decan*, or thereabouts, neere the place where I am, whether it be in the warres, or that I be sent about any other businesse, for any other countrey. And men are to looke well vnto their doings: for if they be found tardie in neuer so little a matter, they are in danger of loosing their lands: and if complaints of Iniustice which they doe, be made vnto the King, it is well if they escape with losse of their lands.

Cause of so great wealth.

He is very seuer in such causes, and with all seueritie punisheth those Captaines, who suffer out-lawes to giue assault vnto their Citie, without resisting. In my time there were some eight Captaines, who had their liuing vpon the borders of *Bengala*, in a chiefe Citie called *Pattana*, which was suffered to be taken by out-lawes, and they all fled: but that Citie was againe restored by a great Captaine, who was Commander of a Countrey neere thereabouts; who tooke all those Captaines that fled, and sent them to the King, to vse punishment vpon them at his pleasure. So they were brought before the King in chaines, and were presently commanded to be shauen, both head and beard, and to weare womens apparell, riding vpon asses, with their faces backwards, and so carried about the Citie. This being done, they were brought before the King againe, and there whipped, and sent to perpetuall prison: and this punishment was inflicted vpon them in my sight. He is seuer enough, but all helpeth not, for his poore Riats or Clownes complaine of Iniustice done them, and cry for Iustice at the Kings hands. They come to a certaine place, where a long rope is fastened vnto two pillars, neere vnto the place where the King sitteth in Iustice. This rope is hanged full of Bels, plated with gold, so that the rope being shaken, the Bels are heard by the King: who sendeth to know the cause, and doth his Iustice accordingly. At his first comming to the Crowne, he was more seuer then now he is; which is the cause that the Countrey is so full of outlawes, and theewes, that almost a man cannot stirre out of doores, throughout all his Dominions, without great forces: for they are all become Rebels.

Those lands which are let pay to the king two thirds of the profit: and of those which he giueth in fee, one third remaineth to the King. In all the world is not more fertile land, then in some great parts of his Dominions. Punishment of Cowards. A chiefe Citie called *Pattana*. He calleth rebels (as the *Mogols* did) those that refused subiection, though perhaps some of them were free Kings, as this *Razane*, or *Ranana*, supposed to be the true successor of *Porus*, whom *Alexander* conquered. He is now brought, or brought rather (as they say) peaceably to acknowledge tribute to the *Mogol*.

There is one great *Ragane* betwixt *Agra* and *Amadanar*, who commandeth as much land as a good Kingdome: and all the forces the *Mogol* hath, cannot bring him in, for his forces are vpon the Mountaines. He is twentie thousand strong in Horse, and fittie thousand strong in Foote; and many of these Rebels are in all his Dominions: but this is one of the greatest. There are many risen at *Candabar*, *Cabul*, *Moldun*, and *Sinde*, and in the Kingdome of *Baloch*: *Bengala* likewise, *Decan*, and *Guzerat* are full, so that a man can trauell no way for out-lawes. Their Government is in such a barbarous kind, and cruell exacting vpon the Clownes, which causeth them to be so head-strong. The fault is in the Chiefe, for a man cannot continue halfe a yeere in his liuing, but it is taken from him and giuen vnto another: or else the King taketh it for himselfe (if it be rich ground, and likely to yeeld much) making exchange for a worse place: or as he is befriended of the Vizir. By this meanes he racketh the poore, to get from them what he can, who



still thinketh every houre to be put out of his place. But there are many, who continue a long time in one place, and if they remaine but sixe yeeres, their wealth which they gaine is infinite, if it be a thing of any sort. The custome is, they are allowed so much liuing to maintaine that Port which the King hath giuen them, that is to say, they are allowed twentie Rupias of euery horse by the Moneth, and two Rupias by the Moneth for euery horse Fame, for the maintenance of their Table. As thus: A Captaine that hath five thousand horse to maintaine in the warres, hath likewise of Fame other five thousand, which he is not to maintaine in the warres, but onely for his Table, allowed vpon euery horse by the Moneth two Rupias, and the other five thousand, twenty Rupias by the Moneth: and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed.

The great Mogol's deuotions.  
Some suppose him author of a new sect.

Now here I meane to speake a little of his manners, and customes in the Court. First, in the morning about the breake of day, he is at his Beades, with his face turned to the West-ward. The manner of his praying when he is in *Agra*, is in a priuate faire roome, vpon a goodly Iet stone, hauing onely a *Persian* Lamb-skinne vnder him: hauing also some eight chaines of Beads, euery one of them containing foure hundred. The Beads are of rich Pearle, ballace Rubyes, Diamonds, Rubyes, Emeralds, Lignum Aloes, Eshem, and Corall. At the vpper end of this Iet stone, the Pictures of our *Lady* and *Christ* are placed, grauen in stone: so he turneth ouer his Beads, and saith, three thousand two hundred words, according to the number of his Beads, and then his Prayer is ended. After he hath done, he sheweth himselfe to the people, receiuing their Salames, or good morrowes, vnto whom multitudes resort euery morning for this purpose. This done, hee slee-<sup>20</sup> peth two houres more, and then dineth, and passeth his time with his Women, and at noone hee sheweth himselfe to the people againe, sitting till three of the clocke, viewing and seeing his Pastimes, and sports made by men, and fighting of many sorts of beasts, euery day sundry kinds of Pastimes. Then at three of the clocke, all the Nobles in generall (that be in *Agra*, and are well) resort vnto the Court, the King comming forth in open audience, sitting in his Seat-Royall, and euery man standing in his degree before him, his chiefeest sort of the Nobles standing within a red Rayle, and the rest without. They are all placed by his Lieutenant Generall. This red Rayle, is three steppes higher then the place where the rest stand: and within this red Rayle I was placed, amongst the chiefeest of all. The rest are placed by Officers, and they likewise be within an other very spacious place rayled: and without that Rayle, stand all sorts of horsemen and souldiers, that<sup>30</sup> belong vnto his Captaines, and all other commers. At these Rayles, there are many doores kept by many Porters, who haue white rods to keepe men in order. In the midst of the place, right before the King, standeth one of his Sheriffes, together with his Master Hangman, who is accompanied with forty hangmen, wearing on their heads a certaine quilted cap, different from all others, with an Hatchet on their shoulders: and others with all sorts of Whips, being there, readie to doe what the King commandeth. The King heareth all causes in this place, and stayeth some two houres euery day (these Kings of *India* sit daily in Iustice euery day, and on the Tuesdaies doe their executions.) Then he departeth towards his priuate place of Prayer: his Prayer beeing ended, foure or five sorts of very well dressed and roasted meats are brought him, of which as hee pleaseth, he eateth a bit to stay his stomacke, drinking once of his strong drinke. Then hee com-<sup>40</sup> meth forth into a priuate roome, where none can come, but such as himselfe nominateth, (for two yeeres together I was one of his attendants here.) In this place he drinketh other five cupfuls, which is the portion that the Physicians allot him. This done, he eateth Opium, and then he ariseth, and being in the height of his drinke, he layeth him downe to sleepe, euery man departing to his owne home. And after he hath slept two houres, they awake him, and bring his Supper to him, at which time he is not able to feed himselfe; but it is thrust into his mouth by others, and this is about one of the clocke: and then he sleepe the rest of the night.

Captain Hawkins, two yeeres together neere about the great Mogol.

Now in the space of these sixe cups, he doth many idle things; and whatsoeuer he doth, either without or within, drunken or sober, he hath writers, who by turnes set downe euery thing in writing which he doth: so that there is nothing passeth in his life time, which is not noted; no,<sup>50</sup> not so much as his going to the necessary; and how often he lieth with his women, and with whom: and all this is done vnto this end, that when he dieth, these writings of al his actions and speeches, which are worthy to be set downe, might be recorded in the Chronicles. At my being with him, he made his brothers children Christians; the doing whereof was not for any zeale he had to Christianitie, as the Fathers, and all Christians thought; but vpon the prophcie of certain learned *Gentiles*, who told him, that the sonnes of his body should be disinherited, and the children of his brother should raigne. And therefore he did it, to make these children hatefull to all *Moors*, as Christians are odious in their sight: and that they beeing once Christians, when any such matter should happen, they should find no subiects: but God is omnipotent, and can turne the making of these Christians vnto a good ende, if it be his pleasure.

The Mogol makes his brothers children Christians. This Christianitie is since disclaymed, & was then but a trick, rather of sensualitye, the of deuotion or state.

This King amongst his children, hath one called *Sultan Shariar*, of seuen yeeres of age, and his Father on a day, being to goe some whether to solace himselfe, demanded of him whether hee would goe with him: the child answered, That if it pleased his Highnesse, he would either goe or stay, as the pleasure of his Father was. But because his answer was not, that withall his heart he would



would write vpon his Minstrelle, he was very well buffered by the King, and that in such sort, that no child in the world but would haue cryed; which this child did not. Wherefore his Father demanded why he cryed not; he answered, That his Nurfes told him, that it was the greatest shame in the world, for Princes to cry when they were beaten; and euer since they nurtured me in this king, faith he, I neuer cryed, and nothing shall make me cry to the death. Vpon which speech, his Father being more vexed, strake him againe, and caused a bodkin to bee brought him; which he thrust through his choeke; but all this would not make him cry, although he bled very much, which was admired of all, that the Father should doe this vnto his child, and that he was so stout, that hee would not crye. There is great hope of this child to exceed all the rest.

10 This Emperour keepeth many feasts in the year, but two feasts especially may be nominated, the one called the *Nimona*, which is in honour of the New-yeares day. This feast continueth

Two feasts.

eighteene daies, and the wealth and riches are wonderfull, that are to be seene in the decking and setting forth of euery mans roome, or place where he lodgeth, when it is his turne to watch: for euery Nobleman hath his place appointed him in the Palace. In the middelt of that spacious place I speake of, there is a rich Tent pitched, but so rich, that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world. This Tent is curiously wrought, and hath many *Seminants* ioyning round about it, of most curious wrought Velvet, embroidered with Gold, and many of them are of Cloath of Gold and Silver. These *Seminants* be shaddowes to keepe the Sonne from the compasse of this Tent. I may say, it is at the least two Acres of ground, but so richly spread with Silke

An exceeding rich Tent.

20 and Gold Carpets, and Hangings in the principall places, rich, as rich Velvet imbrodered with Gold, Pearle, and precious stones can make it. Within it fve Chaires of Estate are placed, most rich to behold, where at his pleasure the King sitteth. There are likewise priuate roomes made for his Queenes, most rich where they sit, and see all, but are not seene. So round about this Tent, the compasse of all may bee some fve Acres of ground. Euery principall Noble-man maketh his roomes, and decketh it, likewise euery man according to his ability, striueth who may adorne his roomes richest. The King where he doth affect, cometh to his Noble-mens roomes, and is most sumptuously feasted there: and at his departure, is presented with the rarest Jewels and toyes that they can find. But because he will not receiue any thing at that time as a present, he commandeth his Treasurer to pay what his prayfers valew them to bee worth, which are va-

30 lewed at halfe the price. Euery one, and all of his Nobles prouide toyes, and rare things to giue him at this feast: so commonly at this feast euery man his estate is augmented. Two daies of this feast, the better sort of the Women come to take the pleasure thereof: and this feast beginneth at the beginning of the Moone of March. The other feast is some foure moneths after, which is called the feast of his Birth-day: This day euery man striueth who may be the richest in apparell and Jewels. After many sports and pastimes performed in his Palace, he goeth to his mothers house, with all the better sort of his Nobles, where euery man presenteth a Jewell vnto his Mother, according to his estate. After the hacket is ended, the King goeth into a very faire roomes, where a ballance of beaten Gold is hanged, with one scale emptie for him to sit in; the other scale being filled with diuers things, that is to say, Silver, Gold, diuers sorts of Grain, lictle, and so of euery kind of Mettall a little, and with all sorts of precious stones some: In fine, he weigheth himselfe with these things, which the next day are giuen to the poore, and all may be valued to be worth\* ten thousand pounds. This day, before he goeth vnto his mothers house, euery man bringeth him his Present, which is thought to be ten times more worth, then that which he giueth to the poore. This done, euery man departeth vnto his home.

The feast of his Birth-day.

\* See hereof Sir Thom. Roe.

His custome is, that when you petition him for any thing, you must not come empty handed, but giue him some toy or other, whether you write or no: by the gift you giue him, he knoweth that you would demand some thing of him: so after enquiry is made, if he seeth it conuenient, he granteth it.

50 The custome of the *Indians*, is to burne their dead, as you haue read in other Authors, and at their burning, many of their Wiues will hurne with them: because they will bee registred in their bookes, for famous and most modest and louing Wiues, who leauing all worldly affaires, content themselves to liue no longer then their Husbands. I haue seene many proper Women brought before the King, whom (by his commandement) none may burne without his leaue and sight of them, I meane those of *Agra*. When any of these cometh, hee doth perswade them with many promises of gifts and liuing if they will liue: but in my time no perswasion could preuaile, but burne they would. The King seeing that all would not serue, giueth his leaue for her to be carried to the fire, where she burneth her selfe aliue with her dead husband.

Voluntary burning of women with their dead husbands.

Likewise his custome is, when any great Noble-man hath bene absent from him two or three yeares, if they come in fauour, and haue performed well, hee receiue them in manner

60 and forme following.

First, the Noble-man stayeth at the gate of the Pallace, till the Vizir and Lieutenant General, and Knight Martiall come to accompany him vnto the King: then he is brought to the gate of the outermost rayles, whereof I haue spoken before, where hee standeth in the view of the King, in the middelt betweene these two Nobles; then he toucheth the ground with his hand,

Fauourable entertainment of the Grandes

and



and also with his head, very grauely, and doth thus three times. This done, he kneeleth downe touching the ground with his fore-head, which being once done, he is carried forward towards the King, and in the midway he is made to doe this reuerence againe: then he commeth to the doore of the red rayles, doing the like reuerence the third time: and hauing thus done, he commeth within the red rayles, and doth it once more vpon the Carpets. Then the King commandeth him to come vp the staires or ladder of seauen steppes, that he may embrace him; where the King most louingly embraceth him before all the people, whereby they shall take notice, that he is in the Kings fauour. The King hauing done this, he then commeth downe, and is placed by the Lieutenant Generall according to his degree. Now if he come in disgrace, through exclamations made against him, he hath none of these honours from the King, but is placed in his place till he come to his tryall. This King is very much adored of the Heathen Commality, insomuch, that they will spread their bodies all vpon the ground, rubbing the earth with their faces on both sides. They vse many other fopperies and superstitions, which I omit, leauing them for other Travellers, which shall come from thence hereafter.

Funerall feast  
or Obie for his  
Father?

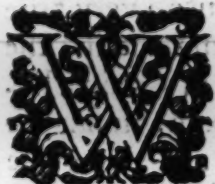
Sumptuous  
Sepulchre.

After I had written this, there came into my memory another Feast, solemnized at his Fathers Funerall, which is kept at his Sepulchre, where likewise himselfe, with all his posterity, meane to be buried. Vpon this day there is great store of victuals dressed, and much money giuen to the poore. This Sepulchre may be counted one of the rarest Monuments of the world. It hath bene this foureteene yeares a building, and it is thought it will not be finished these seauen yeares more, in ending gates and walls, and other needfull things, for the beautifying and setting of it forth. The least that worke there daily, are three thousand people: but thus much I will say, that one of our Worke-men will dispatch more then three of them. The Sepulchre is some  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile about made square: it hath seauen heights built, euery height narrower then the other, till you come to the top where his Herse is. At the outermost gate, before you come to the Sepulchre, there is a most stately Palace building: the compasse of the wall ioyning to this gate of the Sepulchre and garding, being within, may be at the least three miles. This Sepulchre is some foure miles distant from the Citie of *Agra*.

## CHAP. VIII.

*The Voyage of M<sup>r</sup> DAVID MIDDLETON in the Consent, a Ship of one hundred and fiftene Tuns, which set forth from Tilburie Hope, on the twelfth of March, 1606.*

The 16. of Iuly  
1607.



E anchored in the Roade of *Saldania* all our men in good health: onely *Peter Lambert* the day before fell off the top-most head, whereof he dyed.

The one and twentieth, the Captain and Master went to *Pengwin* Iland, three leagues distant from the Roade, where wee saw such abundance of Seales and *Pengwins*, that it was admirable, for you may driue five hundred *Pengwins* together in a flocke, and thousands of Seales together vpon the shore. The Iland is not about some threemiles long, and some two miles broad: but in mine opinion, there is not an Iland in the world more frequented with Fowle and Seales then this Iland. It hath *Pengwins*, *Wildegeese*, *Ducke*, *Drake*, and *Pellicanes*, and diuers other Fowle, and after some pleasure taken there, we returned againe vnto our ship.

Hauing bought some Cattle, and ended all our businesse, and our men well refreshed, wee weighed Anchor the nine and twentieth day, about foure of the clocke in the morning, with very little wind, and came out of the Road of *Saldania*, our men in very good health, and loath to depart without the company of our Admirall and Vice-Admirall: but we were not certaine of their arriual there, which made vs make so little stay, so directing our course for *S. Laurence*, we left *Saldania*.

The thirtieth day calme all day, till three of the clocke in the afternoone, and then we had a fresh gale at South-west, and we steered away halfe a watch South and by West, and two watches and an halfe South-East, and at tenne of the clocke at night the Cape *De Bona Esperansa*, bare North of vs, and all that night blew very much winde, and the Sea much growne: and the ship came betwixt twelue of the clocke at night, and twelue of the clocke next day, being the one and thirtieth of Iuly, nine and twenty leagues, all this day a very pleasant gale, sometimes raine, we came foure leagues from the Cape.

August 1. 1607  
Cape Agullis  
North fifty  
five fathome.

The first of August we had very faire weather, sometimes a gale, and sometimes calme, continuing so all day, and we steered away two watches South-East and by East, and three watches at East and by South, the wind variable, sometimes at South, and sometimes at South by East darke weather, and she ran some one and twenty leagues, then wee were in five and thirty degrees, and twenty two minuts of height.

The



The seuen and twentieth of August, the winde at North-west, and we steered away East, and by South; and at two of the clocke, we saw the land of *S. Laurence*, or *Madagascar*, by estimation some sixe leagues off; and then we steered away North, and by West; and at noone we obserued, and made the ship to be in twentie foure degrees, and fortie minutes, the variation at night sixteene degrees, and twentie three minutes.

The thirtieth, at five of the clocke in the afternoone, we anchored in the Bay of *S. Augustine*, Bay of *S. Augustine*, in sixe fathome and an halfe, great grauell; and we were inforced to goe to lee-ward, being to the roome-wards of the Road before we could get in, by reason of a great breach that lyes off the bay, and then came in close vpon a tacke, and had in comming in seuen, sixe and an halfe, and five fathomes all the way, and came very faire by the breach, and rid in the Road, with two Ilands in the wind of vs, and the breach both.

The one and thirtieth day, our Captaine with *M. Davis* went in our long boat to viewe the Ilands, and I my selfe as we went, sounded close aboard the Breach, and had sixe fathomes. One of the Ilands is very small, as it were a banke of sand, and nothing on it: the other is about a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, and nothing vpon it, but some small store of Wood.

The first of September, 1607. we weighed anchor from our first place, and came within two miles of the mouth of the Riuer, and rid in five fathome and an halfe, very fast ground, for where we rid before it was very foule ground, so that we brake one of our Cables in the weighing. I iudge it to be some three leagues from our first place, where we had vrey foule ground.

20 The seuenth day, hauing ended all our businesse, being prouided of wood and water, and all things else, we weighed anchor in the morning about five of the clocke, with the wind at East and by North a pleasant gale, and we steered away, comming out West, and West and by North, til we were cleere of the Breaches, and we brought to sea with vs foure Goats, three Sheep, and a yong Heifer: here we found great plenty of victuals, both Sheepe and Beeues for little value. This day we obserued some three miles from the Iland, before the Bay of *S. Augustine*, and wee made it to be in twenty three degrees and fortie eight minutes of latitude, and after wee were cleare of the Breach, which lies to the North-ward of the Iland, we steered away South South-west, and South and by West, sometimes with very faire weather, the wind at South-East, and by East a pleasant gale.

A marke on shore most like a barne or a long house.

30 The eleuenth, a fresh gale at South-east, and South-east and by East, and wee stood into the shore till midnight, and then we saw a great breach, right a head hard by vs, but wee heard the rut before we saw it (God be praised) and so we tackd, and stood off againe presently. And at noone obserued, and made the Ship to be in twentie five degrees, and twentie two minutes of latitude.

The twelfth of Nouember in the morning, we saw an Iland, and stood to make it, and found it to be *Ingana*, and came to the North-side of it: the Iland is in length five leagues or thereabout: it lies East and by South, and West and by North: the Easter end is the highest land, and the Wester end is full of trees. It lies in latitude in five degrees and an halfe, and the variation is foure degrees and thirteene minutes. So after we had made it, hauing the wind at West North-west, we steered away for the maine of *Sumatra* East and by South, and East South-east a pleasant gale, but very much raine: so the thirteenth day in the morning, wee saw the maine land of *Sumatra* some foure leagues from vs.

Nouemb. 13. 1607.

The foureteenth, we anchored in *Bantam* Roade, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, being Saturday, where we found the Merchants in very good health, and all things in good order. The next day our Captaine went on shore, and spake with *M. Tower* on concerning the shippes businesse, and agreed to haue our Iron and Lead a shore which we brought with vs: which beeing effected, with some roomaging, and hauing fitted our ship in good order, and taken in Merchandize, and our Merchants for the *Moluccos*, with leaue taken of the Merchants, we set saile from *Bantam* Roade the sixt of December, 1607. with little wind, and came out of the Roade, and anchored that night in sight of the high land of *Bantam*. The next day, weighed in the morning, and sailed with a prosperous wind still continuing faire, passing many Ilands, and sunken ground. Some nights we sayled, and other-some lay a hull: raine, thunder, and lightening was no strange thing to vs in those parts, but one comfort we had, that God gaue vs a fayre wind, where-with we sayled merrily on our intended Voyage.

Decemb. 6. 1607.

60 In the beginning of Ianuarie, they arrived at the Moluccos. The rest of this Moneth was spent in entertainments and complements betwixt Ours and the Spaniards, as likewise with the Moluccan Princes. So was the whole Moneth of February also. The reason was, The Spaniards durst not admit vs trade till the Camp Master had giuen leaue. And he in those broyles twixt him and the Hollanders, except Ours would doe or seeme to doe some piece of seruice, at least accompanying their ships for greater shew (which our Captaine absolutely refused, being against his Commission) excused himselfe. Meane while they had priuy trade with the people by night, and were Ioniall and frolicke by day with the Spaniards, which both gaue and receiued kind welcomes. In the beginning of March, they were permitted open trade. But this within few dayes was countermanded, and wee commanded to be gone. And thus they spent the time till March the foureteene when they weighed anchor, and set saile.

Some



Some trade they had also in the way. This part of the Journall is long, and I have omitted it, as elsewhere in those things which I thought might be tedious.

March, 23.  
1608.  
Straits of Bangaya.

The three and twentieth, 1608. we entered the Straits of *Bangaya*. Whereunto having entered, our Captaine determined to send off his long boat to seeke for water, for here he purposed to store himselfe therewith. While he was thus determining, there came a Prow off from the Iland, with all the speed he could make, who came vnto vs, and spake with vs, of whom we demanded, whether there were any fresh water in that Iland: who made answer, that if our Captaine pleased, he would bring vs to very good water: whereupon we stood ouer for the East shore, and anchored about one of the clocke in the afternoone, in sixtie fathomes of water, where there runs a most cruell Current. Then after we came to anchor, sitting our long Boat with caske, we went 10 with the *Indian* to fetch water: where while they were fitting the Boat, he sold some fresh fish for *China* dishes, very cheape. So at night our men came aboard, and brought very good water, but had a wearisome rowth of it, being five miles distant from the place where we anchored.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, we went againe for an other Boats lading of water: and this morning by day breake, there came of the countrey people about one hundred Prowes, men and women, and brought vs fish, both dry fish, and fresh fish very good, of both kinds great plentie, and very cheape. They brought vs also Hogges, great and small, which they sold vs for course white cloth, and Hennes and Cocks in abundance at the like price: some for *China* dishes, and some for cloth. They brought vs also fruits, as Plantans, Cassathoe roots, and diuers other fruits, and staid aboard vs all day, that sometimes we were not able to stirre vp and downe the 20 ship for them. In the afternoone, the King sent our Captaine some Plantans, and *Irea pote* to drinke, which is a kind of water called by that name; our Captain gaue the Messenger great thanks in his Kings behalfe, and to requite his kindnesse, sent him a rich Pintado. Then he departed, and all the rest: and about tenne of the clocke at night we weighed anchor, and in the weighing, we broke both our Star-board anchors flocks. Then sayling away with very little wind, at length manned our long Boate, and towed our ship all night: for if we had not towed her in this calme, we had been driven to lee-ward more then we should haue gotten againe in three dayes, without a fresh gale of wind, the Current runnes so strong there.

King of Buttone.

The nineteenth of Aprill, the King of *Buttone* sent one of his brothers againe, to know whether our Captaine were willing he should come aboard; for he was very desirous to see both him 30 and our ship; because he had heard much of *Englishmen*, but neuer saw any. Our Captaine sent him word, that he should thinke himselfe much graced if he came. Presently the King came off in his Caricoll, rowed at least with an hundred oares, hauing in her besides about foure hundred men with armes, well appointed to fight, and sixe brasse pieces, and in her company five Caricols more, which had at the least a thousand men in them: so our Captaine sent according to his demand, a pledge for him, one *Francis Kelly* which was our Surgeon. Then he came aboard our Captaine, who kindly entertained him, and intreated him to take part of a banquet of sweet meates, which he kindly accepted; and after the banquet ended, our Captaine demanded what he had to sell: who replied, he had Pearle, and Turtell shels, and some cloth, which they make themselves, which as we thought was made of Cotton stript. Then our Captaine intreated to see 40 some of his Pearle; who said, he had none there, for he came but vpon pleasure, not thinking to haue met with any ship: but if it pleased him to goe with his ship to *Buttone* (which was some night and a dayes sailing thence) he should see great store of Pearle, and any thing that hee had to sell. And because (said he) the place is vnknowne to you, I will send you a Pilot, which shall bring you thither: our Captaine and Factor considering of his speeches, thought best to accept of his kind offer, in regard it was nothing out of the way to *Bantam*: and bestowed vpon him a Musket, a Sword, and a Pintado, thanking him for his kindnesse, that he would vouchsafe to come aboard his ship: to whom the King made answer, that he had not any now worth the giuing to bestow vpon our Captaine, but promised to requite his kindnesse before his departure: and in the meane time intreated our Captaine, to accept of two peices of their cloth, who received them 50 with many thanks. About three of the clocke in the afternoone he tooke his leaue of our Captaine, promising presently to send vs a Pilot, to carry vs to the Towne of *Buttone*. Then wee brought the Cable to the Capstoll, and weighed, and the Pilot came aboard. And at night the King sent a Caricoll vnto vs, to see if we wanted any thing, and to beare vs company to *Buttone*, by whom he sent our Captaine a Goat. Then we stood away for *Buttone* with a small gale, but at night it was calme, and the tyde against vs, and we came to an anchor in two and twenty fathomes of water, because we would not driue to lee-ward, and in the morning weighed againe, and stood for the Towne of *Buttone*.

The King of Cobina.

The one and twentieth, about tenne of the clocke, our Purser (who had beene sent ashore the day before) came aboard againe, and brought with him Hennes and Cocos, and told vs that the 60 *Indians* had carried him vnto a King, who when he came vnto him, was very glad to see him, because he was the first *Englishman* that euer he had seene. At his first comming to his house, hee found him drinking and carowsing with his Nobles, and round about where he sate, all hanged about with diuers mens heads, which he before had conquered: so after some little stay, hee tooke his



his leaue, and came to the Caracoll againe, and lay all night aboard her. This night we anchored in twentie fathomes of water, the place not halfe a mile broad.

The two and twentieth in the morning, it was very little wind, yet wee weighed, and our long Boat towed vs through the Straits, seeing the tide was with vs, and she went a head amaine: so about eleven of the clocke, we came in sight of the Towne of *Buttone*, and came to anchor in five and twentie fathomes of water, some mile and an halfe from the Towne, where wee staid the Kings comming, but he came not that night. Here we sent our Boat ashore, and bought fresh fish for our Companie.

The three and twentieth, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, the King came vp vnder our sterne, and with him some fortie Caracells, and rowed round about vs, very gallantly set forth with his colours and pendants: and after this, they rowed toward the towne, and our Captaine entertained him with a volley of small shot, and all his Ordnance; and after, caused his long Boat to be manned, then accompanied with M. *Siddall* and his followers, went ashore to the Towne of *Buttone*. The King likewise entertained our Captaine with his smal shot, and his Ordnance, affirming that his heart was now at rest, seeing he had seen the *English* Natio: promising to do our Captaine all the kindeesse that in him lay: whereat our Captaine gaue him humble thanks, and for that time tooke his leaue, and came aboard, and in the morning weighed, and stood further into the Roade, and anchored in seven and twentie fathomes of water, some halfe a mile from the shore.

They goe on shore to *Buttone*.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, there came aboard our ship a *Iana Nokeyday*, which had a Iuncke in the Road laden with Cloues, which came from *Amboyna*, with whom our Factor M. *Siddall* talked: this *Ianan* promised our Captaine (if so he pleased) hee should haue all his Cloues. The King intreated our Captaine to take part of his dinner, and to beare with the homely fashion of their Countrey: for comming into the Roome where they sate, their meate was serued in, in great Chargers made of a kind of wood, close couered with clothes; thus their meat being set before them, the King, our Captaine, and M. *Siddall* dined together, where we had great cheare, and our drinke was *Iera pote*, very pleasant and sweete in tast, and the King was very merry. And after dinner he had some talke concerning the Cloues which wee should haue, and promised the next day to come aboard himselfe, or send some one of his attendants, to see a muster of all his Cloath: then our Captaine giue him great thanks, and tooke his leaue, and came aboard.

The five and twentieth, the Kings Vncle came aboard of vs to see our ship, where our Captaine kindly entertained him; and after him came the Kings brother, and stayed dinner with our Captaine, and after tooke his leaue, we still expecting the Kings comming, but he came not himselfe, but sent his Sonne and the Pilot, and they had a view of the cloth, and liked it very well.

The sixe and twentieth, the King and his Sonne came aboard, and dined with our Captaine, and had great cheare, and the King was very merry, and much desired dauncing, whereupon some of our men danced before him, who was well pleased, both at their dauncing and musique: at night the Kings Vncle sent our Captaine foure fat Hoggies.

The seven and twentieth, there was another King of an Iland thereby, which came in his Caracoll, and his wife with him, who viewed our ship, but we could not intreat him to come aboard. Our ship being laden to the full with Cloues, bought in this place of the *Ianans*, our Captaine bought some slaues of the King, and as we were busie this night, one of them stole out of our Captaines cabbindore, and leapt into the sea, and swumme ashore, and was neuer heard of. Then our Captaine the next morning sent *Augustine Spalding* our *Iurabassa*, to certifie the King of his escape, and in what manner, who presently made restitution for it, and gaue him another; and then taking leaue of the King, came aboard. May the second, we proceeded for our intended and wished port of *Bantam*, and gaue the Towne of *Buttone* three pieces of Ordnance for a farewell. The third we had sight of the Straights of *Celebes*, and stood into it with all the saile wee could make; but could not get so neere before night approaching.

The ship full laden with Cloues.

May the two and twentieth, we anchored in the road of *Bantam*. We found not one Christian ship there, but foure *China* Iunckes which came from *China*, as their vse is with Taffaties, Damaskes, Sattens, and diuers other Merchandises.

Iuly the fifteenth, 1608. the Captaine and Merchants hauing ended all their businesse, tooke their leaues. After whose departure, we presently set saile out of the Road of *Bantam*, now bound homewards to our Natiue Countrey *England*, after our long and tedious Voyage. And to auoide the Readers like long and tedious voyage, the rest of this Voyage homewards is omitted, and in steed thereof, we haue set downe a Table of the Iournal of this ship from the *Lizard* to *Bantam*, as it was set forth by *Iohn Davis*.



## CHAP. IX.

*A briefe Narration of the fourth Voyage to the East-Indies, with the two good Shippes, the Ascention being Admirall, and the Vnion Vice-Admirall, vnder the commaund of ALEXANDER SHARPEY Generall, and RICHARD ROVVLES Lieutenant Generall, with the discovery of the Redde-Sea in the Ascention.*

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## §. I.

*Relations of the said Voyage, written by THOMAS IONES.*

**I**N an vnfortunate houre, the foureteenth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1607. with the two tall Shippes, the *Ascention* and the *Vnion*, we weighed anchor at *Woolwich*.

The sixth of May 1608. hauing spent some daies in refreshing our men at *Maio*, we directed our course for the passing of the Equinoctiall, and so for the Cape of *Bona Speranza* South-east, and by South, and South South-east. The Equinoctiall we passed very speedily, and then you haue the generall wind, that bloweth continually, between the South-east and South-east and by East: so that the further you sayle to the South-ward, you shall finde the wind to Easter the more, as betweene the Equinoctiall and the Tropicke of *Capricorne*. The eleuenth day of Iune, in the Latitude of sixe and twenty degrees, being vnder the Tropicke, we met with a Caracke that was bound for *India*, her name was the *Noue Palma*. This Caracke was cast away afterward vpon the Coast of *Soffala*, within twelue leagues of *Mosambique*: the Captaine of which said ship came Passenger home in the same Caracke that I came out of *India* in; being Admirall of the Fleete of foure sayle. So according to the custome of the Sea, hauing spent some complements in friendly manner, we departed from him, to follow our Voyage.

*Noue Palma a Carack.*

The Capt. hereof came home in a Carack.

The Bay of *Saldania*.

The thirteenth of Iuly, we came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Saldania*, and staying there vnto the five and twentieth of September, in building of a Pinnasse (at which time the Westerly Monsons haue done blowing, and then the wind bloweth more betweene the South and the South-east.) The five and twentieth of September, wee came out of the Bay, and the sixe and twentieth of the same moneth, we were incountred with a mighty storme, at the South South-east, which blew so vehemently, that we split our fore-corse that night, and lost the company of our consort the *Vnion*, and our Pinnasse called the *Good Hope*, which we had built at the foresaid Cape, and neuer heard of them afterward, onely the Pinnasse excepted, which came to vs to *Aden* in the Red-Sea. Thus with contrary winds, hauing before neglected our season of time, we beate vp and downe the Sea in following our Voyage, vnto the eighteenth day of Nouember, before we could get the great Iland of *S. Lawrence*. But there wee beate two daies to get about Cape *De S. Roman*, but could not. This altered their minds, that they bore vp for the Iland of *Comora*, which standeth betwixt the Iland of *S. Lawrence* and the *Maine*, in the Southerly Latitude of eleuen degrees. The sixe and twentieth day of October, we came to an Anchor on the Wester-side of the Iland, in sixe and thirty fathomes water. Heere we were vsed of the King and people, with all the kindnesse that might be: but could get no fresh water; yet had maruellous good refreshing of Linies, & some Hens, and *Coco Nuts*, which was a great comfort vnto vs. The last day of the said moneth we weighed Anchor, and departed from the Iland of *Comora*, and directed our course for the Iland of *Zanzibar*, minding there to relieue our wants of water. But through the default of our Master, wee ouer-shot the Iland of *Zanzibar*, and fell with the Iland of *Pemba*, hauing almost runne ashore in the night before we did see it, the winds being by the East North-east, we cast about, and stood off till day, thinking it to bee the Iland *Zanzibar*. When it was day, we found a place on the South-side of the Iland, hauing a Ledge of Rockes to the Eastward of vs, here we road in seuen or eight fathome water, being the seuenth day of December. The Latitude of the place is sixe degrees to the South-ward, being the South-west end of the Iland. The eight of the said moneth, I went ashore to seeke for water, of which we could not fill aboue sixe Tuns aday. We plyed our businesse with great recourse of the people, and familiarity with vs, but all was in treachery. Hauing almost done our businesse, and onely lacking some foure or five Tunnes of water to fill, being the eighteenth day,

*Comora.*

*Pemba.*

50

60



day, I went ashore to fill those empty Caskes with water, where against my comming they had laid an Ambush of some two hundred men, which brake out vpon vs, yet, praised be God, wee did escape their hands, onely my Seruant *John Harington* excepted, whom they tooke and murdered most cruelly, I not being able to rescue him. Also, they wounded a Seruant of *John El-mors*, being one of our Masters Mates: but the youth recovered of his wounds, being eleuen in number. Also a little before they did put their treachery in practice, one of the chiefe of the came vnto me, desiring me to send one of our men with him to fetch a present for our Generall, which I granted, but the fellow neuer came againe. The young-man that went was borne in *Greenwich*, his name being *Edward Church-man*, who after ward dyed in *Mombasa* of a Bloudy-fluxe, as I was credibly informed of the *Portugals*. Also, while wee made our abode at *Pemba*, the *Portugals* were about to man a *Flemmish* Hulke, (which had wintered in *Mombasa*) to come to take our Shippe: but hearing of the force of our shippe, they altered their minds. The people of this Iland of *Pemba* be very cowardly people, and dare doe nothing of themselves without the inciting of the *Portugals*. We departed from thence the nineteenth day of the said moneth, determining to beate vp betweene *Pemba* and the *Maine* of *Melinda*, in hope to finde the Current the stronger. But that night (to our great dismay) wee came aground vpon the Coast of *Melinda*, but at that very instant the wind did lander, so that with the backing of our Sayles a sterne, our ship went off to our no little comfort: so that night wee stood to the East-ward till day, our shippe (praised be God) hauing receiued no harme at all. When it was day, wee saw certaine showlds, that lay off the Easter end of *Pemba*, that we could not weather. Then wee cast about and stood to the North-ward: but in the end we had sight of three Barks of *Moores*, which in their language they call *Pangaies*, which we gaue chase vnto with our Ship and Boats, and in the end fetched them vp: they stricke saile without any resistance, and with our Boates we fetched them all aboard our shippe, who were in number fifty men, or thereabouts. These *Moores* had thought to haue betrayed our shippe, as afterwards did appeare. For the chiefe of them being in the Cabbin with our Master, and our chiefe Merchant *William Renet*, and my selfe, he with his long Knife which he had hid priuily about him, did stab our Master *Philip Groue* so fore, that we had thought he would not haue liued: but contrary to the *Moores* expectation, I ended his daies in the place. The rest of the *Moores* likewise that were within the ship, did at that very instant put their Tragedy in practise, in stabbing of our Preacher, and one of our Merchants, but (praised be God) in a small time wee vanquished them all, so that there did not escape aboute five or sixe at the most, to carry newes of their fellowes, being a iust reuenge for our former wrongs. For when they did put this wickednesse in practise, we had not aboard our shippe aboute fiftene or sixteene men at the most, all the rest being imployed in our Boates. Afterwards, I was credibly informed by the *Portugals*, of the great lamentation which was made for these *Moores*, because they were of the cheife Gentlemen of all the Coast of *Melinda*, and of the blood Royall. Now after the spoile of these Barks, we determined to stay no longer on the North side of *Pemba*: so we put out of the West-end of the Iland againe, determining to beate vp for the Iland of *Socotora*: but the winds hanging betweene the East, and East South-East, and finding small helpe of the Current, did altogether frustrate our determination. Then we determined to stand off to the South-ward, some two hundred or three hundred leagues, thinking to finde the windes at East South-east. But heere likewise we were frustrate of our hopes. For in the Offing we found the wind to hang at the East North-east, and at the North-East, and by East, that we lay beating in the Sea, from the twentieth day of December, vnto the sixe and twentieth day of January, and then it was our good hap to meete with certaine Ilands, which wee named the *Desolate Ilands*, because there are not any Inhabitants vpon them. These Ilands are (at the least) some twelue or thirteene in number, and ought very diligently to be sought of them, that shall trauaile hereafter, because of the good refreshing that is vpon them. Water is there in great abundance, also great store of *Coco Nuts*, great store of fresh Fish, and likewise store of Turtle-Doues, which are so tame, that one man may take with his hand twenty dozen in a day: also great store of Palmeto-trees, so that these Ilands seemed to vs an earthly Paradise.

Hauing refreshed our selues at the aforesaid Ilands, wee determined to follow our Voyage, but still were crossed with contrary winds, vntill the thirtieth day of March, and then beginne the Westerly Monsons, then we got the Iland of *Socotora*. But hauing espyed a Sayle which was bound for the Red Sea, we gaue chase, and in the end fetched them vp, being bound for *Aden*, being glad of his company we consorted with him, and determined to goe both in company together. This ship did belong to *Diu*: but hee told vs that hee did belong to *Surat*, telling vs certaine newes of Captaine *Hawkins* and of his being at *Surat*, whereof wee were very glad. Thus we held on our determined course vntill the eight of Aprill, at which time we came to an Anchor in the Roade of *Aden*, against the Citie. This Citie of *Aden* is vnder the Dominion of the Great *Turke*, and is the Key of all *Arabia felix*. The same day wee came thither, the Captaine of the Castle came aboard of vs with twelue Souldiers to guard our Generall ashore: where when he came, he was receiued with all the honour that might bee, not suffering him once

Treacherous  
people.

Melinda.

Three Pangaies  
taken.W Renet stab-  
bed.

Reuenge.

The desolate  
Ilands, nor de-  
solate of Coco  
Nuts & other  
prouision.

Aden.



Our Kings  
Letters to the  
Basha of Zennan  
or Sinan.  
Their Pinnace  
came also to  
Aden.  
John Luffken  
murdered.

Edward Hilles  
left on land in  
S. Lawrence.

John Jordan and  
Philip Glascocke  
goe vp to Ze-  
nan.

They passe the  
Streights of  
the Red Sea.

They arrive at  
Moka, or Mocha.

Septemb. 1609  
Diu.

They run vpon  
the shoulds of  
Cambaya.

Ascension lost.

scantly to treade on the ground, but mounted him vpon a faire *Arabian* Horse, and so in triumph he was carryed to the Gouvernour of the Towne: where after kind intertainment, the Gouvernour vnderstanding that he had Letters from the Kings Maiestie of *England* to the *Basha* of *Zennan*, whose abode is fiftene dayes iourney vp into the Countrey from *Aden*, whither they were sent.

We remayned in the Road of *Aden* vntill the tenth day of May, and then our Pinnace the *Good Hope*, which we had lost before at the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*, came to vs, hauing indured great misery, and they had murdered most shamefully their Master *John Luffken*, because (they said) he would not put in with the shoare to relieue them, beeing then at the Easterne end of *Saint Lawrence* (but the chiefe cause was for his prouision) and the next day they put in with the shoare, and came to an Anchor where they got both water and other prouision. But heere they left my Seruant *Edward Hilles* behind them, who (as they said) going to cut wood, could not be heard off. The parties that did the Murther, so soone as they came to vs had their reward, according to their deserts, being both executed aboard the Pinnace where they did the Murther, whose names were *Thomas Clarke* who was his Mate, and *Francis Driner* Gunner of the said Pinnace. Thus we remayned at *Aden* vntill the fiftenth of the said moneth, and then our Generall and Master determined to goe for the Citie of *Moka*, which standeth vp higher in the Red Sea some fortie leagues or thereabouts.

But at our departure from *Aden*, the Gouvernour did detainne two of our Merchants, whose names were *John Jordan* and *Philip Glascocke*, and certaine Cloth, and so sent them vp altogether to the *Basha*, where when they came, they were vsed most kindly; the *Basha* demanding of them, whether they had brought the Great *Turke* his Letter with them, they answered him no: whereupon he told them, he could not giue them any leaue to settle a Factorie: but for the cloth which you haue heere, I will take this for a present, because your ship is the first of the *English* Nation, that euer came into these parts. And seeing you are come, I giue you leaue to sell your goods, and buy what you will, and so to depart at your pleasure Custome free, because of the cloth which I detainne in my hands. Thus with much trouble, because the Westerly Monson beganne to come in, and then the Current runneth out of the Red Sea in the end we passed the Straights being not aboue one mile and an halfe broad at the most.

The eleuenth of Iune we came to anchor in the Roade of *Moka*, where we were most kindly entertayned, and the same day our Generall went ashore, where he was most louingly receiued. This Citie of *Moka* is the chiefe Staple for all *Indian* Trade. For all the goods that are brought to *Cairo* and to *Alexandria* come from thence. We stayed in this Roade of *Moka* in trimming of our Pinnace vntill the sixe and twentieth day of Iuly, and then our Generall and Master determined to follow their Voyage for *Cambaya*, fore against the mindes of the Company, being the chiefe Officers of the ship. That night through the head-strongnesse of our Master, we lost two Anchors.

The seuenth day of *August* we came to the Iland of *Socotora*, where we had so much winde at South, and South South-east, that we were hardly able with our ship to keepe the shore, which our Pinnace not being able to doe, was blowne off, hauing not aboue two or three dayes victuals in her at the most. Whilest we lay at this Iland of *Socotora* to get in a Boates lading of water, and two or three Boates of stones for ballast, we had such forcible gales of wind, that we broke two more of our best Anchors, hauing lost (as is aforesaid) two before in the Red Sea: so vehemently doe those South-west windes blow at that Iland. In that time of the yeare, we now hauing but two left to supply our vies withall. We stayed at the Iland of *Socotora* vntill the twentieth day of *August*, and then we wayed and directed our course for *Cambaya*.

The second day of September we fell with the Coast of *Diu*, some eight leagues to the Eastward of *Diu*, we steered alongst the shoare some seuen leagues more to the Eastward, and then came to an Anchor a head-land. The third day we sent our Skiffe ashore, where the people resorted vnto vs, hauing certaine conference with them, as also buying of them sheepe and other things. They vnderstanding that we were bound for *Surat*, one of them came aboard desiring of our Generall passage to *Surat*, as also certifying our Generall, that the way was very dangerous, offering him for seuen pieces of eight, to fetch a Pilot which should conduct the ship safely to the Port. But (being ruled in most things by our Master) hee not regarding the words of the aforesaid *Moore* or *Bannian*. The fourth day we wayed Anchor about three of the Clocke in the afternoone, at the last quarter Ebbing; (if we had taken the first quarter flood, we should surely haue had water ouer all those shoulds) so that night we runne on the shoulds and strooke our Rudder off, and the next day being the fift day of September, wee lost our ship also, that night we forsook our ship, and betook vs to our two Boats, being a thing most miraculous, that so many men should be saued in two such small Boates, wee beeing at the least eightene leagues from the shore. Thus was this tall ship lost to the great hinderance of the worshipfull Company, and to the vtter vndoing of all vs the poore Mariners, being altogether ouerthrowne with all the treasure and goods, both of the Merchants and the poore Companies, beeing so farre from our Native Countrey. We remayned vpon the Sea in our Boates, vntill the sixth day about foure of the clocke



clocke in the afternoone, and then we discovered Land which we made vnto, with all the means we could possibly, endeavouring the best we could to fall with the Riuer of *Surat*. But note how the Lord did preferre vs, hauing as I said before, deliuered vs from the danger of the Sea, hee would not now suffer vs to fall into the hands of our Enemies, I meane the *Portugalls*, who lay at that time at the Barre of *Surat*, with five sayle of Frigats to take our Boates at our comming ashore, for they had intelligence of our ships comming before. For contrary to our mindes wee fell with the Riuer of *Gandee* some five leagues to the Southward of the Barre of *Surat*, where we were kindly entertayned of the Gouvernour of the Towne. Heere wee heard likewise of the comming of our Pinnace into the same Riuer, and of her fetching away by the *Portugalls*: but  
 10 all the men had forsaken her, and were gone to *Surat* by Land.

Gods mercifull  
deliuerance.

*Gandee*.

The Gouvernour of this Towne of *Gandee* is a *Bannyan*, and one of those kind of people, that obserue the Law of *Pythagoras*. They hold it a great sinne to eate of any thing that hath life or breath, but liue of that which the Earth naturally affoordeth of it selfe. They likewise honour the *Cow* and haue her in great estimation among them, and also obserue the ancient custome of burning of their dead. It hath likewise in old time beene a great custome amongst them, for the women so soone as their Husbands were dead, to burne themselues aliue with him: but now of late yeares, they haue learned more wit, and doe not vse it so commonly. Yet those women that doe it not, haue their haire cut, and euer after are held for no honest women, for that they will not accompany their Husbands into the oher World, as they say.

The Towne of  
*Gandee*.

The seuenth day wee departed out of this Towne to trauell for *Surat*, which might bee some  
 20 fortie miles or thereabout, and the ninth day came thither where *William Finch* keeping the *Factorie*, met vs: but Captaine *Hawkins* was gone vp to the King to *Agra*. This Citie of *Agra*  
 is from *Surat* some thirtie dayes iourney: there the King is resident and keepeth his Court. Heere at *Surat* our Generall with our Company stayed till the latter end of September, and then himselfe with the rest of our Company went from *Surat*, and tooke their iourney vp for the Citie of *Agra*, so to trauell by the way of *Persia* for *England*. But I holding no fit course for mee, determined with my selfe to take some other course for the getting into my Countrey. Whilest I was in many determinations, it pleased God of his goodnesse to send a Father of the Order of *Saint Paul* being a *Portugall*, who was come from *Cambaya* to *Surat* by Land, with whom I came acquainted, he promising me, that if I would commit my selfe  
 30 into his hands, hee would send mee home into my Countrey, or at the leastwise into *Portugall*, which promise he did accomplish most faithfully. In company of this Father, my selfe and three more of our Company, (*Richard Mellis* who dyed in the Caracke in the way homeward bound, *John Elmor* and one *Robert Fox*) departed from *Surat* the seuenth day of October, and came into the strong Towne and Fortresse of *Daman*, where once againe I saw our Pinnace the *Good Hope*, that wee had built at the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*: from *Daman* wee came to *Chaul*  
 from thence to *Goa*, the eighteenth day of Nouember. The ninth day of Ianuary we were imbarcked in a Caracke called *Our Ladie of Putie*, beeing the Admirall of the Fleet of foure sayle, and so departed the Coast of *India*. The eight and twentieth day of Ianuary wee passed the Equinoctiall vpon the Coast of *India*, and the one and twentieth of *March* we fell with the land  
 40 in thirtie three degrees and an halfe, some five leagues Eastward of Cape de *Agulas*, where wee lay with contrary windes, vntill the second of Aprill, and then wee were incountred with a mightie storme at the West South-west, which blew so vehemently that wee were forced to beare vp sixe houres before the Sea, and then it pleased God to send vs faire weather. The fourth day of Aprill we fell with land againe in thirtie foure degrees and fortie minutes. Then we lay driuing to and againe in the Sea, with contrary windes, and in sight of the shore, so that wee were twice within three or foure leagues of the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*, yet could not possibly get about. Thus we lay driuing to and againe in the Sea, and in sight of the shore, vntill the nineteenth day of Aprill, and then it pleased God that we doubled the foresaid Cape of *Bona Esperanza*, to our no little comfort, being in great despayre before, and fearing our wintering at *Mozambique*, which is a common thing amongst the *Portugalls*. The seuen and twentieth of Aprill we passed the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, and the ninth day of May wee came to an Anchor at the  
 50 Iland of *Saint Helena*, which standeth in fiftene degrees of Southerly latitude; where we stayed vntill the fifteenth of the said moneth in watering: and then we weighed and directed our course for the passing of the Equinoctiall: and the second of Iune we passed the same.

*Daman*.

*Chaul*.

*Goa*.

*Our Ladie of Putie*.

Cape de *Agulas*.

They doubled  
the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*.

The sixe and twentieth of the said moneth we passed the Tropicke of *Cancer* with the winde at Northeast, which the *Portugalls* call the generall wind, and the sixteenth of Iuly we passed by the Westerly Ilands by iudgement of the Pilot in the Caracke, beeing in the latitude of fortie degrees and odde minutes to the North-wards, we not seeing any land since our departure from *Saint Helena*. So (prayed be God) the third day of August, wee made the Land of *Portugall*, being not about two leagues off the Rocke, to our no little comfort. And the same day we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Caskalles*. I the same day imbarcked my selfe in a Boat, and went ashore, and so escaped the hands of the *Portugalls*. I remayned in *Lisbone* secretly vntill the thirteenth day of the said moneth, and then I imbarcked my selfe in a ship of *London*, with Matter  
 60

The third of  
August they  
arrived at *Lisbone*, 1610.



Steed, which was thither bound. And the same day wee wayed Anchor in the Bay of *Wayer*, there was a Boat full of *Portugalls* to haue taken the ship, and so to haue carryed vs ashore, hauing had intelligence of our departure. But we setting sayle, put forth to Sea, and escaped the danger, and prayſed be God arriued at our long desired home.

The ſeuenteenth day of September, *Anno 1610*. It being two yeares and fix monethes ſince our departure out of *England*.

¶ II.

*The report of WILLIAM NICOLS a Mariner in the Ascension which trauelled from Bramport by Land to Maſulipatan, written from his mouth at Bantam by HENRY MORIS, Sept. 12. 1612. The former and greater part is the ſame in ſubſtance with that of T. IONES, and therefore omitted.*

The Company diuide themſelues.



W. Nichols trauelleth to Maſulipatan.

Hee arriueth at Maſulipatan, & is kindly intreated at the Hollanders Houſe.

He arriueth at Bantam the 6. of Sept. 1610.

He Company departed from our Generall, not able to prouide for them, and left the reſt to ſtay by him being very ſicke. Some went to one place, and ſome to another, and ſome backe againe for *Surat*. And I my ſelfe being one of them that were willing to take the beſt courſe for my ſelfe that I could, I told them I would trauell (God-willing) to *Maſulipatan*, for I knew there was an *Holland* Factorie there, as I had heard at *Surat* before we came from thence. I could not finde any Chriſtian to trauell ouer Land with me; and inquiring at *Bramport*; if there were any that would trauell to *Maſulipatan*, I met with company which were traueilling that way: but it was ſuch company that few *Engliſhmen* would trauell with them. For they were three *Jewes*: but neceſſitie hath no law. After I had agreed to trauell with them, I thought, if I trauelled with any money the Dogges would cut my throat. So I made away with all my money, and attyred my ſelfe in the Habit of a *Turke*, and tooke my iourney with thoſe Dogges, without any peny of money in my Purſe: and traueilling with them, foure monethes, had nothing to eate but only ſuch food as the *Jewes* gaue me, and many times, when I was hungry they would giue mee no meate, ſo that I was inforced to eate ſuch meate as they gaue their Camels, and no better, and glad I could get it, nay, ſometimes I was inforced to be in fee with the Camell Keeper to giue mee a little. In this miſerable caſe I trauelled with theſe Dogges foure monethes: ſometimes they would ſay, come let vs cut this Dogges throat, and afterwards open his belly, for he hath eaten his Gold: two would haue cut my throat, but the third was an honeſt Dogge, for he would not conſent vnto it. So with many a weary iourney and hungry belly, after a long and dangerous trauell we came ſafe vnto *Maſulipatan*, where I preſently diſcharged my ſelfe from theſe cruell Dogges, and came vnto the *Dutch* houſe where the Captaine vſed mee very kindly, and gaue mee clothes, and meate and drinke ſixe moneths before any ſhipping came there. At length there came three ſhips to *Maſulipatan*, the one called the *Hay*, the other the *Sunne*, and the third was a *Frigot*, which they had taken in the Streights of *Malacca*, and the *Sunne* and the *Frigot* being bound for *Bantam*. I intreated the Maſter to grant me paſſage, and I would labour for my paſſage, who told mee very kindly, that he would not only giue me paſſage, but would alſo giue me wages: for the which I gaue him great thankes, and ſo came aboard. Not long after, we ſet ſayle from thence, and came to *Bantam* the ſixth day of September, 1610. being Thursday, and came preſently to the *Engliſh* Houſe with ioyfull heart. 1610.

In my trauell (with the three *Jewes*) ouerland, theſe faire Townes I paſſed, which I bare in minde, for I could neyther write nor reade.

Fiſt, after I came from *Bramport*, I came to *Ienaport*, from thence to *Huidare*, from thence to *Golasande*, and ſo to *Maſulipatan*.

¶ III.

*The unhappie Voyage of the Vice-Admirall, the Vnion outward bound, till ſhee arriued at Priaman, reporeed by a Letter which Maſter SAMUEL BRADSHAW ſent from Priaman, by HUMPHRY BIDVLPH, the eleuenth day of March, 1609. written by the ſaid HENRY MORIS at Bantam, Sept. the fourteenth, 1610.*



You haue already heard of the paſſage of the two ſhips (the *Ascension* and the *Vnion*) from *England*, to the Cape *De Bona Eſperanza*, but after their departure out of the Roade of *Saldania*, and of their looſing one another in doubling of the Cape, as yet you haue not heard. Therefore I thought good to make ſome relation thereof, as well



well as of the other, and that truly, as from other men report I have heard; and thus it was. After they had lost one another by stormy weather, in doubling of the Cape, the *Union* in that storme sprang her Main-Mast, and in the midst of the storme they were enforced to fish it againe: by reason whereof, they lost the company of their Admirall, and at last, being without hope either to meete with Ship or Pinnasse thereabouts, considering that the storme continued; they shaped their course for the Bay of *S. Augustine*, being vpon *Madagascar*. Where being arrived, they went ashore, and had good refreshing, and stayed there twenty daies, being in good hope to have met our Admirall and the Pinnasse there, but all their hopes were frustrate. Then being out of all hope to have their company, they set sayle from thence, and directed their course for *Zanzibar*, in hope to meete their Generall there: where being arrived, they went on shoare, and at first were kindly entertained: but at their next going ashore, they lay in Ambush, and as soone as they landed, sallied out vpon them, and killed the Purser presently, and one Mariner, and tooke one of their Merchants Prisoner; yet by great chance, they gat off their Boate and came aboard. The names of them that were slaine, were *Richard Kenn*, Purser, the Mariners name I have forgotten, but the Merchants name that was taken Prisoner, was *Richard Wischam*: they put to Sea about the moneth of February 1608. with the winds at North-east and Northerly, iust against them as they should goe for *Socotora*.

They arrived at the Bay of *S. Augustine* in *Madagascar*.

The treachery of the people of *Zanzibar*.

Now after they had spent much time at Sea, and little or nothing in the way, (and the most part of the men very much troubled with the Scurvy) the Captaine purposed, and accordingly bare vp the Helme for the North part of *S. Laurence*, determining to goe for the Bay of *Antongil*: but they fell on the West side of the Iland, intending to recouer their almost-lost men there, and spend the vnprofitable Monson. Vpon which end of *S. Laurence*, they fell into an exceeding great Bay, which afterwards they vnderstood to be called by the Countrey people *Canquomorra*, a Countrey very fruitfull and pleasant to behold. The very first view thereof, gaue great content to all their men in generall: who no sooner arrived in the Bay, but within short time had conference with the Countrey people, and at first they profered them great kindnesse, but after it proued to the contrary. Whereupon Master *Rowles* the Captaine, and Master *Richard Rene*, chiefe Merchant, and *Jeffrey Carlel*, with three others, which were attendant vpon the Captaine, aduentured to goe ashore vnto the King: and that made them the more venterous, because diuers times before, all the Merchants had bene ashore at the Kings Palace (in their Skiffe and long Boate) and spake with the King, who profered them great kindnesse, and came aboard againe, as safe as if they had bene in their owne Natiue Countrey of *England*. *Samuel Bradshaw* had bene often imployed about businesse vnto the King: yet (it pleased God) at this time, the Captaine had some other occasion of businesse for him, and so staid him aboard (a happy turne for him:) for they no sooner came ashore, but they were betrayed by the Countrey people: but by the great Prouidence of the Almighty the Boates escaped, and presently came aboard, and informed them of all that happened: Where they no sooner had made knowne vnto them this dolefull newes, but presently they saw such abundance of Prawes, and great Boates, comming out of the Riuer vnto them, that it was admirable to behold. The Master spake vnto the Gunner to make the Ordnance ready, which was soone effected. This Fleete of Infidels came rowing vp vnto their Shippe, as though presently they would haue boarded them: but by the diligence of the Gunner and his Mates, he made them retire, by sinking of some halfe dozen of their Boates, and they retired backe againe as fast, as if they had bene Sheepe chased by the Wolfe. But before we made such massacre amongst them, they came vp in the face of our Ordnance, and we thought verily they would haue taken vs all: for the fight continued (at least) two houres very dangerous, till we plagued them so with our Ordnance: and then, he accounted himselfe happiest that first could cleere himselfe, and wee continually sent after them, as farre as the Ordnance would reach. After they were gone from vs in this first attempt, we stayed in the Bay some foureteene daies, being in good hope to recouer our lost men againe, in which time we lost seuen men more through a suddaine disease, which daunted vs more then the malice of those Infidels. The men which died, were they that wrought so lustily about the Ordnance in the fight, that within two daies they were all throwne over-board. These crosses comming together, and no hope to recouer our lost men, they thought it folly to make any longer stay there, and therefore presently made hast away. And being not thoroughly watered, they thought good to spend a little time in another place thereby: but before they could dispatch, they attempted against them the second time, with a great multitude of Boates, and many of them great vessels, and so thicke pestered with men, that it was wonderfull: but they liked their first entertainment so well, that they cared not for comming too neere them the second time, but went all on shoare, and placed themselves to looke vpon the Ship. Then presently perceiuing what their intended purpose was, and fearing some mischief in the night, they weighed and stood in for the shore (where all the *Infidels* sate) and gaue them a whole broad side for a farewell: which fell among the thickest of them, and in their sight made such lanes among them, that they soone forsooke their places, and gat out of their sight with as much speed as might be: From thence they tacked and stood off at Sea, leauing behind them foureteene men, seuen betrayed, and seuen that

They bare backe againe for *S. Laurence*.

The great Bay of *Canquomorra*, or *Beamarra*.

*Samuel Bradshaw*. The Captaine and sixe others betrayed.

Abundance of Prawes & great Boates.

Sixe Boates of the enemies destroyed.

A fight for two houres.

They stayed 14 daies longer in this Bay.

A second attempt made by the enemies.

They departed from *S. Laurence*.



They fell vpon  
the Coast of  
Arabia.

They arrive at  
Achen in Suma-  
tra.  
The Hollanders  
opposition.

Priaman.

Griffin Mauris  
the Master  
died.  
Tecoo.  
They in the V-  
nion returne  
from Sumatra  
for England.

died with sicknesse. Then being cleare from these Infidels, they directed their course for *Socotora*, but by some negligence, for want of hulling in betimes, the winds tooke them short, that they could not fetch it, but they fell more to the East-ward vpon the Coast of *Arabia*, which was about the fourth of June, and the Winter Monson being come, they could not, nor durst goe for *Cambaya*: Moreouer, vpon that Coast, they could not finde any good place to harbour themselves in, untill the Winter were past. Wherefore, keeping within sight of the Coast foure daies, sometimes being in danger of the shore, they thought it but folly to neglect the time any longer; and therefore resolved vpon some course to be taken, for the best performance of the Voyage. So the Master calling the best, and most principall men in the shippe, and such as were best experienced in those affaires, they presently concluded altogether to goe for *Achen*: and being in hope there, to meete with some *Guzurats*, to barter their *English* Commodities with them, directing their course for that place, they arrived there the seauen and twentieth of Iuly. And within seuen daies after their arrivall, they had admittance to the King, with a Present that was giuen, (which they were enforced to doe somewhat largely) because the *Hollanders* sought to crosse them, and debarre them from Trade. Their aspiring minds could not haue any to Trade into *India*, but themselves; therefore after Master *Bradshaw* had beene with the King, and spent some time with them at *Achen*, he fell to Trade with the *Guzurats* for some of their Commodities, for our *English* Cloath and Lead, in trucke for *Baftas*, blacke and white, which is *Guzurat* Cloath, which they sell in those parts. After they had stayed there some small time, and trucked with the *Guzurats* for some Commodities, they tooke their leaue, and set sayle from thence, and came vnto *Priaman*, and had Trade there in short space, to their hearts content. And although Fortune had crossed them all the Voyage, yet God at length brought them vnto a pleasant Port to make some Trade and benefit of their Voyage. Heere they staid and tooke in Pepper, and at length laded their shippe, and might long before, if there had not beene a mutiny among the Company, for the Saylers would doe as pleased themselves. But Master *Bradshaw* vied them with such faire words, that (at length) they gat that they came for. Heere *Griffin Mauris* (the Master) dyed: all businesse being ended, Master *Bradshaw* sent *Humphrey Biddulph* vnto *Bantam*, and *Siluester Smith* to beare him company, with some remainder of goods, which they could not sell at *Priaman*, nor at *Tecoo*: not long after that he had taken his leaue of them, they shaping their course for *Bantam*, in a *China* lunk, he presently set sayle for *England*, in the month of February 1609.

The lamentable successe of the said ship and Voyage, appeareth by the Letters following.

*Laus Deo in Morlaix*, the first of March 1611.

**B**rother Hide, this day is come to our hands a Letter from *Odwen*, written by one *William Bagget* an Irish-man, dwelling in the same Towne, aduising vs of most lamentable newes of a shippe of London, called the *Vnion*, which is vpon this Coast, about two leagues from the said *Odwen*: which the men of the Towne perceiuing, sent out two Boates vnto her; and when they came there, they found that it was a shippe come from the East-India, richly laden with Pepper and other goods, hauing in her but onely foure men aliue, of which foure men, one is an Indian, and other three dead in the shippe: which the foure liuing men through feeblenesse, were not able to cast ouer-boord, nor were scarce able to speake: so the men of the two Boates haue brought the shippe into the Roade of *Odwen*. And as this Irish-man writeth, they of the Towne haue vnladen the most part of the goods, and hauing directed his Letter to some English Merchants in this place, to repaire thither with all expedition, to see the ordering of the ship and goods, as belonging to the East-Indian Company. This Letter, is confirmed by one other Letter written in French by the Bayliffe of *Kimper*, and directed to one of this Towne, which I haue seene: And therefore we thought it good to send three Copies of this Irish-mans Letter, by three severall Barks, to the end that the Merchants may be aduertised, and giue order that their goods and shippe may be in safetie, for it is to be doubted that the rude people will make a wracke of her. I thinke it not amisse therefore, that they send to the Court of France, to procure the Kings Authoritie, for I feare there will be much trouble about the matter. In the meane time, my selfe, with *George Robbins* will ride downe to see in what state all things are, and doe the best we can in the Merchants beha'fe, till they send some one with procuration, good and ample for the following of this businesse, as in their discretion shall see me fitting. The ship is reported to be of three or foure hundred Tunnes, and hath three Deckes, I doubt wee shall finde her shrewdly riffled when we shall come there. The importunate writing both of the Irish-man and the Bayliffe of *Kimper*, hath caused vs to take this iourney: And we doe it the rather in consideration of the Company, presuming that they will consider our charge, because we haue both employed friends, and procured Money in the place, to satisfie such as haue taken paines in saving of the shippe and goods if need be. Notwithstanding, I would wish that they send some with expedition by way of *Rouen*, with other prouision of Money: for that this is no place of Exchange as you know, where Money may be had at all times. I had rather giue fiftie pound, then take this iourney at this time, because I haue much goods vpon my hands as I partly



I partly wrote to you in my last. The Masters name of the shippe is Edmund White, the Masters Mate, Thomas Duckmanton, and the other Samuel Smith, and the Indian. They are in very pittifull taking, and in great want of Money, neither can they be masters of their goods: therefore let them send men of good experience about this businesse. And thus being in some hast readie to take Horse, I commit you to the Lords protection, resting your assured friend alwaies to command,

BERNARD COUPER.

Neglect no time in making this knowne to the Company.

Directed to Master Thomas Hide, Merchant in London.

February 1610. touching the Vnion at Andierne.

THE eighth day of February, I came ouer the Pole-head of Bourdeaux, and the eleuenth of the same I lost my fore-mast, my Boatsprit, and my Ruther: the same night I put into Olderyearne, the thirteenth day the French-men brought the Vnion of London vpon the Rockes: the foureteeneth day I went aboard the Vnion with my Boate, and the French-men had bene aboard foure daies; the same time I brought Samuel Smith on shoare, Thomas Duttonton, and the Master Edmond White. The fifteenth day I got William Bagget my Merchant, to write me a Letter to Morles; the eighteenth day the Letter was sent, and I paid two Crownes for the carriage: the twentieth, the Indian dyed, and the same day I buried him: the one and twentieth day, the Master died, and I buried him: the two and twentieth came Master Roberts, and Master Couper: the sixe and twentieth, Master Couper and Master Roberts went to Morles. Againe, the fourth day of March, William Coarey, the Hoast of Master Couper and Master Roberts: the fifth, I went aboard with my Boates, and William Coarey, at low water, I went into the shippes hold at low water, and I brought an Example of the worst Pepper: the sixth day, I came from Olie-yearne; the eighth, I came to Morles: the seuenteenth, came Master Hide to Morles: the one and twentieth, I came from Morles; the two and twentieth at night, I came into the Ile of Wight: the foure and twentieth, I came to Hampton: the eight and twentieth day, I came to London.

Your louing Friend,

WILLIAM WOTTON.

They saued after the spoile of the Brittons almost two hundred Tunnes of Pepper, some Benjamin, and some China Silkes, which they bought at Techou in Sumatra, out of a shippe of China. They touched outward bound at Saldania, where they stayed long in setting vp a Shallop or Pinnasse, they lost Master Rowles in S. Laurence: they lost more men at Zanzibar: they laued Pepper at Achen, Priaman, Passeman, and Tecou: there they bought Silke of a shippe of China. In their returne, they met with Sir Henry Middleton, hauing thirtie sixe men in reasonable good state aboard then: they deliuered vnto him certaine Chests of Silver: They missed the Ile of S. Helena, most of their men dyed, on this side Cape Verde: ten English, and foure Guzarats. were taken out of her by a Barke of Bistol and a Scot. There landing in the Road of Anderne, and other matters are before set downe: The shippe after the Pepper goods were taken out and dried was found by Master Simonion, a skilfull Ship-wright, sent thither of purpose, to saue it if it might be, utterly unseruiceable: The Ordnance, Anchors, and other furnitures were saued.

Thomas Duckmanton the Masters Mate, Robert Wilson of Detford, Bullock the Surgeon, Iacob Peterfon, and fine English-men more remaine aline, of seuentie fine that went out of England: three or foure Guzarats also came home aline.

¶ IIII.

The Voyage of M. Ioseph Salbancke through India, Persia, part of Turkie, the Persian-Gulfe, and Arabia, 1609. Written vnto Sir Thomas Smith.

60

Andene was the first Towne, where after the wracke and descension of the *Ascension*, we\* arriued, hauing a very faire hauen, and great store of shipping, whereof some are of fine hundred tunnes burthen. From thence we iournied to Sobay, a Village that consisteth altogether of Spinners and Weauers, and there is much Calico cotten cloth made.

From

\* Robert Couert was his companion to Bagdat, and hath writtten a Treatise of this whole Voyage, which being printed I haue omitted. Sabay.



Surat.

From thence we came to *Surat*, which hath been a Citie of great trade, and hath great store of shipping. Those of the greatest burthen are laded not at the Towne, but are carried ouer the Barre with their ballast onely, and there are laden. At an high water, they haue sixteene foot ouer the Barre.

Nabon.

*Daytaot* a Citie.  
Great store of  
Drugs, Pinta-  
docs, and Ca-  
licoos.

Netherberi.

Saylor a Village

Sandise a garris-

son Towne.

The riuer Tynd.

Bramport a

great Citie in

28. degrees.

A good vent

for cloth.

Caddor and

Sambon.

A great Citie

called Cannow.

Good sale of

English clothes.

They passe the

great Riuer

*Ganges*.

15. dayes tra-

uell.

*Agra*.

From *Surat* we trauelled toward *Agra*, the principall Citie of the *Grand Mogal*, and came first to *Nabon*, where Sugar groweth in great abundance, and Cotton-wooll, and all manner of Graine. Here all kind of victuals are very cheape. Then to a Citie called *Daytaot*, where are sold great store of Drugs, Pintados, and Calico-lawnes. Afterward we came to *Netherberi*, where is a Market of all Brasen wares, shirts of maile, Swords and bucklers, Lances, Armour for Horses: also Cotton-wools, Cotton yarne, Pintados, Shashes, and all manner of drugges. In this place cloth would be very vendible, because course cloth is there exceeding deare.

From thence we proceeded to a Village called *Saylor*, where is store of Sugar, and fruites of all sorts. We departed thence to *Sadise*, a Garrison Towne. Here the Riuer *Tynde* runneth downe to *Surat*. From *Sadise* we came to the great Citie *Bramport*, gouerned by *Can Canow*. This Citie standeth in eight and twenty degrees, where Muskets, Snaphanses, Pistols, Petronels, and Swords are very saleable. Woollen cloth in this place wil prooue a great commodity, as also cloth of Gold and Siluer, Veluets, Broad cloths, and Bayes, because there are there so many Gallants. From thence we came to *Caddor*, and so to *Sambon*. Then we trauiled to a great Citie, named *Cannow*, where is much trading for Cloth, Swords, Shashes, Pieces, and Armour, besides colours for Diers of all sorts. Here our clothes would sell well: for it beareth somewhat to the North-ward, and is very cold in Ianuary, February, and March.

About a dayes iourney from this place, we passed ouer the great Riuer *Ganges*, which runneth into the Gulfe of *Bengala*, issuing out of the North-west, and running directly East into the said Gulfe. From hence we set forward toward *Agra*, & spent eleuen dayes traueiling through a pleasant Countrey, and abounding with seuerall kinds of *Indian* commodities, and so arriued at *Agra*.

*Agra* is a very great Citie, and populous, built with stone, hauing faire and large streets, with a faire Riuer running by it, which falleth into the Gulfe of *Bengala*. It hath a faire Castle, and a strong, entrenched round about with a ditch. Hither is great resort of Merchants from *Persia*, and out of *India*, and very much Merchandize of Silkes, and Cloths, and of precious stones, both Rubyes, Diamonds, and Pearles. The Diamonds are found in diuerse places, as in *Bishnagar*, in *De-li*, and here at *Agra*. But Rubyes, Saphyres, and Spinels are found in *Pegu*. In this Citie, without all question, our richer Silkes and Veluets, but especially our clothes of light colours will sell very well, beeing a place of great trading, being not aboue twelue miles from *Fatipore*, a Citie as great as *London*, and very populous; besides *Lahor*, and many other important Cities in this Kingdome.

*Fatipore*, a citie  
as great as *Lon-*  
*don*.

They depart  
from *Agra* for  
*Persia*.

*Biamy* 2. dayes  
iourney from  
*Agra*.

What Indico  
is, and the ma-  
king thereof.

*Merta*, or  
*Menta*.

The riuer *Pad-*  
*dar* runneth  
vnto *Guzerat*.

*Reuree**Buckar* a citie.

The Riuer *Damiadee*  
falleth  
into the riuer  
of *Sinde*.

*Suckar*.*Candabar*.

At *Agra* we abode thirteene dayes, and then set forward toward *Hissan* in *Persia*, by the way of *Biani*, beeing but two Moneths iourney, leauing the way by *Lahor*, which is foure Moneths iourney. From *Agra* to *Biamy*, we spent two dayes trauell. *Biamy* is the cheifest place for Indico in all the East *India*, where are twelue Indico milles. It groweth on small bushes, and beareth a seede like a Cabbage seed. Being cut downe, it lyeth on heapes for halfe a yeere to rot, and then by Oxen it is troden out from the stalkes, and afterward is ground very fine, and then boiled in fornaces, and so sorted out into seuerall sorts. The best Indico is there worth eight pence a pound.

From *Biamy*, we spent eight dayes iourney to *Merta*, passing by many Townes and Villages. In some of them there was store of course Indico, in others Calicoes, and store of Cotton-wools. Also we passed ouer the faire Riuer *Paddar*, which runneth to *Guzerat*, and falleth into the Sea to the East-ward of the *Persian* Gulfe. In *Merta* there are three *Basars* or Markets euery weeke, where is sold great store of Indico, Cotton-wool, yarne, and Cotton cloths. From *Merta* or *Menta* we trauelled fve and twentie dayes, through these three chiefe Townes, *Reuree*, *Buckar*, and *Sucker*. *Reuree* is a Towne consisting of husbandmen, and painfull people, who deale also in Merchandise, as Cotton cloth, Indico, and other commodities, and are a peaceable people to deale withall.

*Buckar* stands toward *Lahor*, where we receiued kind entertainment of the Gouverneur. Sword-blades are very good chaffer in this Towne: my selfe hauing experience, who might haue had ten pounds sterling for my Sword, the blade being but worth a Noble in *England*. Close by this Citie of *Buckar* runneth the Riuer *Damiadee*, which within eight dayes iourney runneth into the Riuer of *Synde*, which falleth into the Ocean Sea, between the Countreyes of *Gnadel* and *Guzerate*. On this Riuer passe Barkes of fortie or fiftie Tunnes, by meanes whereof, there is trafique vnto diuerse parts of *India*.

*Suckar* is situated on an Island in the middle of the Riuer, and consisteth most of Weauers and Diers, which serue the Countrey round about. At *Suckar* we stayed foure and twentie dayes for a safe conuoy to *Candabar*, and passed to *Candabar* in twentie dayes, through many defarts and woods, and with no small difficultie. *Candabar* is a Citie of importance, which is frequented with Merchants out of *Turkie*, *Persia*, and the parts of *India*, and is gouerned by a Vice-roy. Here we abode



abode twelue dayes, and from hence set forward toward *Hispahan* in *Persia*, and trauelled fve dayes till we came to *Grees*, the first Towne in the Countrey of *Persia*, passing ouer the Riuer *Sabaa*, which diuideth the *Mogol* and the *Persian*. Here we paid a custome for our Cammels.

*Grees* is a frontier Towne, where the *Persian* hath a Garrison of a thousand souldiers. From *Grees*, we spent eight dayes to the Citie *Parra*, passing through a vast countrey, sometimes passing by Villages: one of most note was called *Vea*, for the store of Felts and Carpets made there, and for the plenty of Dates, and all sorts of fruits. *Parra* is a Citie of great traffique, but especially for raw silke. Here we rested two and twenty dayes onely for a *Caravan*.

From *Parra* we spent eightene dayes to *Iesd*, a Citie of *Persia*, passing through a very desolate country. Not farre from this Towne is *Pabanaunis*, where is made great store of raw Silke: as also at *Godana* foure dayes iourney off. From *Iesd* we spent seuentene dayes to *Hispahan*, passing by *Gora*, a faire Towne, where is store of raw Silkes, Quilts, Silke-carpets, and Turkefhes. And so we arriued at *Hispahan*. *Haspahan* is one of the greatest Cities in *Persia*, where the King sometimes keepeth his residencie. The people are industrious and curious in all Sciences, but especially in weauing Girdles and Shalhes, in making of Veluets, Sattens, Dammaskes, very good *Ormuzines*, and *Persian* Carpets of a wonderfull finenesse. Here you may buy all manner of Drugs, and Spices, and Turkefhes, with store of Pearles, Diamonds, and Rubies, as also all sorts of Silkes, as well wrought, as raw. Here might be planted a profitable trade, if our ships with safetie might lade in the *Persian* Gulfe: where fiftie in the hundred may bee gained from *Ormuz* to *Hispahan*, and that in eightie dayes trauell: whereof I was throughly informed by diuerse Prisoners, and Merchants of the great Towne of *Iulpha*. These commodities are to bee carried from *England* into *Persia*; Tinne, Copper, Brasil: as also Carries for the Common people: Broad cloths for the Merchants and better sort of people, blacke clothes for womens garments, good Chamlets and Veluets died in graine, with purple colours, and fine reds: cloth of Gold and Tissue, Veluets imbroydered with Gold: fine Holland cloth for the King and Sultans; Dagges, and Pistols, compleat harnesse, targets of Steele, shirts of maile, stone bowes, brasse and yron Ordnance. The colours of Cloth must be Scarlets, Violets in graine, fine Reds, Blacks, browne Blues, *London* Ruffs, Tawnies, Lyon colours, faire liuely Greener; all which will be vented at *Haspahan*, *Calhan*, *Cashin*, and *Tauris*, and other Cities in *Persia*. I am perswaded, that *Hispahan* will vent a thousand clothes yeerely. At *Hispahan* I abode thirteene dayes, and spent a moneths iourney to *Bagdat*; which is a Citie about two *English* miles in compasse, seated on *Tigris*: neuerthelesse it is very populous, and of great traffique of strangers, being the way to *Persia*, *Turkie*, and *Arabia*. Here I imbarqued my selfe for *Balsara*; and was twentie eight dayes in passing downe the Riuer; but it is to be done in eightene or lesse, if the water be high. Many Ilands are in this Riuer, which I omit to speake of.

*Balsara* is a Citie neere vnto the *Persian* Gulfe, a mile and an halfe in circuit. All the buildings, Castles, and Walls are made of bricke dried in the Sunne. The Turke hath here five hundred *Ianizaries*, besides other souldiers continually in garrison. But his chiefe strength is of his Gallies, which are twentie five or thirty in number, very faire and furnished with goodly Ordnance. To this port of *Balsara* come Monthly diuerse ships of fortie or fiftie tunnes from *Ormuz*, laden with all sorts of *Indian* Merchandizes. Also there is great store of Wheate, Rice, and Dates, growing thereabout, with which they serue *Bagdat*, and all the Countrey, *Ormuz*, and many Parts of *India*.

From *Balsara*, I passed by Sea to *Catiffa*, on the Coast of *Arabia Felix*, gouerned by a Turke, but a rebell against the *Grand Signior*; where is great plenty of sundry sort of fruites, as Dates, and others. And from thence we sayled by many Ilands, but among the rest, to that famous Iland *Baharem*, sixe dayes sayling from *Balsara*, and in the midway to *Ormuz*; where they fish for Pearles foure moneths in the yeere; to wit, in Iune, Iuly, August, September. And here are the best Pearles, which are round and Orient.

From the Ile of *Baharem*, we sayled to *Calara* on the coast of *Arabia Felix*, and so passed by land with Camels, to *Shiriff Din*, (with a purpose to haue gone to *Aman*) where one *John White* an *Englishman*, which refused my company, was poysoned) to haue giuen some intelligence to Sir *Henry Middleton*, of our hard vsage before in those parts. But hearing that he was traterously taken in *Moha*, in the mouth of the Red Sea, and carried in chaines vp to the *Bascha* of *Sinan*, into the maine land of *Arabia*, I returned to *Lima* another Towne on the *Persian* Gulfe, and there imbarqued my selfe to haue passed to *Socotora*, an Iland neere the mouth of the Red Sea: But I was taken by Pirates, and so was driuen to land at *Snar* or *Soar*, a coast Towne not farre from *Lima*.

At *Snar*, certaine *Portugals*, whose Barkes were there cast away, informed the Gouvernour that I was a Spie, and prayed him to deliuer mee vp into their hands; who hauing obtained their request, carried me to *Azibo*, and so to *Mascate* or *Muscat*, an Iland, where they haue a small Garrison of some fortie men, besides their gallies, as also one Church, and two Friars. And here I had abiden for euer, if one Father *Drurie*, an *English* Iesuite, which I found there, had not procured my libertie.

*Grees* the first Towne of *Persia*.

The riuer *Sabaa* diuideth the *Mogols* and *Persians* Dominions.

*Vea* a Village. The Citie of *Parra*.

*Iesd* a Citie. *Pabanaunis*.

*Godana* *Gora* a faire Towne.

*Hispahan* the chiefe citie of *Persia*.

Commodities to be bought at *Hispahan*.

Commodities for *Persia*.

*Bagdat*.

*Balsara*.

*Catiffa* in *Arabia Felix*.

The Ile of *Baharem*, where the best pearls are.

*Calara* or *Catara*.

*Shiriff Din*.

*John White* an *English* Merchant poysoned.

*Lima* a Port Towne in the mouth of the *Persian* Gulfe. *Snar* or *Soar* a coast town in the entrance of the *Persian* Gulfe.

*Azibo* an old

*Mascate* or *Muscat*.

*Father Drurie* an *English* Iesuite. He a *Mascate* in *Arabia*.

From



Ormuz.

From thence, I was conueied in chaines to *Ormuz*, crossing the mouth of the *Persian* Gulfe. *Ormuz* is an Island in circuit about thirtie miles: and is the driest lland in all the world: for there is nothing growing in it but salt: for their Water, Wood, Victualls, and other necessities come out of *Persia*, which is about twelue miles from thence. The *Portugals* haue a strong Castle here, which standeth neere vnto the Sea, where there is a Captaine set by the King of *Spaine*, hauing vnder him a conuenient number of souldiers, whereof some part remaine in the Castle, and some in the Towne. In this Towne are Marchants of many Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sorts of Spices, Drugs, Silkes, cloth of Silke, fine Tapistries of *Persia*, great store of Pearles, as also Horses of *Persia*, which serue for all *India*. And all ships which passe from hence to *Goa*, wherein are horses, pay no custome in *Goa*: but if they bring no horses, then they pay eight in the hundred for their goods.

He was at  
Sinde, which is  
an excellent  
place for our  
Trade.  
The best In-  
dico.  
The safetie of  
Sinde from the  
Portugals.  
A good vent  
of all sorts of  
Cloth.

From *Ormuz* they sent me prisoner to *Goa*. And we sailed first to *Sinde*, which lieth between the Countreyes of *Guadel* and *Guzerate*, hauing a great Riuer called *Damiade* falling into it, which Riuer commeth from *Labor*, and so to *Bucher*, and *Suchar*. In these places is the best Indico sold. You may transport all the goods which the Countrey doth afford, by water to *Sinde*: where your shippes may ride as safely as in the Riuer of *Thames*. The *Portugals* haue no fort in this Riuer.

The place, (by report of the Gouvernour, who gaue me a Passe at my first beeing there to bee a pledge, that whensoever I should returne with these and these goods, I should bee well entertained) doth vent cloth of all sorts in reasonable quantitie both fine and course, beeing all light colours; Tinne, Lead, Iron, and Elephants teeth, and Spices of all sorts, especially Pepper and Cloues. The commodities that the Countrey doth afford in great plentie, and cheape price, are fine Calicoes of many sorts, Pintadoes, Quilts, Carpets, and other Silke in great plentie. Many of these stufes are very good for the trade at *Bantan*, and the *Moluccos*. Besides, there is great store of Opium, which is a very good commoditie in *Bantan*, and those parts. And many other drugs fit for our Countrey. The people are of a good disposition, and desirous of trade: victualls are very good cheape: as tenne hennes for tenne pence, a good sheepe a shilling. On the shore the *Portugals* are subiect to the Countrey people: and if they doe not behaue themselves well, they are seuerely punished.

Diu.

Passing this coast of *Sinde*, we arriued at *Diu* in the Kingdome of *Cambaya*. And it is the strongest Towne that the *Portugals* haue in these parts. It is but little, but well stored with Merchandise: for here they lade many great ships with diuerse commodities, for *Ormuz* and for the Straight of *Mecca*, and other places: and these be ships of Moores and Christians. The Moores passe by Passeport from the *Portugals*.

Goa.

From *Diu* we sailed for *Goa*: which is the principall Citie which the *Portugals* haue in those parts, and it is gouerned by a Vice-Roy. It standeth in an lland, which may be thirtie miles about, replenished with Orchards and Gardens, Palme trees, and some Villages. Here be Marchants of many Nations.

## CHAP. X.

*The Voyage of M. DAVID MIDLETON to Iaua, and Banda,  
extracted out of a Letter written by himselfe to the Company,  
this being the fifth Voyage set forth by them.*

## §. I.

*Their affaires at Bantam, Botun, Bengaia.*

April 24.  
1609.  
They arriued  
at Saldania.  
They arriued  
at Bantam.

By the altera-  
tion of State,  
their debts  
were almost  
desperate, nor  
would this Gouvernour suffer them (as before) themselves to imprison debtors, and distraine.



WE set sayle in the *Downes* the foure and twentieth of April, 1609. in the Expedition of *London*, and got sight of *Forteuventre*, and the *Lansaros*, the nineteenth of May, and with such winds as blow (some faire, some fowle) we arriued at *Saldania* the tenth of August, and watered, and made hast, and set sayle the eighteenth of the same. We proceeded for *Bantam*, and arriued there the seuenth of December, missing Captaine *Keeling* very narrowly that we had not sight of him: for hee passed vs in the night, elsie we should haue surely seene him. As for our bulineffe, I made all the dispatch that might be (both by day and night) to get the Iron a shore, and would not stay, to set vp my Pinnasse, and left M. *Hensworth* in the house, and was driuen to giue a great many of gifts more then was requisite, if the State of the Countrey had beene as in former time: and left *Edward Needles*, would this Gouvernour suffer them (as before) themselves to imprison debtors, and distraine. He also exacted vnreasonable summes for rent, whereas the ground had been giuen, and the houses built at the Companies charge.

and



and three more of my Company with Master Hemsworth (as his desire was) being in a strange place, and knew none in the House. So I tooke such Commodities as I thought most vendible in those places wherunto I was to goe; and what hope was of making a Voyage, I trust Cap- taine Keeling hath long since made manifest, yet for all this, I must try their curtesie.

The eighteenth of December I tooke my leaue of Master Hemsworth, who was very loath to stay behind me, but I perswaded him to be of good courage, and doubt nothing, seeing I was to take Master Spalding with me for his Language, and had no bodie to leaue in the House but him- selfe: and told him that if the Gouverneur sent for him, hee must tell him plainly that I had left expresse order in any hand, not to yeeld to any of his former demands, yet hee might take what he would, for he must deliuer him nothing. Then I set saile that euening for the *Maluccas* (as I supposed) and the winds fauouring vs; the seuen and twentieth of the same, wee passed the Streights of *Desolam*, and being through them, lay becalmed tenne dayes, which was no small grieue to me, in much heate vnder the Line, being doubtfull of the Westerly Monson, which (if it should faile me) would be the ouerthrow of my Voyage.

The eighth of Ianuary, we came before the Towne of *Botun*, and sent to know some newes, and there the King was gone to the Warres, and very few people in the Towne. So I anchored not, but we through the Streights the same day. The next day we saw a great company of *Caric- colles*, which we imagined to bee the King of *Botunes* Armie, which proued so indeed. The King sent a small Prow (when we drew neere vnto him) to see what we were. I sent him word who I was, and it proued little wind, and wanting water I demanded whether there were any neere hand, so the people shewed me where there was great store of good water. Then I stood with the place, and the King and all his *Cariccolles* came vnder sayle after mee, and came to an Anchor faire by vs, and sent one aboard in his owne name to bid mee welcome, and desired mee to send Master Spalding with the Messenger to come, and speake with him to heare some newes. The Kings desire was that I would ride all night, and in the morning hee would come, and see the ship and me, It proued calme, so we ride still, and the next day the King came aboard, and I made him, and all his Nobles a Banquet, and gaue the King a gift worthy such a person: and a gale came fitted to be vnder sayle: then the King wept, and said I might thinke him but a Dissem- bler, seeing he had no Merchandize for me, for foure monethes before my comming, hee had his House burned to the ground, where he had prouided of euery thing somewhat, both Nuts and Mace, and Cloues, and great store of Sander wood an whole house full, and a great Ware-house full of the cloth of his Countrey, which is very vendible in most part of the Ilands thereabout: and all the losse which formerly he receiued, grieued him not halfe so much, as when I told him that I came, and had caused the ship to bee fitted of purpose to come and buy his Commodities, that he should prouide for me.

He further said, that I had kept my promise, and swore by the head of *Mahomet*, so would he haue done, if God had not laid that crosse of fire vpon him, hauing sundry of his Wiues and Women burned. But now he was abroad at Warres with his forces, he could not tell the issue of it, and as the case stood with him, hee could not spare any of his people, to make any prouision for me: and said, that if I had not come by the night afore, he had beene in the field against another King his Enemy, whose Towne he shewed me, and requested to shoot at it, as I went by. I said I was a Stranger, and knew him not, and to procure my selfe Enemies, I had no reason: but if the other King should come and offer him, or any of his Subjects wrong, while I was there, I would doe my best to send them away: which speeches of mine gaue the King great content, so the King tooke his leaue, and we set saile presently.

The foure and twentieth of Ianuary, we arrived at the Iland of *Bangaia*, where the King and most of his people were fled for feare of some Enemy; and certainly I could not learne the truth. There was a *Hollander* there that told mee that the King was fled for feare of the King of *Makasar*, who (as he thought) would force the King to turne *Moore*, for he is a *Gentile*: but I rather thinke they fled for feare of the *Hollanders*, who would haue built a Fort there, but when they perceiued the people were fled, they left it vneffected. This one *Hollander* bore such a sway, that neuer a man left vpon the Iland durst displease him. He hath as many Women as he plea- seth, two Houses full of the choice of the Countries Daughters, and many Men and Women Slaues, and is a pleasant Companion, and will dance and sing all day long, neere-hand naked, as their manner is: and winneth the hearts of the people, and will be drunke two dayes together, amongst the people of the Iland: and is of himselfe, and hath liued long in the Countrey, and will not be commanded by any *Hollander*, and dwelleth ouer against *Amboina*. If the Gouver- neur of *Amboina* would speake with him, hee must send two or his Merchants to bee kept in pawne till his returne: He taketh vp the Kings Duties of *Tarnata*, in all the Ilands thereabouts, and serueth his owne turne, and sends the King what he may spare. Heere wee had good refresh- ing for my people, being (I prayse God) in better estate then when I set saile from *England*, and haue not had a man sicke to that present. There I sheathed my Long Boate, which wee towed for feare of the Wormes that would haue spoyled her, and after set saile the nine and twentieth of Ianuary. Comming to Sea, we found the windes right as we should goe, so striuing (all wee might)

M. Augustine Spalding goeth with him to the *Maluccas*. He departeth for the *Ma- luccas*. The streight of *Desolam*. The Ile of *Bo- tun*.

A Banquet made to the King of *Botun*, and all his No- bles. Commodities prouided by the King of *Botun*.

The Ile of *Bangaia*. The *Hollanders* fortifying hatefull to the people. The manners of an *Hollan- der*.

The good health of his people.



might) to get to wind-wards, but could not, the streame carrying vs directly South, and ran so swift, that we lost fifteene leagues in two dayes. Then I was faine to alter my detetmination, forgoing for the *Moluccos*, and bare vp the Helme to goe for *Banda*, and might goe with a flowne sheate.

¶ II.

*Occurrents at Banna; Contesting with the Dutch: Trade at Puloway, and many perils.*

10

*Banda.*

*Iniury of Hollanders.*

*Fifteene great Iunckes delayed by the Hollanders.*

*Kindnesse of the Bandanefes to the English.*

**T**He fifth of February, we got sight of the Ilands of *Banda*, and made all the sayle wee could, to get neere before night: and drawing neere, I sent my Skiffe to heare some newes, of some of the Country people, who sent me word that the *Hollanders* would not suffer any Sayle to come into the Roade, but they would take all hee brought, (if it were such things as they stood in need of) and make payment at their owne pleasures: But if any Iuncke came and brought Commodities very vendible for the Countrey people, they were not permitted to haue any speech with any of the Countrey: but the *Hollander* would bring them to the backside of the Castle within Musket shot of their Ordnance, that one must not set his foot ashore, but they would send a Bullet at him: They had fifteene great Iunckes, which they kept in that manner. What hope is there to make a Voyage there, seeing they dealt so with all, that came into the Roade, and banished Captaine *Keeling*, not permitting him to stay to gather in his debts, but gaue him Bills to receiue his money at *Bantam*, as (I hope) from his owne mouth, your Worships haue heard at large. Yet for all this, I stood into the Roade with Flagge and Ensigne, and at each Yard Arme a Pendant, in as comely a manner as we could deuise. There came a small Piinnalle of thirtie Tunnes sent from the Gouvernour of the Castle, thinking it had beene one of their Countrey ships: but comming neere vs stood into the Roade before me, after they had hailed vs, I could haue no other speech with them.

As soone as I came thwart of *Lantor*, I saluted the Towne with Ordnance, and came to an Anchor within shot of their ships: then presently a *Dutch* Boate came aboard vs from the Gouvernour, to haue me come into the Roade, and come ashore to him, and shew him my Commission: I made answere, I was but new come, and to shew my Commission to the Gouvernour, or to make any man acquainted with those busineses, which belonged to the making of my Voyage, I would not. They further asked, whether I was a Merchant, or a Man of Warre? I answered I would pay for what I take: then they threatned me: who told them I was there, and would ride there, doe as they should please, I hoped I should defend my selfe: so they returned to the Castle in a great rage. The *Hollanders* no sooner gone, but great store of the men of *Lantor* came aboard me, and bade me welcome. Then I vnderstood the whole Estate of the Countrey, and the Countrey would be willing to deale with me, if I could procure leaue of the *Hollanders*, for they are now friends, but *Pulaway* and *Polatronu* are at Warres with them.

Now knowing well, that in troubled waters it is good fishing, there being one of *Pulaway* amongst them, I had priuate conference with him, and gaue him money in his Purse, to certifie them of the Iland, that I would giue them money or Commodities for all their Spice, and that the *Hollanders* and I were like to be Enemies, and let them not doubt, but that I would get their Spice aboard, one way or other. In the meane season, there came another Boate from the Vice-Admirall, and the same Boate from the Castle, with expresse Commandement from the Gouvernour to me to come in. Being dinner time, I caused them to stay dinner, and after dinner told them that I would ride there, and stand to the danger of the Roade: For I knew full well, that our Nations were friends in *Europe*, & for vs to be Enemies amongst the Heathen people, it were not good, being Christians. Whereupon they told me plainly I must not ride there, and if I did, they would fetch me in perforce: I said I would ride there, till I found the inconuenience of the Roade (as by their speeches it was foule ground) then would I come into the best of the Harbour: for neither of our Princes giueth any such authoritie to any of their Subiects, but that euery man may ride, and goe at their owne perils. They said that the Countrey was theirs, then may I the more boldly (say I) ride heere, for we are friends: so they departed in displeasure.

This Euening, I was about to land Ordnance vpon the side of an Hill, where wee rid and began to fit the ship to fight with them that should molest mee: and sent out some to see what ground there was round about the ship, and it was all Rockes, so by no meanes the shippe could ride there: so we left our pretence of landing Ordnance. In the morning I sent my Skiffe with Master *Spalding*, and the principall of the ship with a Letter to the Gouvernour, and bad them say nothing more then I had written, and make no long stay, but bring an answere presently, for we ride very bad: the Copie of which Letter hereafter followeth.

May



**M**AY it please your worship with patience to consider, That whereas you have diuers enemies (and few friends in this place) I being a Christian; if your worship stand in need of any thing that I haue, I pray you make bold so demand it; and I will be as readie to performe it to my power. For whereas there is amitie betweene our Princes at home, I should be unwilling that we their Subjects should be at enmities here. Further, forasmuch as you command me to come under the command of the Castle, I hope I haue that Priviledge that both Princes allow their Subjects, to come and goe at their owne pleasures, and stand to the danger of the Roade, at their owne perils. And whereas you demanded to see my Commission, I am a Gentleman; and willing to shew it upon equall termes, for if you would meete me securely, as I would doe you, appoint our meeting on the water, in our Boates equally manned; or in any other convenient place, where I may be as neere my force as you are to yours. And whereas it is reported, that a contract is to be made with the Inhabitants of Lantor, and your worship; my desire is, that you would use me as an Indian for my money: then should I thinke my selfe much beholding to your worship; and am more willing to deale with you then with them. Furthermore, forasmuch as you be at enmities with the Islands of Puloway, and Polaron; my desire is to bee resolved, whether I may haue their Spice without your hinderance. Thus desiring your answer to these particulars, and the same to bee returned by these Bearer, I bid you farewell, from aboard my ship, this seventh of February, 1609.

Yours in friendship, DAVID MIDDLETON.

All my Companies comming to the Castle were brought to the Gouvernour; where they sat in Councell, so they deliuered my Letter: which being openly read they would send mee no answer but by word of mouth, yet detayned my Letter. They had determined by Councell (having three great ships of one thousand tunnes a peece, and three Pinnasses of thirtie tunnes a peece) that one of the shippes (being vnseruiceable) called the great *Sunne*, should clap me aboard; and there set her selfe a fire: and had for the same purpose sworne sundry persons to come and make her fast with chaines, and had put into her thirtie Barrells of Powder for the same intent: which beeing manned out of the Castle with all the ships, and boates, to take vp the men when shee should fire, the *Great Horne* should come and ride within Musket-shot, and batter vpon vs, and the *Frigots* round about vs, to keepe vs doing on all sides. My folke seeing their speed they made to warpe out the *Great Sunne*, made small stay but came away, and told me what preparation was made to haue vs. I thought it fit to goe and speake with the Gouvernour my selfe, and before wee would try it by Battaile, to see what hee would say to my selfe. And so taking my Commission with mee, I came to the Castle, and was met at my landing by the Gouvernour, and all the principall men, that were in the Castle and ships and was brought through a Guard of small shot of three hundred Souldiers, who gaue mee three Volleys of shot, and the Castle shewen Peeces of Ordnance for my welcome: so wee came to the Gouvernours Chamber, where for vs two, there were Chaires set, the rest had formes, and after many Salutations, and Complements of welcome to the Castle, I began, and said,

I vnderstand by my Company, which was with them before my comming, that they would not be perswaded but that I was a Pirate, and had no Commission: and that it should appeare to the contrary, I came my selfe, and brought my Commission with mee, to manifest that I was no such person, but had the Kings Maiesties broad Seale to my Commission, and called to my man for it, and shewed it them, reading the first line vnto them, and lapped it vp againe. Then they said, that they would see it all. I said, they should not while I liued, The Commission was mine; you all apparantly see, and the great Seale at my Commission, and my selfe nominated therein; and if they would see more, it is not my Commission they should expect it. Wee would haue bin gone aboard, but were willed to stay awhile. So there passed words betweene vs, some sharpe and some sweet: but at the length they began to be more mild, & called for a Cup of Wine, then the Company rose all vp, dranke a cup of Wine, and went to walke, and view the Castle, the Offices whereof were very neat and very wel furnished with Armor and great store of Munition.

Taking my time, I put in practice to see what money would doe (which often maketh Wise men blinde) that so I might attayne vnto my lading by large proffers. I offered one thousand pound to be sure to haue my lading, and to giue my chaine from about my necke to one to procure it, offering to pay more then they paid for their Spice. Hauing set this matter abroad, (knowing the ship to ride in danger) I told the Gouvernour, now they apparantly saw, I was no man of Warre, I would bring in my ship: hee replyed with the residue, that all the friendship they could doe me, I should find them willing to pleasure me therein. It drawing late I tooke my leaue to goe aboard, at what time, the Gouvernour caused all the Ordnance in the Castle to bee shot off, and as I passed by the ships, they and the *Frigots* shot off, till I came aboard. The next day being the eight of February, I brought my ship into the Roade, and rid betweene their ships and the Castle, and gaue them all my Ordnance, and was answered from the Castle, and shippes, and *Frigats* with great store.

As soone as we came to an Anchor, the Gouvernour with all the chiefe of the Castle and Ships came aboard of me: so I intreated them to dinner, to such as we could prouide, which they very kindly accepted: and after dinner the maine point (which was my lading) I could not by gifts, nor any meanes I might deuise, haue any grant to buy one pound of Spice. And hauing prouided sundry meanes to induce them to heare reason, the Gouvernour told me plainly, he durst not giue

Uncharitable purposes of the Dutch.

Commission shewed.

The might of money.



me leave to deale for any Spice, vnder paine of losse of his head. I seeing no good to bee done in riding at an Anchor amongst them, determined to take in water, and take my Fortune: but they would not suffer my Boate to goe ashore for water, but they would send a man with vs, to see that we had no conference with any of the Countrey people. After I had water aboard, I sent Master Spalding to shew the Gouvernour that I would be gone and that I had sent him to acquaint him therewith: for my selfe would not come out of the ship.

Dutch Crupulosity,

The Gouvernour marvelled whither I would goe, the winds being Westerly: Master Spalding said, he knew not. So I warped till I could get Sea-roume to set saile. The Gouvernour sent three Pinnasses to go out with me, and one came in a Boate aboard vs, sent from the Gouvernour to command me, that I should not come neere any of those Ilands: I sent him word I would not be at his commanding, for I was bound to *Pulaway*, as soone as possibly I can, and bade him send his ships to send me away, for I would quickly send the Frigots further from me. Hee went aboard one of the Frigots, and I caused our men to get vp their small shot, and fit themselves to fight with their ships which were fitted, and their sailes brought to the yard of purpose. I called all my Company to know their mindes, and told them plainly that if they would stand by mee, I meant to set vp my rest, to make my Voyage at those Ilands, let the *Hollander* doe what hee could: and promised them, if any man were maymed, hee should haue maintenance during his life, which (if it pleased God) I would haue performed: and further promised, that if they would fight it out, to giue frankly amongst them, those things that were mine owne, which were in the ship. So with one consent, wee were all willing to try what force the *Hollander* would send out to drive vs away. The Pinnasses seeing my folke to bring vp their small shot, thought it would be smal to their ease to guard me any longer, and therefore bore vp for the Harbour. While we were a warping out, the Admirall had beene twice aboard the Pinnasses, and the Vice-Admirall, and the Lieutenant Gouvernour of the Castle also, what they did there I know not.

His purpose for *Pulaway*.

English resolution,

It fell calme, and the winds Westerly, and a great streame set to the East North-East, and we droue a great pace. So I manned my Boate, and sent Master Spalding away with Money, and my Purfers Mate, and five more, to goe, and certifie them of the Iland of *Pulaway*, that we had parted enemies with the *Hollanders*, and that I had sent him to know their minds, whether they would sell me their Spice, and I would giue them Money for it: and would haue come my selfe, but would faine see the shippe in some place where she might ride, and then I would come either in the ship, or in a Pinnasse that I had within boord to set vp. While my Boat was absent, there came two Prawes from *Lantor*, to know why I went away; I told them, the streame set the ship away: I would faine haue gone to *Pulaway*, if the streame had not hindered me, and had sent a Factor thither to buy Spice; they said, they were glad that I went not away for altogether: then I prayed them to tell them of *Lantor*, that I would giue them Money or Commodities for all their Spice which they had, if they would sell it me before the *Hollander*, that came to take their Countrey from them. One of them said, that hee would goe to the Iland and see my people, and then he would shew them of *Lantor*.

M. Spaldings welcome,

The Ile of Ceran, Gelagula.

The Hope-well.

They lade Spice.

At Master Spaldings comming ashore, the Countrey flocked about him, and bad him welcome, but would make no price with him till I came my selfe: but would deliuer Spice vpon an account, till God should send me thither, to goe through with them my selfe. I bid Master Spalding hire me a Pilot (if he could) to harbour my ship neere hand; who spake to the Countrey for one, and they hired him a couple, to whom the Countrey gaue twenty Rials, and I must giue them as much. So Master Spalding sent them aboard, and writ to mee to send him more Money and Cloath, which I did the same night, and bare vp the Helme for *Ceran*, and came to a place called *Gelagula*, being thirtie leagues from *Banda*, a reasonable good Road: and as soone as possibly we could, we tooke an house, and brought our Pinnasse ashore to set vp, hauing had her within boord thus long, and could neuer haue time to set her vp, because the time of the yeare did so fast slip away, and the Monson was at an end. Labouring all that night to get her dispatched, being fitted, I named her the *Hope-well*. The seuen and twentieth of March, we made all things readie to set saile to the Iland of *Pulaway*, and arriued there the one and thirtieth of the same in the night, and could not lade any Spice, till I had agreed with the Countrey people.

The Countrey asked many duties, and great gifts; but in fine, I agreed to pay as Captaine *Keeling* paid: after the chiefe had what they looked for, (for euery one must haue somewhat, that all must not know) and a man must euer be giuing, for they neuer cease begging: and it is not for a mans ease to deny them any reasonable matter, especially, as the case stood with mee. After we had agreed, we laded the *Hope-well* with Mace, and sent her away, she being but nine Tunne, could carry but little of such Commodities, which she presently: wherefore I was driuen to looke out for more helpe to get ouer the Spice; so I hired a great Prow, and was to build her, which we laded with Nuts, and sent to the ship, and there builded her higher, and made her one of five and twentie Tunne. But she made but one Voyage, and then wee heard no newes of her in three moneths, still expecting her comming to *Pulaway* a long time. The *Hope-well* making two Voyages, could bring mee no newes of her, so that I verily thought she had bene sunke: for I came in company with her in the *Hope-well* my selfe, and hauing a great storme, was perfectly perswaded, that the Sea had eaten her vp, and gaue her for lost, hauing twelue of the lustiest men in the ship in her. It was no small grieft to mee, to see the time of the yeare to

weare



weare away, and could not get my lading ouer to the ship, nor durst bring the ship ouer (for there was no riding for her, and she past the Iland oft) all hope was past for fixe moneths. I made enquire for other Vessels, and heard of a Iunck that belonged to *Lantor*, but she was old, and lay neere the *Hollanders* ships: I went and bought her, and got such helpe as I could to trim her.

The want of my twelue men put me to much trouble, if I had had them with mee all the while, it had beene a great shortning to our Voyage: for most of our men were downe vpon sore Legges, and as soone as one was any thing well, hee must into the *Hope-well*, and another poore lame man take his roome, hauing some three times well and downe againe. Thus I was driuen to my wits end, not knowing which way to turne me, being euery houre in danger of the *Hollander* to come and take the Iland, who (as by intelligence from time to time we heard) sought sundry meanes to make me away, by offering large Money for Rogues to effect it, either by poison, or otherwise. But (I praise God) I had some friends vpon the Iland, who gaue mee secret warnings of such men, or to be aware of such men-slaues, for they would do me some mischief, and came for the purpose. Whereupon I was faine to get all the Ilands to draw to an head, and fit their Caracols, and keepe the *Hollanders* Pinnasses from comming aboard: so the Pinnasses durst not stirre, and the Ilanders landed secretly vpon *Nero*, and cut off sundry of the *Hollanders*, that they durst not stirre out of the Castle, except they were many, and well fitted.

Sore legges.

These Ilanders built a Fort vpon the side of an hill, from whence they shot into the Castle, which troubled the *Hollander* much. So we were sure that the Pinnasses could not come out as in former time, to cut vs off as oftentimes they had attempted, making nine Voyages in her my selfe, and neuer could spare aboue seuen men to goe in her, and but fiae at *Puloway*: the rest in a manner lame and sicke, in a most villanous Countrey, where all things were so deere, that one should eat, and not to be had but at some times, which was a great grieve vnto vs all: with such foule weather of raines continually, which was like to haue made an end of vs all. The Iunke which I had bought at *Lantor*, I was faine to get away vntrimmed, for the *Hollanders* sent me one of their ships, seeing men at worke vpon her, (when they had fitted her) to batter her to peeces. So that night she waighed, I got the helpe of two Townes to lanch her, and was to carry her a great way vpon Rowlers. This we did by night, and got her out of sight by day, and brought her to *Puloway*, and were faine to buy Sayles for her, and all things else, for she had nothing belonging vnto her but the bare Hull. I set the Countrey Carpenters aworke, which did her little good, as proued afterwards: and had sent to the ship by the *Hope-well*, that they should bring ouer some rigging for the Iunke, and that Master *Davis* should come and carry her ouer, fitting her (as well as I could) with those silly Carpenters which the place affordeth.

Treacherous offers.

The *Hope-well* stayed three weekes, and wee neuer heard any word what was become of her, being doubtfull whether any mischance had befallen her: and wee might stay long before they aboard could hire any to come ouer, the *Hollanders* haue so sealed them, that they haue taken carrying of victuals to the *Bandanesses*. Being reasonable faire weather, hauing the Shippes Skiffe at *Puloway*, I determined to goe ouer my selfe, and make some shift, and not to let the time passe doing nothing. For I could not hire men to carrie ouer the Iunke, if I would haue laded her with Siluer. So I put it in practise, seeing the *Hope-well* came not, and not hauing a sound man with me that could stand on his legges, I hyred three Blackes and put to Sea: being out of sight of Land, there arose a grieuous storme, that I was faine to spoone afore the Sea, to saue our liues: yet (God be praised) wee got sight of the Land of *Ceran*, and kept her right afore the Sea, cleane from our ship, and comming neere the shoare (the Sea aloft) did breake, and tooke away all hope of comming safe ashore. Night being at hand, we stroue all we might to keepe her vpon the Sea till day, the storme increaseth, that no remedie but wee must hazzard all to put into the Breach, ouer a ledge of Rockes. Which we did, and no man durst forsake the Boat, for being beaten to peeces against the Rockes. So the next day we set her ashore, being brim-full, and had all things that we had washed ouer-board: we laid hands on the Boat, and got her out of the Suffe of the Sea, and gaue God thanks for preserving vs from so apparant danger. Being extreme foule weather, with much raine, wee could not tell what to doe.

M. Iohn Davis.

The Ile of Ceran. Sea-perill.

The Blackes came and told vs, that we must goe to Sea presently, if wee meant to saue our liues. I asked one of them the reason; who said, it was the *Canibals* Countrey, and if they got sight of vs, they would kill vs and eate vs, and nothing would ransom a man if they take him: and all Christians that they get, they roist them aliue, for wrongs that the *Portugals* haue done them: and therefore if we would not goe to Sea, they would go hide themselves: for the *Canibals* would be at the water side as soone as they can look about to desery: if they can discover any Fisher-men or Passengers, that by stealth passe by in the night. Wee hearing this (and the Moone began to shew the wind to Duller, and a Tyde of flood with vs) we got a-head a good reasonable pace, and by day we were cleere of their Watches, & keeping the shore close aboard, we espyed a Hul of a Bark, came & rowed neere it, & knew it to be the *Diligence*, So we came & hayled her, & there were a couple of *Englishmen* in her, who told me that the same night (that we had the storme in the Skiffe) she chopped to an Anchor there, and the Cable burst, & she draue ashore, & that M. *Herniman* was gone to the Towne to get men to haue her vp, & saue her. I landed my selfe to goe to the Gouvernour of the Towne, to come and bring some helpe to saue her. The Sand was full of people which came of purpose to haue pillaged her, & I willed them to make a shot now & then,

The Countrey of the Canibals, or Man-eaters.

The Diligence.



Inhumanity of  
the Islanders.

which stayed them from comming neere them: & comming to the Town, *M. Herniman* was gone by land to the ship. I offered the Gouvernour mony to haue help to saue her, who said, he would gather the Country together within two or three daies, but I told him that if it blew, she would be lost within an houre. One of *Puloway* being there, who knew the Barke, and was earnest with the Gouvernour to saue her, plainly told mee, that he gaped only to haue her bulged, that hee might haue the Planke to build him a Prow.

Danger of  
Crocodiles.

Perillous mi-  
aking.

The arriual of  
the *Hopewell*.

Then perceiuing there was no helpe, but must come from the shippe, I hired Guides to follow Master *Herniman*, and tooke one of myne owne men to keepe me company, and so proceeded by land, being twelue miles from the ship. Being halfe way, we came to a great water, which we must swimme ouer: my man could not swimme, so I sent my clothes back, all but a Scarlet Mandilian, which these *Blacks* must carrie ouer for me, who told me, the Riuer was full of *Aligats*, and if I saw any, I must fight with him, else he would kill me: and for that purpose did carry a great Knife in his mouth. I being weary, not hauing slept in two nights, tooke the water before the *Indians*, knowing they would bee ouer before me. The Riuer being broad, and a swift current, which the great raine (that had fallen) had made, the *Indians* would haue had me turned backe, but being the better halfe way, I was very vnwilling: being in the water, one of the *Indians* that carryed my Mandilion, had got a great Cane (which I knew not of) and strooke me on the side, who feeling the stroke, suspecting it had bene an *Aligata*, diued vnder water, where the current got such hold on mee, that before I could come vp, I was in the Sea, and there the Sea threw mee against the Beech, and bruised my backe and shoulder, till the time that hee came, and gaue me the end of the Cane, whereof I got hold, and he pulled mee out, neere hand d rowned: being tossed with the Sea, that euery *Suffe* washed mee into the Sea againe. I prayse God, I escaped this danger and got aboard, after I had rested my selfe a reasonable space, to the amazement of all my Company. So that night, I sent all that were able to crawle, to saue the Bark: which (God be praysed) they did with much toyle of so small help. The Country would not let any man lay his hand to saue her, expecting we would forsake her, that they might enioy her.

The next day after my comming aboard, the *Hopewell* arriued with her lading of Spice, who told me, they had been driuen to the East-wards of *Banda* thirtie leagues, in a most cruell storme, which continued long, and caused them to haue a long passage to get to the wind-wards, but arriued the next day after. I went from *Puloway* in the Boat, and laded presently, and *M. Davis* was taking in of his lading, making all dispatch that might be, with a poore lame Crewe (the whole being absent as your Worships haue heard, about the *Diligence*) we presently vileded her, and that night set saile in her my selfe, to see if I could come before *M. Davis* came from thence: for they told me, the *Luncke* was very leaky, and I desired to haue the *Hope-well* come in her company, whatsoeuer should befall: for she had neuer a naile in her, but such as we our selues put into her: and hauing none there of our owne, we caused the simple Smith that the countrey afforded, to make some Iron pinnes, for nayles they can make none; and in most needfull places wee bestowed them. As for my selfe in the *Hopewell*, struiuing to attaine to *Puloway*, I was put by it by the streame, in a mighty storme; the more the wind, the stronger the Current: beeing put to Lee-wards, we were long before we could fetch the ship, and were faine to seeke to the *Ceran* shore, or else had been quite blowne away. Hauing made many Voyages, and still fallen to Lee-ward of the ship, I caused *M. Davis* to search the land for some Harbour, that when those prouisions (that we could make to get ouer the goods) should come ouer, they might come from *Puloway* to the ship directly, and not to boult it vp to windwards when she was deepe laden, which beeing emptie, hauing discharged her burden, might better ply it to wind-wards: for beeing light, she would feele her oares, which was effected.

Fears of the  
Hollanders,  
cause of cruell  
handling.

In my long stay from *Puloway*, and the Islands of *Banda*, they had intelligence, that the ship had weighed anchor, and were perswaded, that I was gone in the ship for feare of the *Hollanders*, who were determined to come and looke me out, and surpise mee. Whereupon, the countrey people would not deale with my people any more, nor sell them victuals, and beganne to abuse them, and rayle vpon them and said, that I was gone in the ship, and left them in the Countrey as the *Hollanders* did, and would come with a Fleete, as they haue done, and take their Countrey from them. Then they were determined to seize vpon the house, and take the people, and keep them prisoners vpon an high Rocke, and sent for the *Sabandar*, that by whole consent they might come, and take possession of all the goods. When the *Sabandar* was come, *M. Spalding* went vnto him, to shew him of the hard vsage of the Islanders, who began to take things out of the house by force. He said, They would be sure we should not doe as the *Hollanders* had done, and were determined to lay them fast: for the ship was gone, and our meaning was not good. All that Master *Spalding* could doe, would not periwade them, but they were left of purpose.

The next day, being in counsell in the Church: they resolved to send the men vp prisoners to the Rocke. Then there came one and told them, that I was in sight in the *Hopewell*; whereupon they broke vp their deuillish determination. At my comming ashore, *M. Spalding* told mee of their hard vsage of them, and what feare they were in. The Chiefe of all the Hands fate before our doore to stay my comming: I went vnto them, and asked the reason, Why they dealt so with my people in my absence? They told me plainly, that if I had not come my selfe, they would haue taken



taken the goods, and kept the men safe. So I told them the reason of the remoouing of the ship, and said further, No manuell that the *Holanders* built a Castle to defend themselves, when I beeing in friendship with them, and leauing men amongst them, with Commodities that the countrey stood in neede of, and made the *Holanders* mine Enemies, which were their enemies, and sought all the meanes that in me lay to doe all the Ilands good, (as they all very well knew) should receiue such hard measure at their hands. They said plainly, I must not blame them to be iealous of Christians: for many yeeres, the *Portugals* and *Holanders* haue done as I haue done; but in the ende they saw apparantly, they would haue their Countrey from them: yet now I was come my selfe, they hoped I would not thinke the worse of them. So wee became good friends, and bought Spice apace: and had bought my whole ships lading. Hauing an ouer-plus of Stock left I thought I could not doe your Worships better seruice, then in laying out your money, and therefore made shift to send the ships lading away: and laded thirtie Tunnes more in a Iuncke, and bought another Iuncke of fortie Tunnes (and Spice to lade her) which was not then launched, but men at worke ypon her: and left M. *Spalding* to come in her, and M. *Chapman*, for Master (a very honest and sufficient man) with twelue persons in the whole.

*Portugals and  
Hollanders as-  
sistfull.*

### III.

20 *His departure for Bantam, escape from the Hollanders, and returne home.*

**A**fter this, I came and tooke my leaue of all the Countrey, in most louing manner, and gaue them diuers gifts for a farwell, intreating them to helpe Master *Spalding*, if hee should stand in need of them: for I beeing gone, hee must rely vpon them. So with many promises of all kindnesse, I tooke my leaue both of Master *Spalding*, and of his company, and all the Iland. Leauing Master *Chapman* for Master in the new Iuncke. I was faine to carry ouer the *Hopewell* my selfe, and set saile the seuenth of September from *Puloway*, with the Iuncke *Middleton* in my Company (hauing stayed longer in the Countrey, then euer any *Englishman* did) arriued at the ship the tenth. And there I heard that the ship was not fully laden: for there were seuen Tunnes of the Nuttes spoyled, that came last from *Puloway*, and lost. There I laded the ship out of the *Hopewell*, and the Iuncke, and turned off the *Hopewell*, which had done vs very good seruice, and brought an hundred Tunnes of goods aboard; being so wormeaten, that we pumped alwayes in her, being but halfe inch planck, and neuer could stay or haue any time to sheath her. After the shippe was wholly laden, wee set saile from *Keeling Bay* the same day, hauing neuer a top-sayle ouer head: For I had caused Master *Davis* to remoue the ship from whence I left her, to another Bay, seuen leagues to the Westward, where I said I would come with the *Hopewell*; and the Iuncke where I found them: now the ship, in remoouing had her top-sailes blowne from the yard, hauing beene at the yard euer since we came into the Countrey for feare of Treason, and the *Hollanders* who would seeke our overthrow. The Iuncke going better then we, hauing no top-sailes, I sent for the Master of her aboard, and wrote a Letter to *Bantam* by them: and requested them to make all the speed they could thither, and I hoped I should come after them, and ouertake them, when I could make my top-sailes, which wee plyed night and day: and made Master *Musgraue* his Mate: wee in the ship hauing our top-sailes finished, did ouertake the Iuncke the sixteenth of the same, and coming vp to them, they could not keepe vs company, except wee should take in our top-sailes: and to presse the Iuncke with a saile they durst not. I called vnto them, and bade them beare such saile, that they doe not wrong her (for feare a leake should breake vpon them) and come to *Bantam*: for mee to keepe by them, could doe them small pleasure, for wee had long businesse at our comming to *Bantam*, to trimme the shippe for *England*. So wee tooke leaue of them, and bore ahead, and the ninth of October arriued in *Bantam* Roade, where Master *Hemsworth* and *Edward Neetles* were both dead, within a short space after my going away from *Bantam*: so that all the goods I left at *Bantam*, were yet there, and not a yard of cloth sold to the *Chineses*. At our comming to *Bantam*, being very weake (for most part of the company had sore legs) I was driuen, that all men that had any sores, or were sickly, should remayne aboard by the Surgeon, and manured the Iunkes with all my choice men, being all in perfect health. There came a small ship, that had heene at *China*, and at *Iapan*, *Tarnata*, *Makian*, *Coramandell*, *Patane*, and *Ior*, and came to *Amboyna*, and so to *Banda* to seeke for lading, but could get none, so was faine to go for *Bantam* to lade Pepper. This ship when she came to *Banda*, came neere the Iland of *Puloway*. and let flye all her Ordnance, and a shot came through another mans house, through two Suckles of Mace in our house, and strooke the Purfers Mate vpon the shinne, yet broke not his legge, but went into a Chest of fine Pintados, and spoyled many: the poore man lay long vpon it (sixe monethes at the least) not able to stand.

He departed  
from *Puloway*  
the seuenth of  
September.

*Keeling bay.*

They arriue at  
*Bantam* the  
ninth of Octo-  
ber.

The *Hollanders* seeing vs to passe by them at *Banda*, day by day with Spice (who after my comming bought not one pound, I wrought such meanes to procure my lading first) were starke



Hollanders en-  
vied and inuie  
frustrated.

madde, hauing two great ships halfe laden before I came into the Countrey : wherefore they de-  
termined to come with their ships and Pinnasses, and take the Iland, and all the Spice that I had  
there, knowing I had store bought, and fitted such a time, as that they might easily haue done  
it. The *Bandanese*s being fleshed with the slaughter of some of the straggling *Hollanders*, which  
they had murthered, tooke all the able men to giue assault to the *Hollanders* Castles : and deter-  
mined to fire their ships, at an Anchor, and burne the old *Sunne* close to the Castle gates. All  
able men being gone to the Warres, and not passing fortie men left, beside women and children,  
the two great ships and three Pinnalles came out vnder saile, with three Boates apiece at their  
sternes, and the Frigots, two Prowes a piece to land men : They chose such a time, that they  
might haue come ashore, and taken euery man, one, in their armes, and carryed them quite away,  
for there were no Weapons left in the Iland, but what we had. But it pleased God to deale bet-  
ter with vs, for being come out of the Harbour, they could not get in againe, it prooued calme,  
and the Tyde of Ebbe (being Springing Tyde) did fet the shippes to the Southwards of the I-  
land, and the Pinnalles must follow the ships, for feare the *Caricols* would haue had them. Two  
dayes they did what they could to come backe, so they were forced to proceed for *Bantam* to  
lade Pepper : Being long becalmed by the way to *Bantam*, they descried a shippe right to Lee-  
wards of them, which they thought could not be any Saile, but wee : wherefore it was agreed  
by counsell that they should come and fight with mee, and take me, and all the Spice from mee :  
and what their determination was to haue done with the ship and Company, I could not learne.  
It proued to be the *Provincia* of *Holland*, a great ship that was bound to *Banda*, to looke for la-  
ding, and had beene at the *Moluccoes*, but could not get one pound of Spice. So those two  
ships told him, that they came from thence, with halfe their lading, so all three came to *Bantam*  
to lade Pepper : thus the Lord kept me out of their hands.

Fight Holland  
ships.

Master Thomas  
Clayborne.

*Succadania*.

Foure Saile of  
*Hollanders*.  
Women to in-  
habit.

Dutch Admirall  
slaine.  
Three ships of  
the *Hollanders*  
taken, and one  
burnt at *Mani-  
lia*.  
*Paulus Vancar-  
les* taken.

*Paulus* taken  
the second  
time and sent  
to *Manilia*.

Hee departeth  
from *Bantam*.  
*Saldanha*.

There came eight ships to *Bantam* for Pepper, and must stay a yeare for it : so the shippes that  
must stay a yeare for their lading, tooke in planks and prouision of building, and were sent with  
them to *Banda* and *Tarnata*, (for their Castles, and to make Flankers to make themselves strong)  
and were sent away after I came to *Bantam*. My lame Company being very weake fell sicke,  
and my Gunner, and one of my Quarter Masters dyed, and three more presently after them.  
The Carpenters fitting the ship, and the Westerly Monson come, there was no hope of the  
Iunckes comming till May : Master *Danis* being sicke, and very hardly escaping with life, Ma-  
ster *Clayborne* weake and sicke, and my selfe not well with grieffe, to see in what poore estate we  
were, made all speed that we might to be gone from that contagious Countrey, hoping, that if  
we were out at Sea, my people would mend. Now seeing the Iuncke came not, which if but  
one of them had come, I would haue remayned in the Countrey, and fitted her to goe for *Suc-  
cadania*, (a place where the *Hollanders* haue made great Voyages) but seeing they came not, I  
thought I should doe your Worships as good seruice to come home in the ship, (if it should please  
God to take Master *Danis*, and Master *Clayborne* away) to bring home the ship : and therefore  
set vp my rest to come home. Three dayes before we set saile from *Bantam*, foure Saile of a new  
Fleet of *Hollanders* came in (which brought in great store of women, to inhabite those places  
which they had conquered) and were nine in the whole, and fve remayned behind. Those that  
came into the Road, were very weake, so that the other ships company that were in the Road,  
were faine to fetch them in one by one.

That same day came a Slupe from *Tarnata* (sent with Letters to *Amboyno*, and so to *Bantam*)  
with newes, that the *Hollanders* had lost their Admirall, which went to *Manilia* : for his head  
was shot off, and the ship taken and two more, and another (that would not yeeld) set himselfe  
a fire : so they lost three ships by fight, and one burned, being all great shippes of one thousand  
Tunnes apiece. Four dayes before these newes came from *Manilia*, a Generall of the *Hollan-  
ders*, which came into the *Indies* foure yeares passed, called *Paulus Vancarles*, who had beene ta-  
ken by the *Spaniards* at *Tarnata*, by *Spanish* Gallies (within foure monethes after I came from  
thence the last Voyage) remained a Prisoner in the Master of the Campes House at *Tarnata* and  
all his company were chained in the Gallies. These Prisoners the *Hollanders* would haue ranso-  
med with money, offering a very great rancome : which the *Spaniard* would not accept, but  
would haue them deliver vp the Forts, and be gone ; so they would set their Generall, and the  
rest at libertie, or otherwise not. The *Hollanders* would by no meanes withdraw their forces, so  
the Generall remained Prisoner a yeare and a quarter, and then was released by the new Gouer-  
nour that came from *Manilia*, to take the Gouernment of the *Moluccoes*, who was intercepted,  
and taken by two ships of the *Hollanders*, which released their Generall with exchange of man  
for man. This Generall was the second time taken by the *Spanish* Gallies (after a long fight) and  
presently sent Prisoner to the *Manilia*.

Hauing left *Richard Wooddies* for Chiefe in the house, and order for Master *Spalding* (when  
God shall send him to *Bantam*) to determine a Voyage to *Succadania* in *Borneo* for Diamonds, I  
tooke my leaue of them of *Bantam*, and set saile the the sixteenth of *November*, and had a very  
good passage to the Roade of *Saldanha* ; where I came to an Anchor the one and twentith of  
January, and tooke in water, and made all dispatch that I could for *England* : and found that my  
Bre-



Brother Sir *Henry Middleton* had beene there, and came in the foure and twentieth of Iuly, and departed the tenth of *August*, and there I found the Copie of a Letter, which my Brother had written to your Worships, and sent home by a *Hollander* the next day that hee came into the Road: which if you haue not receiued, you may apparantly see, that they will detain all your Worships Letters, and you shall haue the Copie. Thus haue I at large certified your Worships of all matters in ample manner, which I thought no lesse then my dutie to doe, hauing made relation of all those places from whence I came. And (I prayse God) I haue aboard one hundred thirtie nine Tunnes, six Cathayes, one quarterne two pound of Nutmegs, and sixe hundred two and twentie Suckettes of Mace, which maketh thirtie sixe Tunnes, fifteene Cathayes, one quarterne, one and twentie pound, and haue left in the Iuncke with Master *Herrman*, foure and twentie Tunnes, seuen Cathayes, two quarternes and eight pound; which co<sup>t</sup> with the charge 25071.  $\frac{1}{4}$  Rials, of which summe I haue disbursed fve hundred of mine owne, for Spice which lyeth most vpon the Orlope: and being in bond vnto your Worships, shall remaine vntill I know your pleasures, whether I shall enjoy it.

## CHAP. XI.

*The sixth Voyage, set forth by the East-Indian Company in three Shippes; the Trades Increase, of one thousand Tunnes, and in her the Generall Sir HENRY MIDDLETON, Admirall; the Pepper-Corne of two hundred and fiftie, Vice-Admirall, the Captaine NICHOLAS DOWNTON: and the Darling of ninetie. The Barke Samuel followed as a Victualler of burthen one hundred and eightie: written by Sir H. MIDDLETON.*

## §. I.

*The proceeding of his Voyage till hee came to Moha in the Redde Sea.*

**H**He first of May 1610. wee came to an Anchor in the Roade of Cape Verde, vnder an Iland: where wee found a *Frenchman* of Deepe, that was setting vp a small Pinnasse vpon the Iland.

The second, the Carpenters of all the shippes went in hand with my mayne Mast pulling off the fishes, we found the Mast exceeding bad, and aboue the vpper Decke some three foot wrung more then halfe asunder: had wee met with any foule weather, it must needs haue gone by the boord. I sent one of my Carpenters a-land to the maine to search for Trees, who returned that night, and brought mee word that hee had seene some which would serue our turne.

The third, we beganne to vnlade the *Samuel*, and sent Carpenters a-land to cut downe Trees, hauing leaue of the *Alcayda*, who came aboard and dined with me, I gaue him a piece of Roan cloth, which I bought of the *Frenchman*, and other Trifles.

The fifteenth, we made an end of watering, all our Caske being full: we stowed all our Boats this night and fitted to be gone the next morning. This place of Cape Verde is the best place I know for our outward bound ships: for that the Road is excellent good, fit for dispatch of any businesse, and fresh fish to be had in great plentie: besides it is not any thing out of the way. I called a Countell of Captaine *Downton* and the Masters what course was best to hold till wee came to the Line, so it was concluded South South-west for sixtie leagues: and then South South-East til we grew neere the Line, and then to hale ouer Easterly. We dismissed the *Samuel*.

The foure and twentieth of Iuly, we came into the Road of *Saldanha*, and saluted the *Dutch* Admirall with fve Pieces of Ordnance, and hee returned the like, there were also other two *Holland* ships which came to make traine Oyle of Seales: they had made three hundred Pipes.

This day I went a-land and found out the names of Captaine *Keeling*, and others bound home in Iauary, 1609. And also my Brother *Dauids* name bound out in August the ninth, 1609. And also a Letter buried vnder ground according to agreement made betweene him and mee in *England*: it was so consumed with the dampe of the aire, that I could not reade any part thereof. The fixe and twentieth, we set vp a Tent for my sicke men, and then we had them all a land to aire

The commen-  
dation of Cape  
Verde.

They arriue in  
the Road of  
*Saldanha*.

\* M. Femell in  
a Letter which  
I haue written  
from thence,  
mentions two  
*French* ships in  
like employ-  
ment, wh<sup>ch</sup> he  
suspected to  
lye in wait for  
distressed ships  
from the *Indies*.

OUT



our ships. From this day, till the day of our departure, not any thing happened worth the writing.

The bay of S.  
Augustine in S.  
Lawrence.

The sixt of September, latitude twentie three degrees thirtie minutes, the winde all Southerly a good gale: this day after dinner we saw land, and before night wee came to an anchor in S. Augustines Bay, where we found the *Vnion* distressed for lacke of victualls. The seuenth day, I went in my Pinnasse a land to see if I could get any fresh victualls: but we could not get any: wee got wood and water aboard, and so returned to our Ships.

The tenth, we steered alongst the land with a good gale of wind at South-east, making account we should haue gone at least twentie fixe leagues, but we went but twentie two leagues, by reason the Current setteth to the Southward: her course North two and twentie leagues. The eleuenth, we steered from noone till night North North-east along the land, which was North  $\frac{1}{2}$  a point Easterly way, and till midnight North North-west. From midnight till day North by West, and so till noone North, all her true way North North-west  $\frac{1}{2}$  a point, North twentie seuen leagues. We haue a great Current against vs: for I made account wee should haue gone five and thirtie leagues: I obserued, and the latitude was one and twentie degrees five minutes, wind East South-East. The twelfth, we steered betweene the North North-east, and North by East, her true way North Westerly  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a point, latitude nineteene degrees, fortie eight minutes, shee ranne twentie seuen leagues. The Current we find this last foure and twentie houres, setteth to the North-ward, the wind variable.

The Iles de  
Queriba in 11.  
degrees tenne  
minures, neere  
the coast of A-  
frica.

The thirteenth, we steered with little wind and calmes for the most part North by East, her true way North  $\frac{1}{2}$  part West, the wind as the day before: she went fifteene leagues more then I would haue giuen her; so that I find the Current setteth to the North-ward, by my obseruation, latitude nineteene degrees tenne minutes. The twentieth at noone, her latitude eleuen degrees ten minutes, the wind vering Easterly, with calmes, variation twelue degrees fortie minutes. This afternoone we saw land, being the Iles of *Queriba*, which are dangerous low. Ilands, environed with rockes and shoales.

The first of October, 1610. wee steered North-east, her way North-east by North  $\frac{1}{4}$ . North twenty seuen leagues, the wind for the most part South-east. The second, we steered North-east, her way North-east by North  $\frac{1}{4}$ . North fiftie seuen leagues. Note the Current hath carried vs these eight and fortie houres to the North-ward, more then by reckoning we could giue her by twentie eight leagues, which we found true by our latitude, which was three degrees thirtie minutes South latitude: variation twelue degrees twenty foure minutes, wind South and South-east. The third, we steered North-east by East, her true way North-east  $\frac{1}{4}$ . North fortie one leagues, which is twelue leagues, carried by the Current to the North-wards: for I should haue giuen her but nine and twentie leagues, latitude two degrees South, the winds variable betweene the South and South-east.

We crost the  
Equinectiall.

The fourth, we steered North-east by East, her true way North-east  $\frac{1}{4}$ . point Northerly fortie five leagues; whereof foureteene leagues carried with the Current, South latitude foureteene minutes, variation thirteene degrees, wind variable, betweene the South-east and South, we crost the line this afternoone. The fifth, we steered twelue houres North-east by East, and twelue houres East North-east, her true way North-east, little Northerly fortie seuen leagues: shee hath been carried to the North by the Current at the least twenty leagues, latitude North one degree thirtie minutes, the wind for the most part South South-east, with sometimes almost calme. The sixt, we steered East by North, and East North-east: her true way North-east by East little Easterly thirtie eight leagues, helped by the Current to the North-ward eightene leagues: latitude two degrees thirtie minutes, the wind South South-east, variation foureteene degrees two minutes.

They loose the  
North Cur-  
rent.

The seuenth, we steered East by North, her true way East North-east  $\frac{1}{4}$ . point Northerly, eight and twentie leagues: latitude three degrees five minutes, wind all Southerly: variation fifteene degrees, by the Current tenne leagues. The eighth, we steered East North-east, her true way North-east by East  $\frac{1}{4}$ . point, Northerly fortie leagues: latitude foure degrees twentie seuen minutes, the wind South-west, variation sixteene degrees foure minutes. The ninth, wee steered North-east by East, her true way North-east  $\frac{1}{4}$ . a point Northerly twenty seuen leagues, latitude five degrees, three and twentie minutes, wind South-west, variation sixteene degrees foure minutes.

The tenth calme: Latitude in five degrees, one and twenty minutes. Here we lost the Current that set to the North-ward, and were carried to the South-ward two miles, variation seuteene degrees tenne minutes. The eleuenth, calme, latitude five degrees twentie minutes, lost one mile. The twelfth, calme, latitude five degrees, lost by being carried to the South-ward twentie miles. The thirteenth, we steered two watches North-east, and foure watches North North-east: her true way as I gueſt North North-east, by reason the Current counteruailes the variation, shee ranne seuteene leagues: latitude five degrees, fiftie five minutes, the wind West by North, variation nineteene degrees tenne minutes.

The foureteenth, we steered North, her way allowing her variation, which is nineteene degrees



grees fortie minutes, should be one point  $\frac{1}{4}$ . to the West-ward; but the variation daily rising, sheweth we are carried to the East-ward by the Current, more then the variation commeth vnto, A Current. she went this day forty leagues, the wind West South-west, latitude seuen degrees fifteene minutes: her true way North-east, carried to the East tenne leagues. The fifteenth, wee steered North, our latitude eight degrees fifty five minutes, her true way North-east fortie five leagues, her way should haue been North by West, Westerly by the variation, but the Current hath carried her to the East-ward of her course seuentene leagues: the variation nineteen degrees five minutes, the wind West South-west.

The sixteenth, we steered away North, her way by the Current, North by East thirtie sixe Dua Irmanas, leagues, carried contrary to the variation five leagues to the East-ward, as I imagine: the wind South South-west, variation nineteene degrees eight minutes. The seuenteenth, wee steered North, and ranne nineteene leagues: in the morning early wee did see the *Dua Irmanas* sixe The Ile of Ca- leagues off, bearing North by West of vs: the wind at South-west, variation eightene degrees cotoia. fiftie five minutes. The eighteenth at night, we came to an anchor in a sandy Bay, in the Ile of *Zacotora*, whose latitude was twelue degrees twenty five minntes: in the euening we went on land with our Sayne, and got great store of fish: wind East.

The one and twentieth, we weighed for to ply for the road of *Tamarin*, the chiefe towne of Tamarin. the Iland, but we found the wind at the East, and East by South, which was right as wee should goe, so that we could not get the place till the five and twentieth day. The latitude of *Tamarin* The casting a- is twelue degrees thirtie minutes, the variation is nineteene degrees eightene minutes. The way of the A- Towne standeth at the foote of high ragged hills: the road is all open betweene the East by scension. North, and West North-west. We anchored in ten fathomes water, good ground. The five and twentieth in the afternoon, I sent M. *Femel* well accompanied ashore, with a present to the King, which was a vest of cloth, a peice of Plate, and a Sword blade; he promised all kindneses.

The fixe and twentieth, I went on shore with the chiefe Merchants with me, and a good guard of armed men: I was conducted to the Kings house, where at his chamber doore he came and entertained me: he brought me into his Chamber, where being set in a chaire by him, there passed many complements, which I omit. I enquired concerning the trade of the Red Sea; and he commended it highly, saying, the people of *Aden* and *Moha* were good people, and would bee glad The King en- of trade with vs; and that the *Ascension* had sold all her goods there at good rates, and came so ertaineth Sir lightly to this place, that they tooke in good store of Ballast. This newes gaue me good content: Henry Middle- I demaunded leaue to set vp my Pinnasse vpon his Iland, but he would not graunt it in this roade; ton. but if I would returne, and doe it at the place where we first anchored, he was content: he feared if we stayed in this roade of *Tamarin* to let her vp, we would feare all men for comming thither. He had sent all his Alloes to *Fartaque* to his Father, King of that part of *Arabia Felix*: his chiefe Fartaque in A- Citie is called *Chushem*, where he is resiednt. I asked him leaue to wood and water: for the one, rabia. which was water, he gaue me free leaue; but for wood I must pay very deare, if I would haue any; Chushem or saying withall, That all other Nations which came thither, payed for their water; but of mee he Cainem. would not demaund any thing. He confirmed the losse of the *Ascension*, and her Pinnasse, which 60 was no little grieffe to me to heare. I demaunded if they had left any writing behind them; hee answered me, he had one, but his seruant had lost it; I was very earnest to haue seene it; but it could not be found. He animated me to goe for the Red Sea, but diswaded me from seeking trade in the Countrey of *Fartaque*: for that he doubts his Father would not permit vs. I and all my people dined with the King, which beeing done, I tooke my leaue, and went aboard.

The seauenth of Nouember, we steered West by South, and West South-west alongst the Land: we sawe about tenne of the clocke an high land, which we imagined to be the high land of *Aden*, Aden. it riseth like *Abbadel-Curia*, and may be seene a great way off. In the euening about fixe of the clocke, we came to an anchor before the Towne in twenty fathome water, sandy ground. The Towne standeth at the foote of a Mountaine in a Vale, and maketh a faire shew: it is inuironed 50 with a stone wall, and Forts and Bulwarks in many places; but how they be appoointed we know not. This night there came a small Boat from the Towne to view vs, but came not aboard: the wind East South-east we stood in, standing ouer we were carried to the East-ward with the Current at least twentie leagues, contrary to our expectation, who rather thought the Current would haue set to the West-wards.

The eighth, came a small Boat off the Towne aboard, with three *Arabians* in her: they said they were sent by the Lieftenant of the Towne, to know what Nation we were, and wherefore we came thither, sending vs word by them, if we were *Englishmen*, we were heartily welcome, and that the yeere before, Captaine *Sharpeigh* had been there, and from thence went to *Moha*, where he made sale of all his goods: I demaunded of one of them the name of the *Basha*, and Captain Shar- whether he were a good man: he answered, his name was *Jeffer Basha*, and that the *Basha* that last peigh had been was, was very bad, this a little better; but all the *Turkes* in generall starke naught. I asked, if *Moha* at Aden and were a good place of trade: they answered, that there was one man in *Moha*, that would buy Moha, in the all our goods: I sent my Pinnasse a land, and *John Williams* one of my Factors in her, who spake yeere 1609. the *Arabique* language, at their comming a shore they were kindly entertained.

The



The ninth in the morning, I sent my Pinnasse ashore for a Pilot for *Moha*: in the meane while the Boate was ashore, we brought our selues loose, and vnder sayle: they returned without a Pilot, and would not let vs haue any, without three of our chiefe Merchants to be left for pledges: they intreated me not to depart with all our ships, but to leaue one for that Port; and that they would buy all the goods in her; we beeing desirous of trade vpon good consideration, thought fit to leaue the *Pepper-corne* there, and the other two to goe for *Moha*, whereupon we did what we could to get the Road againe, but could not, beeing carried to Lee-ward with the Current: wee anchored to the South-ward of the Towne: I sent M. Fowler and John Williams aland, to tell them I minded to leaue one of the ships there to trade, so that they would let me haue a Pilot. They seemed very glad that one of the ships should tarry, and promised me a Pilot the next day.

The Trade and the Darling set saile for *Moha*.

This coast is high land.

The Headland on the coast of Arabia going into the Red Sea. The North straight of the Red Sea. *Babelmandel*, or the Bab.

*Moha*. The shippe brought on ground.

Alexander Sharpeigh.

The Lord of the Sea there.

*Stambola* is Constantinople. The extreame dissimulation of the Turkes.

The twelfth, I seeing no hope of any Pilot to be had (which had been often promised, but not performed) dispatched my businesse with the *Pepper-corne*: and about noone, I and the *Darling* set saile for *Moha*: the wind East South-east, wee steered alongst the land sometimes West South-west, and West by North, in twentie eight and thirtie fathome, we saw a small sayle going before vs, which we followed till we had lost sight of her by night. This coast is high land, with many head-lands.

The thirteenth, we haled on our course alongst the land, all this night steering betweene the West by North, and most by South, her true way West. The next day betimes we saw the head-land going into the Red Sea, rising like an Iland; about eleuen of the clocke wee were thwart of the entrance, being but three miles broad: on the North side is a ragged land like an Iland, and on the other side is a flat low Iland, called *Babelmandel*: vpon the South of the Iland there seemeth to be a broad channell or entrance. After we had passed this straight of *Babelmandel*, vpon the North shore in a sandie Bay is a Village, to which place I sent my Pinnasse for a Pilot: they staid not long, but returned with a couple of *Arabs*, who tooke vpon them to be very skilfull. Our depth in the straights was betweene eight and eleuen fathome water (betweene the straight and *Aden* is thirty leagues) we steered alongst the land North by West, and North North-west, betweene eightene and twentie fathomes deepe: about foure of the clocke we discied the Towne of *Moha*: and about fise a clocke in luffing in beeing much wind, we split our maine toppe sayle, and putting abroad our mizen, it split likewise: our Pilots brought our shippe a ground vpon a banke of sand, the wind blowing hard, and the Sea somewhat high, which made vs all doubt her comming off. This night came a Boat aboard of vs from the Towne, with a Turke in her, a proper man, sent by the Gouvernour of the Towne, to know what we were, and wherefore wee came thither. I told him we were *English* Merchants, that came to seeke trade: he answered, if we were *Englishmen* we were hartily welcome, and should not faile of that we looke for: for *Alexander Sharpeigh* had sold all his goods there, and we might doe the like. And for the grounding of the ship, he made nothing of it, saying, It was ordinary for great ships of *India* to come a ground, and yet neuer heard that any of them sustained any harme thereby: he made hast to goe ashore, to certifie the *Aga* what we were, with promise in the morning to returne with Boates to lighten our ship. This man, as I afterward vnderstood, is called Lord of the Sea, for that his office is to go aboard all ships that come thither, and to see Lighters sent aboard to discharge the ships, and to search that they steale no custome: for which Office, hee hath diuerse duties, which is his onely maintenance.

The fourteenth in the morning early; he returned with three or foure *Turkes* more in his company, whereof two of them spake *Italian*, they brought me a small Present from the *Aga*, which commendations and offer of any thing the Countrey could afford me, with heartie welcome to his Port, saying, we should haue as good and free Trade as wee had in *Stambola*, *Aleppo*, or any part of the *Turkes* Dominions, with many other Complements: there came with them foure or fise Lighters, in which we put any thing that came first to hand, to lighten the ship. Master *Femell* went a-land in one of them before I was aware thereof, carrying all he had in the ship with him. Wee sent all our Money, Elephants teeth, and all our shot aboard the *Darling*: wee laid out our Anchors to passe, and in the Euening proued if we could heaue her off, but could not make her stirre, which was no small grieffe to me.

The fifteenth, we did what we could to lighten our ship, sending some goods a-land and some aboard the *Darling*, I had a Letter from Master *Femell*, wherein hee certified mee of kind enter-taynment by the *Aga*, and that he had agreed for Custome to pay fise pound the hundred for all we should sell, and that we could not sell to be returned aboard custome free. Likewise the *Aga* sent me a Letter vnder his hand and Seale, proffering himselfe and any thing the Countrey afforded to bee at my disposing, with many other Complements; about fise a clocke wee began to heaue at our Cap-staynes, and by Gods great mercy shee went off to all our comforts.

The nineteenth, came two Boates from the shore sent by Master *Femell* for Iron, which I caused them to fetch from the *Darling*. I writ to Master *Femell* not to send for any more goods a-land, for that I would see sale of those he had already before I would depart with any more. I receiued a Letter from Master *Femell*, if that I minded to haue Trade, I must come a-land according to the custome of the place, otherwise they would not be perswaded but that wee were men



men of Warre. Likewise, the *Aga* sent our Interpreter to me to intreate me to come a land, if I were a Merchant and friend to the great *Turke*, and hoped for Trade: Alledging that Captaine *Sharpeigh* and all the *Indian* Captaines did the like.

The twentieth, I went a land, I was received at the water side by diuers chiefe men, and with Musicke brought to the *Aga* House; where were assembled all the chiefe men of the Towne: my entertaynement by the *Aga* and the rest, was with extraordinarie great kindnesse, I was seated close to the *Aga*, all men else standing, where he held me with Complements, many times bidding me welcome, offering himselfe and the Countrey to be at my seruice: I deliuered his Majesties Letter with a Present to the *Basha*, which I desired might be sent him vp with all speed. Likewise I gave the *Aga* a Present, which he tooke very kindly, telling me, I and my people should haue as good and peaceable Trade, as any of our Nation had in any parts of the *Turkes* Dominions, and that if any man in the Towne offered me or any of my people wrong, he would see them seuerely punished; he caused me to stand vp, & one of his chiefe men put vpon my backe a Vest of Crimson silke and laker, saying, Enadde not to doubt of any euill; for that was the *Gran Seniors* protection. After some few Complements I tooke my leaue; I was mounted vpon a Gallant Horse with rich Furniture, a great man leading my Horse; and so, in my new Coate with the Musicke of the Towne conueiged to the *English* House: where I stayed Dinner, and presently after went aboard. Much he intreated my stay on shore, which I yielded to for building my Pinnasse, the daies following being also forced by foule weather.

The *English* House in *Bab*.

## §. II.

## Turkish treacherie at Moha and Aden with the English.

Ne day past not, but I had some small present or other sent mee by the *Aga*, with commendations from him, to know if I lacked any thing. On the eight and twentieth day twice he sent me commendations, willing me to be merry, and when their time of Fasting was done (which was almost expired) hee would haue me ride abroad with him to his Gardens, and other places of pleasure to make merry. This afternoone came Master *Pemberton* a land for Coco Nuts. I caused him to stay Supper with mee, which beeing done, he tooke his leaue to goe aboard, but the *Turkes* would not permit him, saying, it was too late, but in the morning he should goe as timely as he would. I sent to intreate that he might go, but it would not be granted. All this time we suspected no harme, but thought it was ouer-much curiositie in the Officer, who wee thought had done it without order, of which the next day I thought to haue complayned to the *Aga*.

The Sunne being set (according to my wonted order) I caused stooles to bee set at the doore, where my selfe, Master *Fennell*, and Master *Pemberton* sat to take the fresh aire, expecting nothing of the present ensuing harme that did befall vs. About eight of the clocke, came a *Ianizary* from the *Aga* to deliuer some message to mee, but wee could not vnderstand him for lacke of an Interpreter; I sent my man to looke for one of my company that spake the *Turkish* Tongue, my Interpreter presently came, by whom I vnderstood the effect of the *Ianizaries* message, which was, that the *Aga* had sent me commendations, willing me to be merry, for that hee had received good newes from the *Basha*. And as hee was about to say somewhat else, my man returnes in great feare, telling vs wee were all betrayed: for that the *Turkes* and my people were by the eares at the backe of the House. The *Turke* that sate by, was desirous to know what was the matter, which wee tolde him, hee presently rose vp, and willed my man to shew him where they were, diuers of my Company running after them, to see what was the matter. And I my selfe ranne after them, calling vpon them as loud as I could, to returne backe and make good our House: but whiles I was thus speaking, I was strooke vpon the head downe to the ground by one which came behind me; I remained as dead till such time as they had bound my hands behind mee, and so strait that the extreame paine thereof brought mee to my memorie. As soone as they saw me stirre they lifted me vpon my feet, and led me betweene two of them to the *Agas*: where I found diuers of my Companie in like taking as I was my selfe. By the way the Souldiers pillaged mee, and tooke from mee such money as I had about mee, and three gold Rings, whereof one was my Seale, the other had seuen Diamonds which were of good worth, and the third a Gimmall Ring. When all of vs that escaped with life in this bloudie Massacre, were brought together, then beganne they to put vs in Irons: my selfe with seuen more were chained by the neckes all together: other some their feete, other their hands; this being done, they left two Souldiers to guard vs, the rest departed, these Souldiers had compassion of vs, and eased vs of our bands, for the most of vs had our hands so strait bound behind vs, that the blood was readie to burst out at our fingers ends, with pain vn sufferable, but we were bound to endure it. After I had received this ease of my hands and armes (though still ouer-charged with griefe of heart) not only for my owne necessitie (and these with me) but also for the safetie of the ships, which I greatly

The *Turkes* Fasting.

The treason of the *Turkes*, Nouemb. 28.

1610. Sir H. Middleton strooke downe dead.

Sir H. Middleton, and seuen more chained by the neckes.



Eight of our  
men were  
slayne.

The *Darling*  
boarded by  
the *Turkes*.

The *Turkes* all  
burned, killed,  
or drowned,  
saue one.

Sir H. Middle-  
ton conuened  
before the *Aga*.

Treason at *A-*  
*den*.  
Besides these  
three were  
with like trea-  
cherie twentie  
men more be-  
trayed at *Aden*,  
hauing leaue  
giuen them to  
come on shore  
for businesse,  
and shackles  
made the  
whiles, &c.

greatly doubted, knowing the couetous *Turkes* would leaue no Villanie nor Treason vnattempted; for the surprizing of them, we began to reason amongst our selues, what should be the reason or cause of this their villanous vsage of vs; and withall, I demanded how it began, and if any of our Company were slaine. I was certified by those of my Company that did see it, and hardly escaped themselves, that *Francis Slanny*, *Iohn Lanslot*, and sixe more were slaine, and that foure- teene of our Company there present were grievously wounded, and that our House was round begirt with armed Souldiers, who, at the instant I was strooke downe, sallied out vpon vs, and their merciless crueltie towards vs, that had not where withall to defend our selues, much lesse to offend them. Now hauing gone through their first pretence of mischiefe, not being satisfied with Christian blood, they aymed at our ships and goods. For about ten of the clocke, they armed three great Boates with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers in them to take the *Darling*, who rode somewhat neere the shore. The Boates put from the shore altogether, the *Turkes* tooke off their white Tuckes, because they would be thought to be Christians, and all ioyntly boarded her, and entred most of their men: it was so sudden, that three of the *Darlings* men were slaine, before they could get downe: the rest betake them to their close fight. Now it pleased God in mercie to looke vpon vs, and not to suffer any more Christian blood to be shed. For the Captaine of them, which is called *Emier-bahare* or Lord of the Sea, called to his Souldiers to cut the Tables in the House, the Souldiers not understanding him, many of them leapt into the Boates, and cut the Boate Ropes, and so droue away: by this time our men had gotten them to their Weapons, and to their close fights, the *Turkes* standing very thicke in the waste, hallowing and clanging their Swords vpon the Decke, one of the Company threw a bigge Barrell of Powuer amongst them, and after it a Fire-brand; which tooke so good effect, that it burned diuers of them: the rest for their better safetie (as they thought) retyred to the halfe Deck and the Poope, where they were set off with Musket shot, and entertained with another trayne of Powder, which put them in such feare, that they leaped into the Sea, hanging by the ships side, desiring mercy, which was not there to be found, for that our men killed all they could finde, and the rest were drowned, only one man was saued, who hid himselfe till the furie was past, who yeilded and was receiued to mercie. Thus God of his goodnesse and mercie deliuered our ship and men out of the hands of our Enemies, for which his holy Name be blessed and prayesd euermore, Amen.

Now let vs looke backe to vs imprisoned at *Moha*. The Boats returning brought newes the ship was taken, for which there was great reioycing. The Gouverneur sent off the Boats againe with order to bring the ship: when they came so farre off as where the ship did ride, they found her gone from thence vnder saile standing off, so that they returned and told the *Aga* the ship had escaped and was gone, and that they thought *Emier Bahars* and his Souldiers were taken Prisoners: which newes was nothing pleasing vnto him. Before day he sent our Interpreter to tell me the small ship was taken: which I did verily beleue to bee true; when it was day I was sent for to come to the *Aga*, so I and seven more which were chained by the neckes with mee came before him. He with a frowning (and not his wonted dissembling) countenance, asked mee how I durst be so bold as to come into this their Port of *Moha*, so neere their holy Citie of *Mec-* *ca*; I answered, it was not vnknowne vnto him wherefore I came thither, hauing long before certified him thereof, and that I came not a-land but at his earnest instigation with many promises of kind and good vsage; he answered it was not lawfull for any Christian to come so neere their holy Citie of *Medina*, this being the Port or Doore thereof, and that the *Basha* had expresse order from the great *Turke*, to captivate all Christians that should come into those Seas, although they had his owne passe. I told him the fault was his, that he had not told mee so much at the first, but deluded vs with faire promises: he gaue me a Letter to reade of Captaine *Downton* that came from *Aden*, dated long before, the effect whereof was, that two of his Merchants and Purser were detayned ashore, and that they would not be releated without landing of Merchandize, or paying of fifteene hundred *Venetianos* for Anchorage, and withall, to be aduised by me what he had best to doe, after I had read it, hee bade mee tell him the effect thereof: which I did, hee told me since the writing of this Letter, the ship was comming from this place, and that she was cast away vpon a Rocke, and that all the goods and men were lost (this was cold comfort to mee to heare) he willed me to write a Letter aboord, to know how many *Turkes* were in the small ship. I told him that should not need, for that they had taken the ship, hee answered that shee was once taken and possessed by them, but shee was rescued by the great ship and taken from them againe, and therefore willed me to write to them aboard the great shippe, to come all of them a-land, and yeeld the ship into his hands, and he would let vs haue the small ship to carrie vs home. I said it was a folly to write any such thing: for they that were aboard and had their libertie were no such Fooles, as vpon my Letter to forsake the ship and goods, and come a-land and bee slaines. He said, he knew if I did write a Letter to that effect, they durst not disobey me. I told him I would write no such Letter, he enquired what store of money was in our shippes. I answered, little, and that was not for Merchandize but to buy Victuals. Hee asked what store of Victuals and Water? I told him enough for two yeares, which hee would not beleue. He vrged mee againe to write, to will them to come all ashore and yeeld the ship, or he would cut off my head. I bade



bade him doe so: for therein hee should doe me a great pleasure, for I was weary of my life, but write to that effect I neuer would.

I was taken out of my Chaine and Celler, and a great paire of Fetters clapt vpon my legges, and Manacles vpon my hands, and so separated from the rest of my company: they stowed mee all that day in a dirty Dogges Kennell vnder a paire of staires: at night, at the intreatie of *Sher-mall* Consul of the *Bahians*, I was taken out and placed in a better roome, one more of my Company which spake *Turkish* being with me. My lodging was vpon the hard ground, and my pillow a stone, my companions to keepe me waking were grieffe of heart and multitude of Rats: which if I chanced to sleepe, would awake me with running ouer me. About mid-night came the  
10 Lieutenant of the *Aga*, and our Trugman entreating me very fairely to write my Letter aboard, to know how many *Turkes* were aboard Prisoners, and what were their names, but in any case willed me not to write any thing of the losse of our men, nor of my owne and my peoples hard vsage, but to say we were detayned in the *Aga* House (where wee lacked not any thing) till further order came from the *Basha*. This Letter I did willingly write, and to the same effect they willed me, but withall willing them to looke well to their ships and Boat, and to haue a care to their men, that not any of them came aland for feare of Treason. This Letter they had with them, and examined two or three of my men whether I had so written.

This Letter was not sent; for that they could not get any man to goe aboard with it, but now they had found a man who was there present would undertake to carrie it aboard, so that I  
20 would write they should vse him well and doe him no harme; this man was borne in *Tunes* in *Barbary*, and spake good *Italian*. I writ the Letter as they desired; which was perused as was the former, and the next day was sent aboard, and answere returned, the effect was that all the *Turkes* were slaine and drowned saue one, whose name was *Ruffman*, a common Souldier, and that they were glad to heare I was aliue: for the Prisoner *Turke* told them, he thought we were all slaine. We continued in this misery till the fifteenth of December, not hearing any thing from the ships, nor they from vs. The *Aga* came diuers times to me, sometimes with threats, sometimes with faire meanes, to haue me write that all our people should come ashoare and yeeld vp the shippes: I still answered him as I did at the first. Hee was desirous to know what money was in the shippe, and what store of water. I answered him, Money had we little, but  
30 victuall had we enough for two yeares. He was in hope for lacke of water and victuals to haue the ships yeeld vnto him, knowing that we could not haue a wind to carrie vs out of the straight till May: he said, he marvelled how so great a charge could be borne with so small a stocke. I answered, we had Factories in diuers places in *India*, who had stocke enough in their hands to loade vs if we had brought neuer a peny worth of Commodities with vs, and that stocke wee had was sufficient to lade our ships with Pepper, which in *India* was good cheape.

They in the ships were very euill to passe riding in an open and wide Roade, the wind blowing continually hard at South South-east, enclosed round with shoales, their water beginning to faile them, for that we had staued fiftie Tunnes to lighten our ship at our comming a ground: and hearing nothing from vs aland made them at their wits ends, not knowing well what to do:  
40 they being in this perplexitie, an honest fellow in the ship called *John Chambers* offered them to goe ashore to see what was become of vs, and to put his life and libertie in venture rather then see men liue in this discontent, which he effected; & also this day being the fifteenth of December, with a Flagge of Truce was set vpon a small Island, a little to wind-ward of the Towne, he had one of our *Indians* with him for his Interpreter: they were brought before the *Aga*, who asked him how he durst be so bold to come ashore without leaue; he answered he came with a Flag of Truce, & was but a Messenger, which was permitted amongst enemies. He asked what message he had to deliuer. He said, a Letter to me, and likewise if he would giue him leaue to see how wee did. They examined him and the *Indian* very strictly what store of victuall and water was in the ships, they both answered as I formerly had done, that there was enough of all sorts of victuals for two yeares.

This being done they brought him to my darke Cell; who comming out of the light was a great while before he could see me, Hee deliuered me the Letter with watery eyes to see mee so fettered hands and feet in Irons. I demanded how he came ashore? He told me after what manner, and how he was examined by the *Aga*. I told him I thought they would not permit him to returne aboard, for that not few dayes before one of the *Pepper-Corne* men was come from *Aden* with a Letter to me, and they kept him Prisoner, and would not permit him to returne, nor giue him leaue to goe aboard our ships. He answered he came with that resolution from aboard, to take such part as I did, if they would bee so villanously minded to stay him being but a Messenger.

60 The sixteenth, I returned answere of my Letter sent me, and deliuered it to *Chambers*, and contrary to my expectation, they let him and the *Indian* returne to the Boate, with leaue to come againe the next day if they had occasion: the next day *Chambers* returnes alone, for the *Indian* was so frightened that he durst not come: my man sent me diuers things by him, but the *Aga* was my Receiver and kept them to his owne vse, thinking them too good for mee; hee returnes

Y y

aboard

Decemb. 16. 10.

Decemb. 15.

The hardie  
part of *John  
Chambers*.



aboord, and leaues vs to our wonted miserie, attending daily what should become of vs; looking euery houre for the sentence from the Basha, of Death, or perpetuall imprisonment or captiuitie. Yet God dealt more mercifully with vs, who neuer faileth them that put their trust in him.

For vpon the twentieth of December, came downe from *Zenan* an *Aga*, Captaine or Chiefe of the *Chawffes*, with order to bring vs vp all. At his first lighting he was desirous to see me & my poore Company; there were three Chaires brought into my Roome, wherein *Regib Aga*, *Ismael* (which was the Meflenger from the Basha) and *Iasfer Aga* leated themselues. *Regib Aga* began to aske me how I durst be so bold as to come into that Countrey so neere their holy Citie, without a Passe from the *Gran Senior*? I answered, the King my Master was in league and amitie with the *Gran Senior*, and that in the Articles of peace, it was allowed vs free Trade in all his Dominions, and this being part of his Dominions there needed no passe. Hee answered, this was the doore of their holy Citie, and therefore not lawfull for any Christian to come hither; Likewise, he asked me, If I did not know the *Gran Seniors* Sword was long; I answered wee were not taken by the Sword, but by Treason, and if I and my people were aboard, I cared not for the length of his or all their Swords; he said it was proudly spoken of me. Also he willed, as formerly he had done many times, to write a Letter aboard to command all the men out of the ships, and yeeld themselues to the Basha; and receiued like answer.

*Ismael Aga* broke off this idle speech, by telling me he was come from the Basha, with expresse order from him to conduct me and all my people to *Zenan*, and therefore willed mee to send aboard for warme clothes, for that wee should find it very cold in the Mountaine Countrey. I prayed him if it were possible that my poore men might bee sent aboard, and that I and some few more might be sent vp. Hee said it was not in him to remedie it, for it was the Bashes order we should all goe vp: *Regib Aga* said I should haue my desire, that I and five more should goe vp with me, and the rest must abide where they are, till further order from the Basha. This was the eighteenth day of December.

Capt. Downton  
commeth into  
the road of  
*Moba*.

This twentieth day, Captaine Downton in the *Pepper-Corne*, came into the Road from *Aden*: I writ to him my minde, what I thought fittest to be done.

### §. III.

*Sir Henric Middleton, and foure and thirtie others, sent to the Basha at Zenan. Description of the Countrey, and Occurrences till their returne.*

Decemb. 22.  
1611.

Sir Henry Middleton, and 34.  
Englishmen  
were sent to  
*Zenan*.  
The escape of  
M. Pemberton.

*Mowssi*.

*Hamet Aga* a  
great friend to  
vs  
The Consul of  
the *Bannians*,  
and *Tookebar*,  
their great  
friendship to vs

*Ties* a citie  
four dayes  
iourney from  
*Moba*.

He two and twentieth of December, our Irons were knockt off all our legges, saue the Carpenters and Smithes, and some sicke men that were not able to trauell: the Carpenters and Smithes were kept there to build vp the Pinnasse; and my selfe, and foure and thirtie persons more of vs, were appointed to goe vp for *Zenan*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, where the Basha is resident. About foure of the clocke we set out of *Moba*, all my Company beeing mounted vpon Asses, and my selfe and M. *Femel* vpon Horse-backe. About ten of the clocke in the night, being tenne or twelue miles from *Moba*, Master *Pemberton* slipt away from vs; we missed him our selues presently, but said not any thing, the best helpe we were able to doe him, he had; which was in beseeching God to send him safe aboard, for the attempt was very desperate. About one of the clocke after midnight, we came to our Inne at a Towne called *Mowssi*: they told vs all at our comming thither: yet missed not him that was wanting. We continued in this lodging till foure of the clocke in the afternoone the next day. At our setting out of doore they told vs, and found one missing: the *Aga* inquired of me how many we were that set out of *Moba*. I told him I could not well tell, but as I thought we were foure and thirty of vs: he said, we were five and thirtie, and that one was missing: I said, it was more then I did know. The chiefeft cause that mooued M. *Pemberton* to take this desperate action in hand, was to see so many of vs carried vp together manacled, with a Captaine, and a guard of Souldiers to conduct vs, which he could imagine to no other end, then death or captiuitie, which was the opinion of vs all. I found a great friend of one *Hamet Aga*, who sent me diuers Presents, and willed me to be of good comfort, for my cause was good: he sent me and my people prouision of Bread for our iourney, and withall his letters to the *Kaba*.

Likewise, the Consul of the *Bannians*, who came euery day to visit me, and neuer came empty handed, and *Tookebar* was our great friend all the time we were there prisoners, and euery day failed not to send to each man, being one and fiftie in number, two cakes of white bread, and a quantitie of Dates, or Plantans: he departed from *Moba* two dayes before vs for *Zenan*, promising me at his departure to doe all he could with the Basha for our good: which promise, I thinke, he well performed: for at *Zenan* I was told by diuers, he laboured hard in our buinesse, both with the Basha and his *Cayba*, which is a verie discret man, and gouernes the Kingdome.

We arriued at the Citie of *Ties* (which is foure dayes iourney from *Moba*) vpon Christmas day:



day: where we were marshalled into the Citie two and two in a ranke, as they doe at \* *Stambola* with captives taken in the warres, our *Aga* riding in triumph as a great Conquerour, beeing met a mile out of the Towne with the chiefe men of the Citie on Horse-back, multitudes of people standing all the way gazing and wondering at vs: thus were we vsed in all Cities and Townes we passed through. A youth of *M. Pemberton* fell sicke in this Towne, and was left with the Gouvernour thereof, for that he was not able to trauell. I kept no Iournal from this time forward; but this I remember, we found it very cold all the way from *Tyes* to *Zenan*, our lodging being the cold ground; I bought most of our men, which were slenderly clothed, furred gownes to keepe them from the cold; otherwise, I thinke, they would haue starued. I would not beleuee at *Moba*, when I was told of the cold wee should haue vponwards, and that made me goe but thinly clothed my selfe; but experience taught me otherwaies, wishing when it was too late, I had come better provided. *Zenan* is from *Moba* an hundred and eightie miles, or thereabouts, as I iudge, North North-west. It is in the latitude of sixteene degrees fiftene minutes, which I obserued by an instrument I made there.

Euery morning the ground was couered with horie frost: and in *Zenan* wee had Ice a finger thicke in one night, which I could hardly haue beleueed, had I not seene it. Wee were fiftene dayes betweene *Moba* and *Zenan*. The fifth of Ianuary two houres before day, we came within two miles of the Citie, where we lay vpon the ground till it was faire day, being much pinched by the cold, not beeing able scarce to stand we were so benumbed. About a mile from the Towne we were met by the Subbassie or Sheriffe, with at least two hundred Shot, Drummes, and Trumpets: we were caused to goe one by one in order, a pretty distance one from the other, to make the better shew; our men had their gownes taken from them, and were caused to march a foote in their thinne and ragged suites: the souldiers lead the way, after came our men one by one; our Trumpeters were placed next before me, and commanded by the *Aga* to sound; but I forbad them: after the Trumpets came *M. Femel* and my selfe on Horse-backe; and lastly came our *Aga* riding in Triumph, with a spare horse richly furnished led before him. In this order wee were led through the heart of the Citie till we came to the Castle, all the way beeing so full of people, we could hardly passe for them. At the first gate, there was a good guard of armed souldiers: the second gate had two great pieces of Ordnance, readie mounted at the entry thereof: after we had passed this gate, we came to a spacious yard, twice the length of the *Exchange* in *London*; the souldiers at the entry of the Gate discharged their shot, and placed themselves amongst many others that were there before them, some on the one side, and some on the other, and a lane left in the midst. At my first comming in I alighted, and was placed on the one side with my men; where I had not staied long, but I and *M. Femel* were brought before the *Basha*: it was their *Dinano* or Counsell day: at the vpper end of the yard, we mounted vpon a paire of staires some twelue steps high: at the head thereof, two great men came and tooke me by the wristes, and held mee very hard, and so led me to the *Basha*. The place where he was seated, was a long spacious gallery; at the vpper end thereof he was seated alone, many great men standing on each side of him, and others stood on either side, from the lower part of the Gallery to the vpper end, which made a good shew: the floore was couered all ouer with Turkie Carpets. When I came within two yards of him, we were stayed; He, with a frowning and angry countenance, demaunded of what Countrey I was, and what I made in thole parts? I answered, I was an *Englishman*, and a Merchant, and friend to the *Grand Senior*, and came to seeke trade. He said, It was not lawfull for any Christian to come into that Countrey, and that he had giuen warning to Captaine *Sharpeigh*, that no more of our Nation should come thither. I told him, Captaine *Sharpeigh* was cast away vpon the Coast of *India*, and came not to *England* to tell vs so much, which had we knowne, wee would neuer haue put our selues into that trouble we were in: I told him *Regib Aga* was the man that had abused me, in telling me we were welcome into the Countrey, and that we should haue as free trade as our Nation had in any part of *Turkie*, with many other faire promises, and that contrary to his word he assaulted vs with armed souldiers, and murthered diuers of my men, and tooke me and the rest prisoners: he said, *Regib Aga* was but his slaue, and had no such power as to passe his word to me without his leaue, and what was befallen to me and my people, was by his order to *Regib Aga*; and that he himselfe likewise had such order from the *Gran Senior*, so to chastise all Christians that should come into those parts. I told him we had receiued great harme, and if it pleased him to let vs returne to our ships, it would bee sufficient warning to our Nation, for euer comming in those parts againe. Hee said, No, hee could not so let vs depart, but that I should sit there and write my letters to the Ambassador at \* *Stambola*, and he would likewise write to the *Gran Senior*, to know his pleasure what should become of vs, or whether he would permit vs trade, or no: he dismissed me for that present, and bad me goe to my lodging which was appointed for me, and take with me foure or fife more, such as I thought good: I and those I made choise of, were conueyed to the Keeper of the prisons house, and the rest carried to the common prison, where for their welcome they were clapt in waightie Irons; one of our youths at such time as I was brought before the *Basha*, thinking I was so led to haue my head strook off, fel in a sound with

\* *Constantinople*.

Great cold in the mountains. Furred gownes needfull. *Zenan* is in sixteene degrees fiftene minutes.

Ice a finger thicke in one night in *Zenan*. They were fiftene dayes in going from *Moba* to *Zenan*.

The Castle.

Their comming before the *Basha*.

\* *Stambol*, or *Stambola*, or *Stamboli*, is a corruption and corruption of the Greeke words, *εὐς τῶν πόλεων*, which the Greeks vsed to speake of their going thither, that is, to the Citie, so calling it of speciall eminence aboue other Cities: as *Athens* is at this day contracted into *Satines*, from *εὐς Ἀθηνῶν*, *Pollcl. Comp. Cos. & Fr. Port.* very *Cret.*



aboord, and leaues vs to our wonted miserie, attending daily what should become of vs; looking euery houre for the sentence from the Basha, of Death, or perpetuall imprisonment or captiuitie. Yet God dealt more mercifully with vs, who neuer faileth them that put their trust in him.

For vpon the twentieth of December, came downe from *Zenan* an *Aga*, Captaine or Chiefe of the *Chawsses*, with order to bring vs vp all. At his first lighting he was desirous to see me & my poore Company; there were three Chaires brought into my Roome, wherein *Regib Aga*, *Ismael* (which was the Messenger from the Basha) and *Iasfer Aga* seated themselves. *Regib Aga* began to aske me how I durst be so bold as to come into that Countrey so neere their holy Citie, without a Passe from the *Gran Senior*? I answered, the King my Master was in league and amitie with the *Gran Senior*, and that in the Articles of peace, it was allowed vs free Trade in all his Dominions, and this being part of his Dominions there needed no passe. Hee answered, this was the doore of their holy Citie, and therefore not lawfull for any Christian to come hither; Likewise, he asked me, If I did not know the *Gran Seniors* Sword was long; I answered wee were not taken by the Sword, but by Treason, and if I and my people were aboard, I cared not for the length of his or all their Swords; he said it was proudly spoken of me. Also he willed, as formerly he had done many times, to write a Letter aboard to command all the men out of the ships, and yeeld themselves to the Basha; and receiued like answer.

*Ismael Aga* broke off this idle speech, by telling me he was come from the Basha, with expresse order from him to conduct me and all my people to *Zenan*, and therefore willed mee to send aboard for warme clothes, for that wee should find it very cold in the Mountaine Countrey. I prayed him if it were possible that my poore men might bee sent aboard, and that I and some few more might be sent vp. Hee said it was not in him to remedie it, for it was the Bashes order we should all goe vp: *Regib Aga* said I should haue my desire, that I and fise more should goe vp with me, and the rest must abide where they are, till further order from the Basha. This was the eighteenth day of December.

Capt Downton  
commeth into  
the road of  
*Moba*.

This twentieth day, Captaine Downton in the *Pepper-Corne*, came into the Road from *Aden*: I writ to him my minde, what I thought fittest to be done.

§. III.

*Sir Henric Midleton, and foure and thirtie others, sent to the Basha at Zenan. Description of the Countrey, and Occurrences till their returne.*

Decemb. 22.  
1611.

Sir Henry Mi-  
dleton, and 34.  
Englishmen  
were sent to  
*Zenan*.  
The escape of  
M. Pemberton.

*Mowssi*.

*Hamet Aga* a  
great friend to  
vs  
The Consul of  
the *Bannians*,  
and *Tookehar*,  
their great  
friendship to vs

*Ties* a citie  
four dayes  
iourney from  
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He two and twentieth of December, our Irons were knockt off all our legges, saue the Carpenters and Smithes, and some sicke men that were not able to trauell: the Carpenters and Smithes were kept there to build vp the Pinnasse; and my selfe, and foure and thirtie persons more of vs, were appointed to goe vp for *Zenan*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, where the Basha is resident. About foure of the clocke we set out of *Moba*, all my Company beeing mounted vpon Asses, and my selfe and M. *Femel* vpon Horse-backe. About ten of the clocke in the night, being tenne or twelue miles from *Moba*, Master Pemberton slpt away from vs; we missed him our selues presently, but said not any thing, the best helpe we were able to doe him, he had; which was in beseeching God to send him safe aboard, for the attempt was very desperate. About one of the clocke after midnight, we came to our Inne at a Towne called *Mowssi*: they told vs all at our comming thither: yet missed not him that was wanting. We continued in this lodging till foure of the clocke in the afternoone the next day. At our setting out of doore they told vs, and found one missing: the *Aga* inquired of me how many we were that set out of *Moba*. I told him I could not well tell, but as I thought we were foure and thirty of vs: he said, we were fise and thirtie, and that one was missing: I said, it was more then I did know. The chiefeft cause that mooued M. Pemberton to take this desperate action in hand, was to see so many of vs carried vp together manacled, with a Captaine, and a guard of Souldiers to conduct vs, which he could imagine to no other end, then death or captiuitie, which was the opinion of vs all. I found a great friend of one *Hamet Aga*, who sent me diuers Presents, and willed me to be of good comfort, for my cause was good: he sent me and my people prouision of Bread for our iourney, and withall his letters to the *Kaba*.

Likewise, the Consul of the *Bannians*, who came euery day to visit me, and neuer came empty handed, and *Tookehar* was our great friend all the time we were there prisoners, and euery day failed not to send to each man, being one and fiftie in number, two cakes of white bread, and a quantitie of Dates, or Plantans: he departed from *Moba* two dayes before vs for *Zenan*, promising me at his departure to doe all he could with the Basha for our good: which promise, I thinke, he well performed: for at *Zenan* I was told by diuers, he laboured hard in our buinesse, both with the Basha and his *Cayba*, which is a verie discreet man, and gouernes the Kingdome.

We arriued at the Citie of *Ties* (which is foure dayes iourney from *Moba*) vpon Christmas day:



day: where we were marshalled into the Citie two and two in a ranke, as they doe at \* *Stambola* with captiues taken in the warres, our *Aga* riding in triumph as a great Conquerour, beeing met a mile out of the Towne with the chiefe men of the Citie on Horse-back, multitudes of people standing all the way gazing and wondering at vs: thus were we vsed in all Cities and Townes we passed through. A youth of *M. Pemberton*'s fell sicke in this Towne, and was left with the Gouvernour thereof, for that he was not able to trauell. I kept no Iournal from this time forward; but this I remember, we found it very cold all the way from *Tyes* to *Zenan*, our lodging being the cold ground; I bought most of our men, which were slenderly clothed, furred gownes to keepe them from the cold; otherwise, I thinke, they would haue starued. I would not beleuee at *Moba*, when I was told of the cold wee should haue vpwads, and that made me goe but thinly clothed my selfe; but experience taught me otherwaies, wishing when it was too late, I had come better provided. *Zenan* is from *Moba* an hundred and eightie miles, or thereabouts, as I iudge, North North-west. It is in the latitude of sixteene degrees fifteene minutes, which I obserued by an instrument I made there.

Euery morning the ground was couered with horie frost: and in *Zenan* wee had Ice a finger thicke in one night, which I could hardly haue beleueed, had I not seene it. Wee were fifteene dayes betweene *Moba* and *Zenan*. The fifth of Ianuary two houres before day, we came within two miles of the Citie, where we lay vpon the ground till it was faire day, being much pinched by the cold, not beeing able scarce to stand we were so benumbed. About a mile from the Towne we were met by the Subbassie or Sheriffe, with at least two hundred Shot, Drummes, and Trumpets: we were cauled to goe one by one in order, a pretty distance one from the other, to make the better shew; our men had their gownes taken from them, and were cauled to march a foote in their thinne and ragged suites: the souldiers lead the way, after came our men one by one; our Trumpeters were placed next before me, and commanded by the *Aga* to sound; but I forbad them: after the Trumpets came *M. Femel* and my selfe on Horse-backe; and lastly came our *Aga* riding in Triumph, with a spare horse richly furnished led before him. In this order wee were led through the heart of the Citie till we came to the Castle, all the way beeing so full of people, we could hardly passe for them. At the first gate, there was a good guard of armed souldiers: the second gate had two great pieces of Ordnance, readie mounted at the entry thereof: after we had passed this gate, we came to a spacious yard, twice the length of the *Exchange* in *London*; the souldiers at the entry of the Gate discharged their shot, and placed themselues amongst many others that were there before them, some on the one side, and some on the other, and a lane left in the midst. At my first comming in I alighted, and was placed on the one side with my men; where I had not staid long, but I and *M. Femel* were brought before the *Basha*: it was their *Disnatio* or Counsell day: at the vpper end of the yard, we mounted vp a paire of staires some twelue steps high: at the head thereof, two great men came and tooke me by the wristes, and held mee very hard, and so led me to the *Basha*. The place where he was seated, was a long spacious gallery; at the vpper end thereof he was seated alone, many great men standing on each side of him, and others stood on either side, from the lower part of the Gallery to the vpper end, which made a good shew: the floore was couered all ouer with Turkie Carpets. When I came within two yards of him, we were stayed; He, with a frowning and angry countenance, demaunded of what Countrey I was, and what I made in those parts? I answered, I was an *Englishman*, and a Merchant, and friend to the *Grand Senior*, and came to seeke trade. He said, It was not lawfull for any Christian to come into that Countrey, and that he had giuen warning to *Captaine Sharpeigh*, that no more of our Nation should come thither. I told him, *Captaine Sharpeigh* was cast away vpon the Coast of *India*, and came not to *England* to tell vs so much, which had we knowne, wee would neuer haue put our selues into that trouble we were in: I told him *Regib Aga* was the man that had abused me, in telling me we were welcome into the Countrey, and that we should haue as free trade as our Nation had in any part of *Turkie*, with many other faire promises, and that contrary to his word he assaulted vs with armed souldiers, and murdered diuers of my men, and tooke me and the rest prisoners: he said, *Regib Aga* was but his slaue, and had no such power as to passe his word to me without his leaue, and what was befallen to me and my people, was by his order to *Regib Aga*; and that he himselfe likewise had such order from the *Gran Senior*, so to chastise all Christians that should come into those parts. I told him we had receiued great harme, and if it pleased him to let vs returne to our ships, it would bee sufficient warning to our Nation, for euer comming in those parts againe. Hee said, No, hee could not so let vs depart, but that I should sit there and write my letters to the Ambassador at \* *Stambola*, and he would likewise write to the *Gran Senior*, to know his pleasure what should become of vs, or whether he would permit vs trade, or no: he dismissed me for that present, and bad me goe to my lodging which was appointed for me, and take with me foure or fve more, such as I thought good: I and those I made choise of, were conueyed to the Keeper of the prisons house, and the rest carried to the common prison, where for their welcome they were clapt in waightie Irons; one of our youths at such time as I was brought before the *Basha*, thinking I was so led to haue my head strook off, fel in a sound with

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Great cold in the mountains. Furred gownes needfull. *Zenan* is in sixteene degrees fifteene minutes.

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The Castle.

Their comming before the *Basha*.

\* *Stambol* or *Stambola*, or *Stamboli*, is a corruption and corruption of the Greeke words, *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, which the Greeks vsed to speake of their going thither, that is, to the Citie, so calling it of speciall eminence aboue other Cities: as *Athenis* at this day contracted into *Satines*, from *εἰς Ἀθῆνας*. *Possel. Comp. Col. & Fr. Port.* *Cret.*



very feare, thinking his turne would not bee long after; hee fell sicke vpon it, and shortly after died.

The sixth of Ianuary, I was sent for to the Basha *Caya*, or Lieftenant generall of the Kingdome, to breake fast with him: after breake-fast I told him euery particular, how treacherously and vilely I was vsed by *Regib Aga*; he bad me be of good cheare, and not thinke of things past, which could not be remedied; and he doubted not but all would be wel in the end, and his best endeauours to do me good should not be wanting. *Shermall* the *Bennian* of *Moha*, had made this man our friend; then I departed with my Keepers to prison, where I was of better comfort then before.

A Moore of  
*Cairo* our great  
friend.

The seuenth day, I was sent for to the *Caybas* garden, where he feasted me and *M. Femel*, telling me, that shortly I and my people should haue libertie, and be sent to *Moha*, where I should haue redresse of all my wrongs, promising me to be my friend, and before many great Personages, *Turkes* and *Arabs* said, what kindnesse he did me was onely for Gods sake; but I well knew it was in hope of some great reward from me. *Hamet Aga* his letter did vs no small good. This day came to towne a *Moore* of *Cairo*, an old acquaintance of the *Bashas*, and one that had lent him great summes of money at his comming from *Stambola*, when he was but poore: this man was our next neighbour at *Moha* before, and when we were betrayed, and had a ship in *Moha* roade, bound for *India*, which he greatly doubted our ships would haue taken, in regard of the wrongs offered vs, but they let her quietly depart, contrary to his expectation, so that hee became our great friend: he writ his letter in our behalfe to the Basha, and therein did much blame him in vnting vs so hardly, saying, he went about to destroy the Countrey and trade, in taking such courses with vs: at his comming before the Basha, he iterated what he had written, and much more; willing him to haue a care, the Trade of the Red Sea were not destroyed by his meanes, and therefore counsell'd him to returne me all my goods, and to send me and my people away contented. His letter preuailed much with the Basha: for when he sent for vs vp, it was his purpose to haue put vs to death, and to haue made slaues of all the rest: none in the Countrey durst speake so boldly as he. Of this which I haue written concerning the *Moore* of *Cairo*, was I enformed by *Shermall* and *Hamet Waddy*, who were both present at reading the letter, and likewise heard the conference betweene the Basha and him. This *Hamet Waddy* is an *Arabian* Merchant, very rich dwelling at *Zenan*, and is called the *Bashas* Merchant: he stood my friend very much, in perswading the Basha that we might be kindly dealt withall, and suffered to depart.

The eighth, I made petition to the Basha, requesting, That whereas at my comming from *Moha*, I had willed the Commanders of my ships to forbear hostilitie for fise and twentie daies, and after to vse their discretions, if in that time they heard not from me; the time beeing almost expired, that the Basha would vouchsafe speedily to censure my cause, or giue me some comfortable news to write them, to stay them from doing harme, to which they might easily encline, being without Head or Gouverneur.

The eleuenth day, I was sent for to the *Cayba*, who told me that now all things were ended, and that my stay there was for the rest of my company which were comming from *Aden*, and that presently after their comming vp, we should all be sent to *Moha*.

M. Fowler, and  
eighteen more  
arriued at Ze-  
nan.

The seuenteenth, *M. Fowler* and eightene more of their Company arriued at *Zenan*; they were presently brought before the Basha, and such like questions demanded of them as hee did of me. Afterward, *M. Fowler*, *John Williams*, and *Robert Mico* were sent to keep me company, and all the rest to the Common prison to the rest of my men, where they were all put in irons, and their allowance from the Basha, browne bread and water, they would haue all died with hunger and cold, had not I releiued them better then the Basha.

The twentieth fifth, I was sent for to the *Cahays* garden, where we spent some houres in conference: he told me I should presently goe with him to the *Bashas* garden, where the Basha would haue conference with me: he counsell'd me to sooth him vp with faire words, and not crosse him in any thing; I asked him what he thought, whether he would surrender me all my goods: he said, he could not tell: I asked him whether I should haue my *Pinnasse* againe: he said likewise he could not tell: but in any case he willed me not to speake of it to the Basha, but at my comming to *Moha* to write my letters to him, and he would sollicite the Basha in my behalfe, and doubted not but to obtaine it for me: I told him, I thought it fitter to demand it now, then hereafter; for that I was desirous to know what to trust vnto: he bad me vse my discretion. The chiefeft cause that made this man our friend, was for a summe of money which I had promised to giue him: he would not be seene to meddle therein himselfe, but appointed *Shermall*, Consull of the *Bannians*, to treat with me concerning the same: he demaunded much, and I was willing to part with nothing. We spent three or foure dayes consulting this businesse, in the ende I was constrained to giue them content, in promising after my deliuerie to pay him fiftene hundred *Venetian* shillings: which beeing done, the *Cayba* tooke Horle and rid to the *Bashas* garden, and bad our Truchman bring me and *M. Femel* thither. When we came to the garden doore, wee staid an houre before we were admitted to the *Bashas* presence: we found him seated in a Summer-house, in a chaire, his *Cayba* standing at his right hand, and halfe a douzen others at the backe of the Chaire. I was lead



lead by two men, which held me by the cloake till I came within two paces of him; and there they stayed me, M. *Femel* comming behind me at libertie, without his leaders: he demaunded of me how I did, and bad me be of good cheare, for that shortly I and all my people should haue their libertie, and be sent to *Moha*, where I with twentie nine more should remaine, till all the ships of *India* were come into *Moha*, and the rest to be sent aboard; and when all the said ships were come in, and the winds setled Westerly, I and the rest of my company should be permitted to go aboard, and proceed on our Voyage to *India*. I belought him he would not detaine so many of vs: he answered, thirtie haue I spoken, and thirty shall stay: then I demaunded, if our goods should be surrendered; he answered, no: for they were all put to the *Gran Seniors* accompt. I demaunded my Pinnasse, he said likewise she was put to the same accompt. I told him, diuers provisions belonging to the ships were aland at *Moha*, and desired I might haue them surrendered: he said I should: then I spake to M. *Femel*, willing him to speake againe that our goods might be surrendered; which he did, and was answered as I was: then I prayd him to assure me of one thing, and that was, whether all my people should be permitted to depart aboard the ships, the time of our abode being expired, he promised me vpon his word, not any one should be stayed, but be all sent aboard, and all things, had I a *Turke* to my slave, hee would not detaine him: for which his kindnesse I gaue him thanks: then he beganne to excuse himselfe, praying his owne milde nature, in that it was our haps to fall into his hands, he had dealt merciftlly and fauourably with vs, which had it been in the time of any of his Predecessors, we had all suffered death for our presumption, in comming into that Countrey so neere their holy Citie: and that which now was befallen vs, was by order from the *Gran Senior*, he being vrged thereto by the complaint of the Bashaes of *Cairo* and *Snachen*, and the Sheriffe of *Mecca*, who had certified the *Gran Senior* at the being here of the *Ascension* and her Pinnasse, that they had bought all the choice ware of *India*, whereby his customes were much diminished, and would be the ouerthrow of the Trade of these Seas, if it were permitted; and therefore wished it might be carefully looked vnto: whereupon the *Gran Senior* dispatched his letters with a commandement to him, That if any more *Englishmen*, or any other Christians did come into those parts, to confiscate their ships and goods, or to kill or captiuat all the men they could get into their power: but he minded not to deale so with me, but more fauourably, in permitting vs without further harme to returne to our ships, hoping it would be a warning, that neither we nor any other of our Nation, would repaire thither any more.

The complaint  
of the Bashaes  
of *Cairo* and  
*Snachen* a-  
gainst the En-  
glish.

The first of February, I and M. *Femel* were sent for to the *Cayha*, who gaue me counsell to goe to the Basha, to bid God giue him ioy of his late receiued Dignitie: which was, the *Gran Senior* had made him a Vizir, and sent him letters of great fauour, with a Sword, and rich Robes belonging to a Vizir, which Robes and Sword are a confirmation of him in so high a place and calling. These Presents from the *Gran Senior*, were receiued two daies before with great solemnitie: and the party that brought them, was met by the Basha, and all the chiefe of the Citie, with all the souldiers, horse and foote, fixe miles without the Towne. Where a Tent was set vp, where the Basha disrobed himselfe, and vested him in those which were sent him by his Master; and so in great pompe came riding through the Citie to his owne house: I and others of my company, by the appointment of the *Cayha*, had a place appointed vs, where we did see his comming into the Citie: our Trudgman, by the appointment of the *Cayha*, conducted vs to the Vizirs house, where we stayd not long, but were admitted to his presence: I told him, my comming was onely to see him, and to congratulate his new receiued honour, and to pray God giue him ioy: hee gaue mee thanks, and bad me be merry: for what he had promised me, he would performe, and be better to me then his promise: he was very pleasant, and tooke this our comming kindly: and so, as a great fauour, Master *Femel* and I were permitted to kisse his hand, and dismissed, returning to our lodging.

February 1:  
1610.  
The Basha  
made a Vizir.

Many of our people in the meane while fell sicke and weake through grieve, cold, naughtie aire, bad diet, euill lodging, and waightie Irons; I neuer ceased soliciting the *Cayha*, till hee had procured their liberty out of that loathsome prison, so that the eleuenth day they were all free of prison and Irons, and had a house in the Towne, and libertie to walke abroad, and take the fresh aire: also the next day the *Cayha* sent me halfe a dozen of Beefes, to bestow among my men; so that in fewe dayes all of them, I thanke God, recovered their former health and strength. The *Cayha* informed me, that *Regib Aga* had writ earnestly to the Basha, that we might all be sent downe to *Aden*, and there taken into our ships: by which meanes his Towne of *Moha*, and such ships of *India* as should passe the *Bab*, should be secure from danger or any harme our ships might doe them. This wicked counsell had preuailed with the Basha, had not God rayfed the *Cayha* for our good to perswade the contrary.

Our men set  
at libertie.

The seuteenth in the morning early, the *Cayha* sent for me, M. *Femel*, and others, and told me, the next morning I and my people should depart for *Moha*. After wee had broke fast, hee brought vs to the Basha to take our leaues: he beganne againe to extoll his owne clemencie, and the power of the *Gran Senior*; saying, he had a long Sword, straightly charging me I came no more into those Seas: adding, that neither Christian nor Lutheran might come thither, no, though they had



had the *Gran Seniors* Pass; for so had he commanded him: then I requested, if any of our Nation came thither, before I could giue aduise to *England*, that they might not be betrayed, as I was, but plainly denied Trade, that they might know what to trust to, and to be permitted quietly to depart; which my request he would in no wise grant: then I intreated him to write to *Regib Aga*, to effect what he had promised me, otherwise he being my mortall enemy, would wrong me and my people: he answered with great pride, Is not my onely word sufficient to turne a whole Citie vpside downe? if *Regib Aga* wrong you, I will pull his skin ouer his eares, and giue you his head: is he not my slaue? and therewithall appointed the *Cayba* to write my dispatch. I demanded answer of his Maiesties letter, but he would giue me none. This done, I departed. I told the *Cayba* I had neuer a weapon, and therefore I desired leaue I might buy a Sword, and ride downe 10 as I came vp like a prisoner: he acquainted the *Basha* therewith, and he sent mee one of his cast Swords. The *Cayba* also this morning gaue me an hundred peices of gold of fortie Madines the peice: and fiftie peices had he giuen me not many dayes before: so that I receiued from him in all an hundred and fiftie peices of gold, and from the *Basha* nothing but his rusty Sword: the *Cayba* is of a liberall disposition, and the *Basha* exceeding couetous: if any man be knowne to bee rich, he had need to carrie himselfe vprightly: otherwaies the least occasion will cost him his head, that the *Basha* may enioy his goods, as lately befell a rich *Aga*, whom he caused priuately to be cruelly murdered, and presently after seized vpon all he had.

They depart  
from *Zenan*.

The eighteenth, I paid all duties of the Prison, and went to the *Caybas* Garden, where wee brake our fast, receiued my dispatch, and a Letter to the *Gouernour* of *Aden* for re-deliverie of 20 the *Pepper-Cornes* Boate; I requested his Letter to the *Gouernour* of *Tayes* for deliury of a Youth of *Master Pembertons*, which was l. ft sicke there, (I was informed hee was inforced to turne *Turke*, hee writ his Letter and sealed it: the effect I know not) which being done I tooke my leaue and departed: my selfe, *Master Femell*, and *Master Fowler* were mounted on Horses, and all the rest vpon Asses and Camels, we had two *Chausers* to conduct vs, and a Horseman, the other afoot.

The description  
of *Zenan*.

This Citie is somewhat bigger then *Bristol*, of good building of stone and lime, with Churches or Meskits: it is enuironed with a mudde wall full of Battlements and Turrets. On the West-side there is a great deale of spare ground enclosed within the walles, there they haue their Gardens, Orchards, and Houses of pleasure, it standeth in a barren and stony Valley, with high 30 Hills enclosing it, not being farre off, whereof one which is to the Northward ouer-looketh the Towne, whereon is built a small Castle, to keepe it from the mountaine people, who accustomed from thence to offend the Citie. It hath no water but Wel-water, which they digge deepe for; Wood is very scarce, and fetcht from farre, and very deare; In the Easter-most part is the Castle inclosed with mudde Walles full of Turrets, in which Turrets euery night they place their Watch, which keepe such a hollowing one to another all night long, that a man that is not acquainted which it can hardly sleepe; the *Basha* and some other principall men dwell within this Castle Wall, the Keepers House wherein I was imprisoned, ioyneth to the wall, and at the foote of the Wall is a spacious yard, wherein a great number of people, for the most part Women and Children, are kept Prisoners or Pledges, to keepe their Parents, Husbands, and Allies 40 from Rebellion. The Boyes while they be little goe loose in the yard, but after they bee come to bignesse they are clapt in Irons and carryed to a strong Tower, where there bee many more kept in like case, there they remayne during the *Bashas* pleasure, those Women and Children which remayne in the yard liue in little Cottages, which they haue made of purpoe, the Children goe for the most part naked, without it be very cold, and then haue they Sheep-skinne Coates to keepe them warme, they be as wilde and rude as if they were brought vp in the Mountaines.

*Siam* a small  
Towne and  
Castle.

This night we arriued at *Siam* distant from *Zenan* sixteene miles: which is a small Towne with a Castle vpon the side of a Hill, the place and Countrey about it is very barren, and yeeldeth small reliefe to Trauellers.

*Surage*.

About midnight we departed from *Zenan*, and the next day being the nineteenth, we came to 50 *Surage*, about ten a clocke in the forenoone: it is likewise a small Village distant from *Siam* about eighteene miles, the Countrey barren and the people poore, and goe almost naked, saue a cloth about their waistes reaching downe to their knees. We departed from hence at mid-night.

*Damare* a good  
Citie.

Wee came to *Damare* the twentieth, about eight of the clocke in the morning: it is a Citie bailt of lime and stone, but separated in fise parts one a prettie distance from the other, so that it seemeth to be so many Villages. It is seated in a spacious Valley or Plaine, hauing plentie of water and all kind of graine, with all other prouision for sustenance both for themselves and their poore Neighbours, who liue in great penurie and want. It is distant from *Surage* twentie miles. We tarried heere two dayes by order of *Abdela Chillarby*, the *Bashas* *Cayba*, who is *Gouernour* of this Prouince. 60

*Ermin*.

The two and twentieth, we departed from *Damare* about two a clocke after mid-night, and came to *Ermin* betimes, it being a small Village and distant from *Damare* some fiteene miles.

*Naqual Samare*  
an Inne.

The three and twentieth, we arriued at *Naqual Samare*, being a common Inne for all Trauellers. The *Turkes* call them *Censors*; which are built at the cost of the *Gran Signior*, for the reliefe of



of Trauellers. There be many of these *Censors* betweene *Moha* and *Zenan*, this *Censor* is seated in the middle of a very steepe hill called *Nackhi'samar*, and some few scattering poore houses about it, vpon the top of this hill is a great Castle, wherein the *Gouernour* of the Prouince which is an *Arabian* dwelleth. These craggie Mountaine Countries, are for the most part gouerned by the *Arabians*, for the people of these Mountaines cannot brooke the proud and insolent Gouernment of the *Turkes*: no *Turke* may passe this way, neither vponward nor downeward without a Passport of the *Gouernour* of the Prouince from whence they come, this *Censor* is distant from *Ermin*, some fourteene miles.

The foure and twentieth wee arriued at *Mobader*, which is a little Village at the foot of the great hill, being distant from *Nackhi'samar*, some thirteene miles. Our *Chaufes* had warrant from the *Basha*, to take vp *Asses* for our men to ride vpon, which accordingly they performed ouer-night; but the next morning the *Arabians* lay in ambush in the way, and in despite of our *Chaufes* tooke their *Asses* away, neither of our *Guardians* daring to giue them a foule word.

*Mobader* a little Village.

The five and twentieth, being arriued at *Rabattamaine* a *Censor* with some Cottages and shops adioyning thereunto: it is seated on the side of a hill and is distant from *Mobader* sixteene miles, groweth *Poppie*, whereof they make their *Oppium*: but it is not good.

*Rabattamaine* an Inne.

The sixe and twentieth, we arriued at a *Coughe* house in the middle of a Plaine: it is called *Merfadin*, and distant from *Rabattamaine* sixteene miles.

The seuen and twentieth, we arriued at *Tayes*, being a Citie of halfe the bignesse of *Zenan*, and walled round with a mud wall: here we stayed all this day and the next, in which time of my abode there, I vsed the best meanes I could for recovery of a Youth of Master *Pemberton*, whom the *Gouernour Hamet Aga* had forced to turne *Turke*, and would by no meanes depart with him. But *Walter Talbot* hauing the *Turkish* Tongue was permitted to speake with him in a Chamber amongst other Boyes and Youthes, who weeping, said vnto him he was no *Turke*, but was deluded by them, they telling him that I and all my people were put to death at *Zenan*, and if he would turne he should saue his life, but he would not yeeld vnto them: But afterward some of the *Agas* seruants carrying him to a Hot-house, when they had him naked circumcised him perforce. When I saw I could not get him, I deliuered *Abdel's Chillarby* the *Cay's* Letters, which was, if that he was not turned he should deliuer him me. When the *Aga* had read this Letter, he told me the effect saying, that Letter was warrant sufficient for keeping of him. I suspected the Letter was to that effect when it was giuen me, and that made me not deliuer it at first. This Citie standeth in a Valley vnder very high hills; and vpon the top of one of the highest hills is a faire and strong Castle: all kind of victuall is very cheape here, in the Countrey thereabouts is made some *Indico*, but what quantitie or of what goodnesse I could not learne. This Citie is very populous, and so is all the Countrey and Cities we trauelled through.

*Tayes* a Citie.

*Indico* made

The first of March, we departed and came to *Eufas* about noone, being sixteene miles from *Tayes*; the Countrey we trauielled Mountainous and stoney. The Towne little, seitate on the side of a hill. About the first of January great multitude of people resorteth hither from farre, where they doe some foolish Ceremonies to one of their Saints and holy men, which lyeth buried there: which being done they goe all in company to *Mecca* on Pilgrimage. The *Gouernour* of this Towne is a *Turke*, and vsed mee and my people very kindly at our going vp, and hearing of my coming downe, he sent one sixe miles to a place, where two wayes meete, to bring vs to his Towne, where we were most kindly vsed by him.

March, 1. 1610.  
*Eufas*.

The second, we departed thence and lodged at a *Censor* called *Assambine*, some eleuen miles from *Eufas*. Here is no Towne but a few poore Cottages.

*Assambine*.

The third, we went from thence and came to another *Censor* some thirteene miles off: it is called *Accomoth* standing in a barren common with a few Cottages by it.

*Accomoth*.

*Mousa* a towne.

The fourth in the morning, we departed thence and came to *Mousa*, seuiteene miles from *Accomoth*: the Countrey we trauielled plaine and barren, and small store of Inhabitants. The Towne of *Mousa* is not great, and vnwalled, but very populous. It is seitate in a plaine indifferent frutfull; hereabouts likewise is made some *Indico*. We departed thence about mid-night.

The fifth in the morning about eight of the clocke we came to *Moha*. We rested two or three houres by the way at a Church or *Coughe* house called *Dabully* built by a *Dabull* Merchant. If we had not stayed here, we had come to *Moha* before day. A mile without the Towne, we were met by our Carpenters, Smithes, and such others as were detayned there, the day before their Irons were taken off, and they had libertie to walke abroad. The first question I demaunded was to know what became of Master *Pemberton*. They told mee hee lighted vpon a *Cannoa*, and got aboard, whereof I was not a little glad; for I was very doubtful neuer to haue seen him more. At the Townes ends, and all the way to the *Agas* house, the people stood very thicke, and as wee passed by bad vs welcome backe, for it was nothing pleasing to the people of the Countrey to heare how treacherously the *Turkes* had vsed vs: we rid till wee came to the *Agas* house where wee alighted, my selfe, Master *Fennell*, Master *Fowler*, were brought before him, where I deliuered my Letters from *Zenan*. He receiued me after his wonted dissembled shew of loue and kindnesse, bidding me and the rest welcome, saying, he was glad of our returne safe, and sorrie and ashamed

*Moha*.

of



of what was past, and prayed me to pardon him, and that hereafter he bad me assure my selfe he would be my friend, and that the harme that had be fallen vs was not long of him, for hee did nothing but what his Master commanded him. I soothed him vp, but beleueed nothing he said, he read the command of the *Basha*, and said all things should be performed accordingly. Whereupon he called in for Breakfast, and caused vs to sit downe with him, bidding mee eate and be merry: for now he had eate Bread and Salt with me, I need not doubt of any harme. After breakfast, he went to seeke for a House for me, we had a faire large house appointed vs neere the Sea-side, where we continued two dayes, but afterward wee were remoued from thence to a great strong House, standing all alone in a spacious Church-yard in the middle of the Towne: and for our Guard a Captaine and his Company were appointed to that charge, who warded all the day, & by night our house was enclosed round with his armed Souldiers. The cause why we were remoued from our first house, was because it was too neere the water side, they doubting from thence we might attempt an escape.

The description  
of *Moha*.

This Towne of *Moha* is one third part lesse then *Tayes*, vnwalled, very populous, and seated close by the Sea-side in a salt, sandy, barren soyle. The Gouvernours house is close by the waters side, and here by the same is the Key or Bridge which shooteth a prettie distance into the Sea: to which Key all Boates belonging to any shipping, are enioyned to land for feare of stealing of Custome. And close adioyning to the Key is a platforme, whereon are planted some dozen of Braille Peeces, at the Westerne end of the Towne there is a Fort wherein is the like quantitie of Ordinance: this Fort was ruinate at our first comming thither, but since pulled downe to the ground and new builded. This after-noon came the *Darling* into the Roade, who brought vs 20 newes of the wel-fare of the rest, which was no small comfort to me after so many troubles.

The *Darling*  
came into the  
Roade.  
The Captaine  
of a ship of *Dabull*.

The sixth, *Nobuda Melech Ambor*, Captaine of a great ship of *Dabull*, which came into the Road two dayes before my arriual at *Moha*, came ashore with a great many of Merchants with him, he with the rest were carryed about the Towne in pompe, and afterwards feasted by the *Aga*. I likewise was sent for to this Feast and entertayned with all loue and friendship. The *Aga* in presence of them all called for the *Alcoran*, kissed it, and voluntarily swore and protested, that he ought me no euill will but wished me all good, and would endeouour himselfe to pleasure me the best he could, his heart being cleere of malice or hatred, and was much grieved for what was past: I returned him thanks, seeming greatly satisfied therewith, although I gaue no credit thereto, but was forced to indure with patience what I could not remedie, till it pleased God 30 to prouide better.

The seuenth day, the *Aga* made a great Feast at his Garden-house for the *Dabullians*, to which I and Master *Femell* were likewise inuited. The *Dabullians* were all mounted vpon gallant Horses with rich Furniture, and we vpon a couple of tyred lame lades, which wee brought from *Zenan*.

The eight, wee were all sent for to come before the *Aga*, my selfe with all the Merchants, Carpenters, Smithes, and others, whom he (to the number of thirtie) thought good, were appointed to stay aland; and the rest which were thirtie sixe, were sent aboard the *Darling*.

An excellent  
Roade on the  
Coast of *Habashe*,  
called  
*Affab* Roade.

The ninth, had I made an escape, had I not beene more carefull for others, which I should haue left behind me, then for my selfe. This day the *Darling* hauing taken in thirtie sixe men as afore said, and prouided of some necessities they lacked, departed towards the other ships on the Coast of *Habashe*: where they had found out in the time of my absence an excellent Road, for all windes that blow in these Seas, it is called *Affab* Road, where they had wood and water enough costing nothing but the fetching, the water is a little brackish, but seemed fresh enough to them that had liued in want thereof, the people of the Countrey bee as blacke as the *Negroes* of *Guinea*, they be all *Mahometans* alongst the Sea-coast: but vp in the Land they bee Christians and Subiects to *Prester Iohn*, they goe almost naked saue a cloth about their waistes, which reacheth to their knees. They were at first comming of our people very fearefull, but after they were acquainted, and a peace confirmed by oath on both sides, they daily repayed with refreshing, as Beefes, Sheepe and Goates, and sold them for money at reasonable rates. And afterward 50 they desiring course Callico rather then money, I furnished them therewith from *Moha*: In trucke whereof they sold their Cattle farre better cheape then before for money, dealing faithfully and kindly with our people, notwithstanding the *Turkes* sought to worke them to the contrary, by meanes of small Barkes which passe to and fro. The King of this Countrey hath his abiding at a Towne lying vpon the Sea-coast called *Rahaita*, some fortie miles to the Southwards neere the *Bab*, hee sent some of his chiefe men to the Commanders of the shippes with presents, they returned them the like: who entertayned those which were sent very courteously, with promise of any thing his Countrey yeilded. Their vulgar speech is not vnderstood by the *Arabians*, the better sort of them speake and write the *Arabian* Language, in which 60 Tongue their Law of *Mahomet* is written.

*Rahaita*.



## §. IIII.

## Indian ſhipping at Moha; Sir Henry Middletons eſcape from the Turkes, and enforcing ſatisfaction.



Prill the firſt, 1611. the *Darling* departed for *Aſſab*, with leaue euery ten dayes to re-  
turne, to ſee how I did: this his vnlooked for kindneſſe I hoped in God would bee a  
meanes to worke my freedome. The ſecond, came into the roade another ſhip of *Da-*  
*bul*, full of people. The *Nohuda* rid about the Towne in a painted coate, as the manner  
is. Theſe robes are but lent them for the preſent, and afterward returned to the keeper of the  
Ward-robe, to whom belongs a dutie for lone of them. The third, came a *Iebba* from *Aden*, which  
brought the *Pepper-cornes* Boat.

Aprill 1. 1611.

Another ſhip  
of *Dabul*.The third ſhip  
of *Dabul*.

The fourth day, came an other ſhip of *Dabul*, which laded at *Achin* with *Pepper*: theſe three  
great ſhips belong all to the Gouverneur of *Dabul*, who is a *Persian*, and a great Merchant, and  
hath many ſlaues, whereof *Melick Amber* is one, and is in great credit with him: he had the ma-  
naging of the goods belonging to theſe three ſhips; he is a *Negro*, borne in *Habſſe*, and might coſt  
his Maſter ſitteene or twenty royalls of eight, and now neuer goeth out of his doores, but with  
great troopes of followers, like ſome great Lord.

The ſixth, I ſent to the *Cayba Abdela Chillarby* a faire peice, and a ſmall barrell of powder,  
which I promiſed to ſend him at my coming from *Zenan*. The ſeuenth, came from *India* a ſmal  
ſhip laden with cotton. The eleuenth, came from *India* two ſmall barks *Mallabars*, of one of the  
Iles of *Maldinia*: the chiefe of them came often to viſit me, till he was forbidden by the *Aga*  
our enimie. The twelfth, there came two Barks from *India*: for then the wind was Weſterly;  
which continued ſo for five dayes, and afterwards came to the South South-eaſt againe. The four-  
teenth, came in a ſmall Barke laden with Cotten, for the *Bannians*. The fifteenth, came another  
from *Baſſanor*: the *Nohuda* came to viſit me at my houſe, which the *Aga* repined at. The ſeu-  
teenth, came into the Towne a great many Cammels, and diuers Merchants, which came from  
*Damaſco*, *Sues*, and *Mecca*, to trade with the Merchants of *India*. The nineteenth, came in a  
ſhip and a barke of *Cananor*, the Captaine of the great ſhip came to viſit mee with great troopes  
following of him: which the *Aga* ſtomaking, ſent for him while he was talking with mee, and  
forbad ſuch reſort vnto me. The twentieth, came in a ſhip of *Calicut* and the *Darling*. The three  
and twentieth, came in a ſmall barke of the Kings of *Zacotora*, which came from *Goa*.

Another ſmall  
Indian ſhip.Merchants of  
*Damaſco*, *Sues*,  
and *Mecca*.

May 2. 1611.

Cancamarra in  
*S. Laurence*,  
where Captaine  
*Rowles* Capt. of  
the *Union* was  
betrayed.

The ſecond of May, 1611. I diſpatched Letters for *England* of all our proceedings in thoſe  
parts: one Copy to the *Engliſh* Conſul at *Aleppo*, and another to the *French* Conſul at *Cayro*:  
which letters I deliuered to a *Guzerat*. The tenth, came in a ſmall barke from the coaſt of *Swa-*  
*bell* or *Magadoxo*, with ſlaues, Elephants teeth, Amber: there had wont to come euery yeare hi-  
ther from thence foure barks with like lading, but this yeare would come no more, for that their  
Countrey are in warres, and the *Portugals* had burned their ſhipping. Theſe men buy their *Ne-*  
*groes* and Amber at *Cancamarra*, in *S. Laurence*, where Captaine *Rowles* was taken and betrayed;  
we enquired of them if they could informe vs of any thing touching him. Alſo this day about  
noone came in the *Darling*, and according to her wonted order ſhot off a peice for a Boat; the ſhot  
grazed vpon the water to the Towne-wards, whereat the *Aga* was diſpleaſed; but gaue leaue I  
might ſend aboard. I writ my letter, and ſent one of my ſeruants aboard with it, commanding him  
to tarry aboard, and come no more aſhore, and withall to tell M. *Pemberton*, hee ſhould not ſend  
his Boat a land till he heard further from me.

The eleuenth in the morning, at the dawning of the day, the *Aga* with all the chiefe men of  
the Towne, were rid abroad in great ſtate to his Garden to be merrie: which I ſeeing, did not a  
little glad my heart, and gaue God thanks, which offered me ſo faire meanes to put that in pra-  
ctiſe, which long before I had determined: For *Hamet Aga*, and others had told mee the *Baſha*  
would not performe his word, but for feare. I writ my letter to M. *Pemberton*, wherein I certifi-  
ed him, I minded as this day to make an eſcape aboard, and that I would conuay my ſelfe into an  
emptie But, and ſo be carried downe to the Boat as an emptie Caſke: and therefore willed him  
the Boat ſhould be ſent with all ſpeed, manned with choiſe men; and withall to ſend me a bottle  
of *Aquanita*, and an other of wine, to make drunke my Keepers; which he accordingly performed:  
before I made M. *Femel* acquainted with my determination, I made him ſweare vnto me to be ſe-  
cret, and to uſe no perſwaſions with me, to with-draw my mind from that I had reſolued vpon:  
whereupon I ſhewed him what I had written to M. *Pemberton*; and withall, ſhewed him how  
that himſelfe and others ſhould walke out of the Towne to the water ſide, to ſuch a place as hee  
well knew, and I appointed, where I would not faile, God ſending mee into the Boat, to take  
him and the reſt in. Alſo I acquainted him, that the Carpenters and others I had appointed to  
embarque themſelues to the South-ward of the Towne, where lay a Boat hard by the ſhore, with  
maſt and ſayle ready fitted for their purpoſe; but withall, I had giuen the Carpenters warning  
not to imbarque themſelues, till ſuch time as they ſaw the ſhippes Boat put off from the  
Bridge. All things ſorting out well to our purpoſe, the *Subaſha* (which was our guardian, and left  
in

The *Indian*  
ſhips were  
come in, and  
the Turkes  
promiſes were  
not performed,  
but many ap-  
parant euiden-  
ces that they  
neuer ſhould,  
cauſed S. Hen-  
Middleton to  
ſuſpect his beſt  
eſcape.



Sir H. Middleton  
escapeth a-  
board.

A letter from  
M. Femel.

A short mes-  
sage to the Aga.

in Towne onely to looke to me) fell to drinking hard at a Racky-house: and I beeing doubtfull of any good performance from my enemies the *Turkes*, had long bethought me of all the meanes I could deuise from time to time to make an escape, but could not light vpon any proiect, that had not apparent danger, both to my selfe, and those that should attempt to escape away with me. Onely this deuise it pleased God to put into my head, whereby I might bee secretly conueied into the boat without beeing discouered: for my Keepers and Souldiers eyes were onely vpon me, wherefoeuer I went: all the rest of my company might walke abroad any where by day time without suspition, or any great regard: I neuer went out of doores, but two or three souldiers attended vpon me wherefoeuer I went. The Boat being come, and Keepers all drunke, and all things fitted, about twelue a clocke at noone the Subasha returns from the Aracke-house, and being in one ende of our house, but a wall betweene vs, where his abiding was, the better to guard vs, I began to put my businesse in execution: and appointed the Carpenters to take others with them, and to go by two and two in the best manner they could to auoid suspition, and shift for themselves in the Boat aforesaid; but in any case not to meddle, before they saw the ships Boat vnder sayle. To M. Femel, and those that I appointed to take into Lee-ward of the Towne, I gaue order likewise, to goe two or three in company alongst the Sea side, to the place I had appointed them to take them in, and there to tarry my comming. After I had giuen these directions, I was conueied into my Tub, and safely set aboard the Boat: which beeing done, I forced out the head of the Caske, and came aboard, causing them to beare vp with the leeward point, where I tooke in John Fowler, Beniamm Greene, Rowland Webbe, Ro. Mico, Ro. Conwey, William Bownes, John Wright, Arthur Atkinson, Thomas Enans, John Wood, and Henry Fortune. M. Femel and other beeing too slacke in comming out of the Towne, were taken before they could come to the boat. The Towne beeing raised, partly by the vndiscreet running of some of our people, and partly by seeing the Boat beare vp to Leeward, contrary to their wonted course, M. Femel and those with him, had likewise escaped, had he come by land to the point, and not taken water, so soone as others which were both sicke and weake did, which were behind him when he tooke the water. I came to an anchor, and brought the Boat a ground in tarrying for them, to the no little danger of vs all: I caused men to leape ouer-board to reskue him, but before they could get a Pikes length from the Boat, he and those with him were all apprehended: M. Femel discharged a Pistoll in the face of one of them that hardly pursued him, and mortally wounded him before he was taken; it booted me not to stay longer, hauing all the Town in pursuit of me, and a very narrow and shoald channell to passe betweene a small sandie Iland, and the maine: it pleased God wee lighted vpon the right channell, which quickly brought vs into deepe water, and out of danger of our enemies, for which his great mercie towards vs, his holy name bee blessed and praysed for euermore.

They in the *Darling* kept good watch in the tops, which so soone as they saw the Boat vnder sayle, let slip and set saile, bearing vp to Lee-ward, to haue releiued vs if need had bin: being come aboard, we espied the Boat wherein the Carpenters were comming towards vs: I sent the ship Boat to bring them and their Boat aboard of vs. In this Boat escaped George Collinson, Robert Pinnis, Nathaniel Symonds, and John Taylor; but Walter Talbot, who was appointed to come with them, tarried so long before he came, that the Boat was put off, he thought to swim aboard, and was drowned. About two houres after our comming aboard, came two poore *Arabs* in a Canoa, but so fearefull, they durst not come nigh the ship till they were wonne by faire words, and so with much adoe, one of them entered, and deliuered me a letter from M. Femel, shewing that they were in great danger of beeing slaine or ipoyled by those that apprehended them, but some of the souldiers, through former acquaintance, bearing them good will, saued them, and brought them to the *Agaes*, where they tarried his comming. At the first sight of them, he looked as pale as ashes, telling them they should all looke their heads, asking them how they durst attempt such a thing? They answered, they came out of *England* vnder my command, and did nothing but what I had commanded, which in no wise they durst disobey. He againe threatned them with losse of their heads, and presently caused them all to be chained by the necks, from which chaine they were quickly released, at the intreaty of *Nobuda Melicke Amber*, & *Nobuda Mahomet of Cananor*, and others, and permitted to remaine in our former house, but with a stronger guard then before. This their kindnes proceeded not of loue, but for feare of their ships in the road, which were then vnder my command. I returned answer of the letter, and sent the *Aga* word, that if he did not send me all my people, with those prouisions of the ships which he detained contrary to the *Bashas* order (for I minded not to be put off with *Farriga*) I would fire the ships in the road, and do my best to batter the Towne about his eares: likewise I sent word to the *Nobudas*, that they should not send any Boat aboard the ships, without first comming aboard of me, and to acquaint mee with their businesse, nor to carry any thing out of them aland, without my leaue and order.

After my departure, there was no small disturbance in the Towne: the *Aga* not knowing how to answer the *Basha*, feared it would cost him his head, the Subasha which was my keeper at his wits end, and knew not whether he might stay or flee for his life. The *Emeryor bahar* (or Lord of the Sea as they terme him) in little better taking, beeing accused of consenting to my escape; one of our Porters tooke Sanctuary in one of their Churches, and would not be gotten out from



from thence till hee had his pardon, and the *Nobudas* and Merchants in great feare of losse of their ship and goods, most of them sending Presents of victuals, and refreshing to Master *Femell* and the rest, which before tooke scorne to speake to them. At night I sent the Boat well manned to carrie the newes to our ships, with order for their comming ouer with all speed. I plyed to wind-ward in the *Darling*, when the Tyde serued, and rid a little without the great ship, so that I had her and all the rest vnder the command of our Ordnance.

The twelfth, came aboard *Nobuda Mahomet* of *Cananor* with Letters, telling me the *Aga* was sorrie I was so departed (which I knew to be true) for that he was determined within few dayes to haue set mee at libertie, and all my people, to my owne content: and for the prouisions belonging to our ships which were ashore, hee would deliuer them, but for my people hee could not deliuer them without order from the *Basha*, intreating fifteene dayes respite: in which time if I had not all my men in safetie sent aboard, they desired no fauour. I told him likewise, I must haue my Pinnasse surrendred me, for that I would not depart the Road without her; he sayd hee would acquaint the *Aga* with my demand of the Pinnasse, and doubted not but that I should haue her at the time limited. I yeelded to his request, vpon his promise that I should haue both men and Pinnasse within the time prefixed, I durst not as yet demand restitution or satisfaction for my goods, till such time as I had all our men from the shore. At his comming ashore, hee acquainted the *Aga*, that he had concluded a peace for fifteene dayes, vpon his promise that I should haue my men and Pinnasse restored within the same time. The *Aga* was very angry that I demanded the Pinnasse, and sent for Master *Femell* and *John Williams*, and asked what I minded in demanding the Pinnasse, which was the *Bashas* by agreement with mee, saying, I might as well demand the goods as the Pinnasse, both which were put to the account of the *Gran Signior*: they said I could not well proceed on my Voyage without the Pinnasse, but for the goods they assured him I would neuer demand them; In the meane time, the *Darlings* Cables, Anchors, Pitch, Tarre, and other things being ashore, were brought aboard: And few dayes elapsed that I had not one present or other of refreshing from the *Aga*, *Dabnullan*, and other, which would scarce take knowledge of me whilst I was ashore, but now glad to flatter me. This morning early came a Boat from shore aboard the innermost ship: I caused the Gunner to make two shot at her, which caused them to come aboard mee. I threatned them if they did so any more to hang them, and burne their ships; so that afterward they durst not attempt the like.

The thirteenth, the *Increase* and *Pepper-Corne* toward night came to anchor in the sight of the Roade: for they could not fetch in that night, the Lee-ward tyde beeing come against them.

The fourteenth, they got into the Roade and I went aboard the *Increase*, where I was receiued with great ioy of all my Company.

The eighteenth, there came into the Roade, a ship of *Diu*, belonging to *Shermall* the *Shabander*; laden with *India* Commodities, which I did imbarque both people and goods, and caused her to ride hard by me. The next day being the nineteenth, at the intreatie of *Shermall*, I licensed all the people (saue some few to looke to the ship) to goe ashore. This day being the twentieth day, I heard nothing from the shore. The one and twentieth, Master *Femell* writ to me they had bin all chained by the neckes.

The five and twentieth, came aboard *Nobuda Mahomet* and certified me, that the *Basha* had giuen order for release of my people and Pinnasse, and promised to bring them aboard on the morrow. I shot off three Peeeces at his departure. This day all our people ashore were chained by the neckes, and the next day released. The cause they were so vied they could not learne.

The six and twentieth, *Nobuda Mahomet* returned, saying, the Pinnasse was lanced, but the *Aga* would neither deliuer her nor the men, till I had giuen him a writing firmed by my selfe, and foure or five more of the principall in our ships with oathes to performe the same, to containe in effect a perfect peace with the *Turkes* his Subiects and *Indians*, and not to meddle in this Sea or elsewhere in reuenge of any thing that had passed, nor to demand restitution or satisfaction for any goods taken from me: I told him, I marvelled hee came euery day with new matters, he had the day before promised, as this day to bring me all my men and Pinnasse aboard, which I looked to haue had performed, and for better securitie he and those with him should remayne Hostages aboard till I had them, and therefore willed him to aduise the *Aga*: he alledged that he being employed of his owne voluntary motion in this businesse, should reape much discredit and be laught at for his forwardnesse, if he should write to that purpose, and therefore hee told me plaine he would not write whatsoever betyde him, but promised, if I would giue him such a Writing as he demanded and send him ashore, he would bring me all my people aboard before night: I seeing I could get him by constraint to yeeld to nothing, thought best to giue him some content, though it were somewhat that might but carrie the name of what hee desired. I thereupon caused a Writing to be made in *English*, firmed by my selfe and five more, containyng a brieue Relation of the treacherous vsage of vs in this Countrey and nothing else, wee setting to our hands as Witnesses of truth of the same Writing: withall I sent aduice to Master *Femell*,  
how



The rest of our  
men set at li-  
bertie.

how he should interpret it vnto them. I deliuered him the Writing he desired, but I weare I would not, saying, my word should be truer then a *Turkes* oath at all times. Ashore hee went, leauing some of the better sort of his Company for Pledges, whom he had hang if he brought me not all my Company aboard that night: comming ashore he handled the matter so, that a little before night he returned with Master *Femell*, *John Williams*, *Christopher Cunningham*, *Water Woodward*, *John Clarke*, *Henry Bauldin*, *Edmund Glouer*, *Tobie Birch*, *Alexander James*, and *Merciline Longfield*. Three of them were vested, to wit, Master *Femell*, *John Williams*, and *Cunningham*, with paltry Vests of little worth. Another was sent to me, which they said came from the *Basha*, the *Nobuda* would haue put it vpon my backe, desiring mee to weare it as a fauour Tent me from the *Basha*: I refused it, telling him, I scorned to weare any thing that should come from so vnconscionable a Dogge and my Enemie, by whose order I had receiued so much wrong: he seeing I would not take it, left it with my man, and so departed, carrying with him the *Turke* taken in the *Darling*, which had remayned aboard the *Increase*, till that present: hee promised to returne in the morning with our *Pinnasse*.

The Pinnasse  
restored.

The fouen and twentieth, according to promise the *Nobuda* came aboard and brought my *Pinnasse*, and demanded of me if all he had promised were performed. I told him no, for that I had not all my company, they keeping from me the Boy at *Tayes*, which they had forced to turne *Turke*, and him would I haue before I would release the ships: he told me he would tell the *Aga*, and returne me his answer, and so departed. This morning early I called a Councell, wherein I propounded whether I should release the ships according to promise, or detainne them till restitution were made me. It was concluded that I should release all the ships which were of *India*, and our friends; and set our hopes vpon the ship that was to come from *Sues*. Likewise I demanded what course were best to take for recovery of the youth at *Tayes*; by some it was thought bootlesse to demand him, but to hope of taking some Prisoners of worth, which might procure his libertie. I was of a contrarie opinion, and thought it fittest to demand him, now when wee should haue many to sollicite for him, rather then depend vpon hopes of taking of Prisoners, which we might faile of, and so it was concluded to demand the Boy presently, and no speech at all to be made of our goods restoring.

M. Femell dyed.

The eight and twentieth, there was a Writing sent me from the *Aga*, wherein he, *Nobuda Mahomet*, and *Shermall Shebander* bound themselves ships and goods, that I should haue within twelue dayes the Boy from *Tayes*, so that I would release the ships; I gaue them leaue to vnlade the ship of *Diu*, and goe and come to the other ships at their pleasure. This night Master *Femell* dyed of a *Calentura*, or rather poysoned by the *Turkes*, as the opinions of our Chirur-gions are.

Iunc 1. 1611.

Exceeding heat  
in the Red Sea.

The first of Iune, were discharged out of the ship, three Boats lading of Cotton. This euening we had a guff with much wind, which came from the shore, which brake our Land Cable. The wind was so hot we could hardly indure it. I was faine to flye to my Cabbin, not being able for heate to stay aloft. I writ a Letter to the *Basha* in *Italian* for restitution of my goods, and satisfaction for damages; I was answered afterwards, the Letter was not vnderstood for lacke of an Interpreter. I againe imbarqued the ship of *Diu*, and would not permit them to vnlade any more goods out of her, till the *Basha* had satisfied me to the value of seuentie thousand Rials of eight, which I had lost and was damnified by him: I considered with my selfe, that this was the surest way to attayne to somewhat in lieu of our losse, and not soly to relye vpon the taking of the ship of *Sues*, which the *Turkes* might easily preuent me of, by giuing aduice by land.

The second, came *Ally Haskins*, my Interpreter at *Zenan*, aboard, and brought mee commendations from the *Basha*, saying, he was sorrie I was gone after that sort away, for he was minded to send me away better content, and that he had prepared a rich Vest to be sent me and a Horse: and likewise the *Cayha* had him commended heartily, and desired mee not to take any violent courses here, but seeke for Iustice at *Stambola*, for if I did any thing which might be displeasing to the *Basha*, it would cost him his head, that was the chiefe cause of my sending backe to *Moha*; and told me he had brought the *English* youth with him from *Tayes*, by order from the *Basha*, which the next day he said should be sent aboard, conditionally I would permit the ship of *Diu*, and the rest to discharge. I answered him I would in no wise release the ships, till I had restitution or satisfaction for my goods and damages to the value aboue-said.

The third, the *Aga* desired peace for twelue dayes till the *Basha* had knowledge of my demands. The next day *Ally Haskins*, *Tocoursie a Bannian*, and others came aboard, and withall desires I would draw out the particulars of my losses, that they might consider thereof ashore. I fulfilled their desire, and by writing set downe my losse and hinderances to bee seuentie thousand Rials of eight, and withall sending the *Aga* word, whereas at first I was receiued by him, and came aland at his intreatie, and vpon his word and promise of kind enteraynement and free and peaceable Trade, he like a treacherous Dogge, without any cause or offence giuen, had cruelly slaine diuers of my people, and villanously imprisoned my selfe and others, and robbed and spoiled all he could seafe vpon to the value of seuentie thousand *Pessos*, beside great charges and losse



losse of time, if therefore he did not presently make mee restitution or satisfaction for the same, I would doe my best to batter the Towne about his eares, take all the goods out of the *Diu* ship into mine owne, and burne all the ships in the Roade, and not depart thence till I were sufficiently reuenged; all which I could doe without breach of promise, the time of Truce being out, and they not hauing performed Couenants with me.

This day being the sixt, the *Aga* sent mee a peremptory answere, demanding who gaue mee leaue to come into those Seas, saying, sith I came without leaue I was iustly dealt withall; and touching the goods, and whatsoeuer else, he had done nothing but what he had order from the *Basha*, who himselfe told me so much: and if I were not pleased with what was past, the best way were to referre it to the hearing of our Betters at *Stambola*. And if I shot at the Towne, he would shoot againe at my ships; and for the ships and goods in the Road they were none of his, but if I did either hurt the Towne or ships in the Road, it would not be pleasing to the *Sultan*, who would be sure to be recompenced for any harme I should doe them. To which I answered, to come into this Sea, I needed no leaue but Gods and my Kings, but for my comming ashore, the *Aga* had not onely giuen mee leaue, but much intreated mee. And for my goods I knew nothing I ought the *Basha*, neither was I his Factor, neither had I at any time receiued any thing of his or any the least curtesie, neither had I done him or his any wrong, and therefore no way his Debtor wherby he might challenge any of those goods which by his order I was robbed of; wherfore I must and would be paid for them, not at *Stambola* (where neither the *Basha* and *Aga* durst shew their faces to answere such shamefull wrongs, which they had falsly charged the *Sultan* to haue commanded them to doe) but euen there where I had beene wronged, would I be righted: and if they found themselves agriued, they might goe to the Court of *England* to seeke their remedie: for to *Stambola* I minded not to goe.

The eight, I sent Master *Pemberton* to *Affab* to buy fresh victuals, we hauing very many men sicke in our ships: I was afraid to haue my provision from *Moha*, doubting poysoning, which by friends I was warned to take heed of.

About my demands and the *Agas* alligations and answers, messages, and Letters passed betweene vs day by day, and at his intreatie I granted Truce for twelue dayes: in which time he certified his Master of my demands.

Feare of poysoning by the *Turkes*.

The nineteenth, came aboard *Shermall Sabander*, *Ally Tocorsie*, and many others of the chiefe of the *Bannians*, to make agreement with me, and brought with them Master *Pemberton*s youth decently apparelled in new clothes after the Christian fashion, which the *Sabander* bestowed vpon him. After some kind gratulations passed on either side, the *Sabander* began to tell me, that he had alwayes loued and fauoured me and my people, and was alwayes readie to doe me what kindnesse he was able, and for the iniuries done mee by the *Turkes*, it did as much grieue him as if it had beene done to his owne people, for which his loue and pittying of me in my miseries, he was like to pay at too deare a rate, without I would now shew my selfe fauorable vnto him, For that the *Basha* had enioyned him to giue me satisfaction, or had sent order to cut his throat, and seafe vpon his goods: and this he protested was not fained, but the verie truth. I answered, it was the *Turkes* that had robbed me, and done me many iniuries, and from them would I looke for satisfaction, and not from any other: he willed me to leaue those talkes, and come to my demands. I told him he knew what I demanded, for that I had sent it ashore in the *Arabick* Tongue in writing; he said, if my demands were answerable to that Writing, it were but labour lost to haue further conference there abouts. We spent most part of the day in beating the prizes of our lost Commodities: and in conclusion, with much adoe, we came to agreement that all the Lead and Iron should be surrendered, and eightene thousand Rials of eight in money, within fifteene dayes for satisfaction of all our goods and losses sustayned, and thereupon a peace concluded betweene vs and them for two yeares, from the Port of *Moha* to *Cannanor*, vpon the Coast of *India*, conditionally, that the *Basha* giue mee a Writing vnder his hand and Seale, for confirmation of this peace betweene our Nation and theirs, for the time before specified. In this moneth, and about this time beganne a generall and most grievous sicknesse in our ships, few or none escaping, it beganne with a great paine in the head and stomacke, bereauing them of sleepe: the best remedie for it was vomiting and bleeding, but some were taken with Feuers withall, who were long before they recouered their healths: the rest that escaped the Feuer quickly recouered, and God be prayfed, few died thereof.

Great sicknes.

And the second of Iuly, we receiued the last payment, the *Sabander* being there himselfe, I Iuly 2. 1612. cleared all reckonings with him, as well for money borrowed of him whiles I was Prisoner, as for money disbursed afterwards by him. He demanded of me the money I promised the *Bashas Cayba*, which was a thousand *Venetianos*: which I would in no wise pay, although hee much vrged me with my word and promise, and that he should be forced to pay, for that he had passed his word for the same. I told him the *Cayba* had not performed what hee promised mee, in setting me and my people at libertie. How the *Cayba* and he will agree, I know not, but I doubt the *Cayba* will constraime him to pay it. Drawing towards night, the *Sabander* and the rest tooke their leaue of me to goe a-land: and for his farewell, I caused three Peeces of Ordnance to be discharged.

The thirt, came againe *Tacaroy* and *Ally*, and bought some Vermillion of mee, for which I gaue them credit: they promising to come ouer to the other side within fourteene dayes, and



Affab.

The Turkes  
practice to  
poyson the  
Wells of Affab.  
A Letter from  
the K. of Affab.

make me payment, also to bring me some prouisions of Graine, as I had giuen them order to buy me at *Moba*, and a Writing from the Basha for confirmation of peace concluded. In the afternoon we warped out of the Road, and that night set saile toward *Affab*, but could not get thither till the fift day in the morning.

The sixth, I went a-land and caused all the Wells to be emptyed and clenfed for feare of poysoning, for it was often told mee at *Moba*, the *Turkes* practised with the people of *Affab*, to poyson the Wells. From this day till the thirteenth day wee spent in watering and buying refreshing, not any thing in that time happening worth writing.

The thirteenth, the King of this Countrey hearing of my escape at *Moba*, and my arriual in his Countrey, sent three of his chiefe Seruants, being attended with thirtie Souldiers, with a Letter, and a Present of refreshing to me. The effect of his Letter was to bid me welcome into his Countrey, with offer of any thing I stood in need of, and that his Countrey did afford: as also not a little reioycing of my escape from my Enemies, with many other Complements. I feasted and rewarded the Messengers, and returned them with a Present to the King their Master: which was a Vest of broad-cloth, and a faire looking Glasse.

The seuenteenth, came *Afelba* from *Moba*, wherein was *Tocorcie* the *Sabanders* man, and another *Bannian*. They brought with them diuers prouisions, which I left order with them to prouide me; as also the money they ought me, but the Writing from the Basha, for confirmation of peace on his behalfe they could not get, but made excuse the Basha was so busie in the Warres, he could not intend it, so that it was manifest he intended to keepe no quarter with our Nation.

The foure & twentieth, we all set sayle out of *Affab* Road, to put that in practice which long before I had determind, which was to ply to wind-ward as high as *Camaran*, & there to abide the comming of a great ship, which yearly commeth about this time richly laden from *Sues* to *Moba*: hoping to bee sufficiently reuenged for all my losses and disgraces offered mee by the *Turkes*: and the rather did I desire to meete with her, for that I vnderstood the Traytor *Ieffor* Basha, and his Disciple *Regib-Aga*, had great aduentures in her. From this day till the last of this moneth, wee plyed it to wind-ward, the wind still opposite to vs, wee sayled by day, and commonly anchored by night: we past many and sundry dangers for lacke of a Pilot, and many times were like to haue come a-ground, to the hazard and losse of all, had not God preferred vs. And yet she escaped vs in the night, as we found in our returne.

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## V.

Their departure from Surat, and what happened there with the  
Cambayans and Portugals.

August, 9. 1611.  
They returne  
for India.  
The Westerne  
channell of Bab-  
mandell, three  
leagues broad.  
The false re-  
ports of the  
Turkes and In-  
dians.



He ninth of August, 1611. in the morning we set sayle, and in the euening about eight of the clocke we anchored three leagues thort of the *Bab-mandell*. The tenth, the *Darling* and *Release* appointed to goe out at the Westler channell, which they found to be three leagues ouer, from the Mayne of *Habeske* to the Iland *Bab-mandell*; one third of way ouer from the Iland they had no ground at forty fathoms, the channell cleere without dangers, & not as all the *Turkes* & *Indians* reported, to be full of sholes and Rocks, and not navigable for shipping. This their false report was to make vs belecue there was no other passage in and out into that Sea, but at the Easter channell, which may be so fortified that no shipping can passe that way, but shall be in danger of their Ordnance, for it is not passing one mile & halfe ouer between the *Arabian* shore, and the Ile, and vpon the Mayn lyeth sholes a good distance off; we in the *Increase* and *Pepper-Corne* passed out at the narrow channell where we came in. About foure a clock in the afternoon we all met without the straights, and were in nineteene fathome, being some foure miles from the *Arabian* shore, we steered all this night our course alongst the Land.

A greater cur-  
rent setting  
South-west  
Westerly.

From the twelfth day, till the seuen and twentieth, much wind with calmes and contrarie winds with a great current, setting South-west about foure miles an houre: for looke in all this time what we got when we had a fauourable gale, we lost that and more when it fell calme, being carryed backe by the current.

Mount de Felix.

The seuen and twentieth, we had a gale of wind to carrie vs off. Wee had sight of Mount *Felix* a head-land to the West-ward of Cape *Guardafui*, at sixe a clocke this night, This hill bore South halfe West: about ten at night it fell calme with a great Sea, out of the South-east. At mid-night came vp a gale at South South-east, and South, ending still as we sailed, this great Sea which was a manifest signe wee brought our selues open of Cape *Guardafui*: for so long as the land was in the wind of vs we felt none of this Sea.

The Road of  
Delisha in Sa-  
colata.

The thirtieth, we plyed into the Roade of *Delisha*, and about noone came to an Anchor in the Roade, wee found there riding a great ship of *Diu*, and two small ships, one of *Naggina*, the other the Kings, both ships of *India*, both bound for the Red Sea, taken short with the Monsoon. The Captaine of the ship of *Diu* came aboard mee with diuers others, who certified mee our people at *Surat* were well, and very well intreated, and were daily expecting shipping from *England*: and that Captaine *Hawkins* was at Court with the King, where hee

was



was made a great Lord, and had great allowance from the King by the yeare. And for Captaine *Sharpeigh*, the King had giuen him money to build a ship, which then was almost readie at *Surat* to bee lanchd, this and many other things he told me, which I doubted were too good to be true.

The Monson was farre spent, and therefore I desired the *Nobuda* of *Diu*, to helpe mee with his Boates and people to ballast and water, which hee with the others most willingly granted, proffering me all the water in their ship: so willing were they to haue mee gone from them. I had all the water out of his ship, and imployed his people to fetch some from the shore.

I was often in hand with the King to sell mee his *Alloes*: I could not of long time bring him to aske reason for it. In the end, with much adoe, I bargained with him for all, paying dearer for it, then Captaine *Keeling* did for his. I thinke the *Indians* were in hand with him for it, and that was the cause he held it so deare. I left Letters with the King, which hee promised to deliuer to the first *English* ship that should come there.

The third of September, hauing finished my businesse, I made haste to bee gone: I had with much adoe a simple fellow out of the ship of *Diu*, to pilot me vpon the Coast of *India*, who took vpon him to be a good Coaster, in the afternoone about two a clocke wee weighed Anchor and plyed out of the Roade.

Sept. 3. 1611.

The six and twentieth, betweene nine and ten of clocke wee weighed, hauing a gale of wind, which brought vs into the Roade of *Surat*, we ridde by the three *Indian* ships in seuen fathom. A mile from vs, ridde seuen sayle of *Portugall* Frigats or men of Warre: there were thirteene more of them which were within the Riuer of *Surat*; the *Portugalls* long before our comming thither, had intelligence that we were in the Red Sea, and bound for this place, so that these Frigats were purposely sent to keepe vs from Trade at *Surat*, or else where, vpon that Coast. The Captaine *Maio*r of them is called *Don Francisco de Soto Maio*r, is intituled Captaine *Maio*r of the North, he reapeth great benefit to himselfe by giuing *Cartasses* or *Pasports* to all ships and Frigats, which trade vpon that Coast. Any ship or Frigat which hath not the same Passe, are confiscate or lost. This night I discharged my Pilots, paying them well for their paines: I sent by them Letters to such of our people as they should find at *Surat*, for I could not learne how many (or who they were) that were there resident.

Twentie  
tugall Fri  
at the I  
Su:at.

The nine and twentieth, there came a small *Portugall* Frigat from the Admirall of the *Arma-*  
da, (as they terme them) wherein was one *Portugall* and his Boy, who brought mee answere of  
my Letter sent the day before from the Captaine *Maio*r, wherein hee vsed some complements,  
certifying me that he was glad to heare I belonged to a King a Friend, and that he and his would  
be readie to doe mee seruice in any thing hee might, provided I brought a Letter or Order from  
the King of *Spaine*, or the Vice-Roy, for my trading in these parts, which if I could shew him,  
he would willingly obey: if otherwise, he must guard the Port he had in charge, where the King  
his Master had his Factorie. I returned answere by word of mouth by the same *Portugall*, that I  
had neyther Letter from the King of *Spaine* or Vice-Roy, neyther had I need thereof, for that  
I was sent by the Kings Maiestie of *England*, with Letters and rich Presents to the Great *Mo-*  
goll, and to establish the Trade begunne in those parts: and for the Factorie they had there, I  
came not to harme the same, but that they might continue in the same estate they were: and  
for our Factorie or Trade, I see no reason why the *Portugals* should oppose themselves against vs,  
for that it was a free Countrey for all Nations, and the Great *Mogoll* nor his people any way in  
Vassallage to the *Portugals*. And therefore willed him to tell his Captaine, he should in friend-  
ly manner permit those *English* which were at *Surat* to come aboard, and conferre with me con-  
cerning our Affaires, and that he would not vrge me to vse force, for by the one meanes or the o-  
ther, I must and would haue them: many other speeches past which were here too tedious to  
write, I bestowed a Vest of broad-cloth vpon the Messenger, and so dispatched him away, hee  
promising the next day to returne.

Answere from  
the Portugalls.

We seeing it was not possible without Pilot to goe ouer the Barre, set saile from the Barre  
foot (where I had beene to discover in the *Darling*) and in the euening came to an anchor in the  
Roade. I went aboard the *Increase*, where I found Letters from the shoare: they came from *Sur-*  
rat from *Nicholas Bangham*, formerly a Ioyner in the *Hector*, wherein I was certified that wee  
had no Factorie there, and that he was sent from Captaine *Hawkins* from *Agra*, to recouer  
some Debts that were owing there, and likewise hee had Letters from Captaine *Hawkins*, but  
durst not send them aboard, lest they should be intercepted by the *Portugals*. What was become  
of the Factors and goods he mentioned not: I wrote to him, to send mee those Letters and o-  
ther particulars concerning our businesse.

*Nicholas Bang-*  
ham's Letters  
from the shore.

The third of October, *Hoia Nassan* the Gouvernour of *Surat*, and the Gouvernours brother of  
*Cambaya*, sent a *Mogoll* vnto me with a present of refreshing, and in their names offered to doe  
me all the kindnesse they could, but the *Portugals*, hee said, were the cause they could not doe  
what they would, but for their part they desired to trade with vs, which they see no way pos-  
sible to effect, so long as we should ride there, and the *Portugall Armado* by vs, and therefore they  
would counsell me to goe for *Goga*, a better place, where wee should ride nearer the shore with  
our ships, where the *Armado* could not hinder our landing; and likewise it was nearer *Cambaya*,

*Hoia Nassan*  
Gouvernour of  
*Surat*.



where there were more Merchants, and greater and better store of merchandize for our turnes: hauing to this effect deliuered his message, hee was desirous to know what I determined to doe, whether I would stay heere, or goe thither: I answered, as yet I had receiued no answer from the shore, saue a letter of small import, and till I knew what was become of our country-men and goods formerly left in the Countrey, I could not resolue him; and therefore I desired him to be a meanes, that some one of our people might come aboard to conferre with me, and Pilots to conduct vs thither, and then would I quickly resolue them what I would doe: in the meane while I could say nothing, I gaue him and his Interpreter a small reward, and dispeeded them.

A letter of  
Captain Ham-  
lyn from A-  
gra.

A letter of Wil-  
liam Finch from  
Labor.

The fift, a *Braminey*, or Priest of the *Bannians*, which came with the *Mogoll* for an Interpreter, came in a Boate of the Towne with a letter from *Nicholas Bangham*, and Captaine *Hawkins* letter from *Agra*, dated in Aprill last, relating the manner of his fauouring and dis-fauouring by the Great *Mogoll*, his ficklenesse in granting vs Trade, and afterward disallowing the same, giuing the *Portugals Firmas* against vs, contradicting thereby what formerly he had granted to vs and our Nation. By the same Messenger came two letters of a latter date from *William Finch*, from *Labor*, the one to the Commanders of any *English* shipping arriuing at *Surat*, the other to the Company in *England*, relating his proceedings, and intent to goe home ouer Land, the vnconstancie of the King and people of the Countrey, the practice of the *Portugals*, and many other circumstances, aduising me in any wise not to land any goods, nor hope for Trade in those parts: for that the people were all fickle and vnconstant like the King, and durst not offend the *Portugals*. I hauing perused these letters, grew hopelesse of any Trade in that place, yet resolued to trie the vttermost what might be done before I would depart: I vnderstood by *Nicholas Banghams* letters, that Captaine *Sharpeigh*, *Iohn Iordayne* and others, were comming from *Cambaya* to *Surat*, to goe along with me; and although I could haue no Trade, yet would I endeavour my selfe in all I might to get them all aboard, and not leaue them behind me. The *Indian* shippes which rid by me had giuen ouer their Voyage to the Southward; for that the Monson for the Southward was past. The *Braminey* desired my leaue that they might carry their ships into the Riuer, which in no wise I would grant, willing him to tell the Gouverneur and the rest of the Owners, that their ships should not depart thence, till I had all the *Englishmen* at *Cambaya* and *Surat* aboard of me; if I had permitted them to haue gone, I should haue frustrated my selfe of either sending too, or hearing from our people ashore: The *Portugals* intercepting both letters and men as much as they could.

The two and twentieth, the *Portugals* had laid them in ambush to cut off some of my men sent on shore: which when they saw their best time of aduantage brake out, and came in great heapes, confusedly running toward our men and boates; they discharged their shot at vs, and we answered them againe with ours, both from those my men a shore, and also from my Frigat, which rid close to the Land, all my men retired in safetie to my boats and Frigat, and the *Portugals* after some hurt receiued, returned behind the hills out of shot, and so in worse case then they came, went backe to their Frigats. There were of them seuen Ensignes, and might be in number about three hundred men; at this instant when they came vpon vs by Land, five of their greatest Frigats which rid a little way off to the Northward, came running vpon vs, and shot at vs, being nothing neare within shot. We went with our Frigat and boats aboard our ships to dinner, little hoping of any newes, as at that day, from our people ashore: the *Portugall* Frigats rowed to the Northward, and anchored where they rid before: I aduised with Captaine *Downton*, Master *Iordayne* and others, what course were best to take, and it was thought fit to abide no longer there, but to returne to the roade of *Surat*, where rid the *Increase*, and there to determine what we had best to doe.

Nouemb. 8.  
1611.

An hundred  
sailes of *Portu-  
gall* Frigats.

The eight of Nouember, *Nicholas Bangham* came from *Surat*, and brought with him some refreshing, which with himselfe were very welcome: the newes held of the comming of *Mocryb Can*. The Vice-royes sonne came into the Riuer with an hundred saile of Frigats, the greatest part of them being Merchants bound for *Cambaya*: I caused this night our ships which rid within to come off and anchor by me, lest the enemies, whose strength I knew not, might attempt ought against them.

The ninth, The ships riding without the Sand, *Hoia Nassan* came downe to the Sea-side: I went to him with my Frigat and boats, and had conference with him; he promised mee (not to faile) two dayes or three at the furthest, hee would returne and bring goods with him to Trade with me; I told him I had been heere a great while, and could get no refreshing of victuals for my money, and therefore desired him to giue order the countrey people might bring me some, which he promised to doe, and vpon the same tooke his leaue and departed.

The eighteenth, I receiued a letter from *Nicholas Bangham*, wherein he wrote that there was little or no hope of trade to be expected.

This last letter of *Nicholas Bangham*, together with the breach of promise of *Hoia Nassan*, brought me out of hope of Trade, thinking all their former promises to be nothing but inuentions to delude and weary me, and in the end to turne me going without Trade, which they durst not



not let me haue for feare of offending the *Portugals*, and yet loath to offend mee with absolute deniall. These things considered, I determined to be gone, and therefore had often writ to *Nicholas Bangham* to come away, but *Hoia Nassan* would not permit him: he seeing he could not get leaue to come, he stole secretly out of Towne, and as this day arriued heere. Anone after *Hoia Nassan* missing him (as it seemeth) and doubting at his comming that being hopelesse of Trade I would be gone, sent *Iaddan* the Broaker presently after him with a letter from himselfe, and another from *Mockrib Can*, promising speedily to come both vnto me. To which, in regard of his former promise breach, I could hardly giue credit, yet I resolved to spend some few dayes more to see the euent thereof. The *Portugals* lying all in the Riuer, not daring to come nigh vs by Sea, thought to entrappe vs by Land, and therefore a great number of them ambushed themselves behind a row of sand hills, not farre from our landing place, where they kept close, but God be thanked they failed of their expectation, all our people without hurt recouering the boate. In the meane season they in the ships were not idle, but let flye apace at them, both with great shot and small: the *Portugals* thinking to find vs vnprepared to bid them thus welcome, presently betooke them to their heeles, and fled behinde the hilles, where they lay lurking a while, not daring to shew their heads: they left one lying vpon the Strand being mortally wounded in the head, which our people brought aboard.

The foure and twentieth being Sunday, *Iaddan* the Broaker came aboard, and brought me word *Mockrib Can* was comming, and would be with me before night. After dinner I went to the shore side with my Frigat, where I found *Hoia Nassan*, who sent me word *Mockrib Can* was comming, and would be presently there. I returned aboard and made choyce of a good Present to giue him; which being effected, being well accompanied, I went directly aland, where I found *Mockrib Can*, *Hoia Nassan*, with great troupes of men abiding my comming, at our meeting we embraced each other; our ships at the same time discharging some Ordnance to bid him welcome, which he seemed to take kindly. After I had deliuered him a good Present, we sate downe vpon Carpets spred vpon the ground, where passed some conference betweene vs: being neare Sun-set, I entreated him he would be pleased to go aboard my ship, and there take his lodging for that night, which he presently granted, carrying with him his owne sonne, *Hoia Nassans* sonne, and diuers others his chiefe Followers, but *Hoia Nassan* would not goe: it pleased mee well to see him so confident, and made mee conceiue better hopes then before, he hauing all this part of the Countrey vnder his command. I gaue him the best entertainment I could, setting before him such Cates as vpon such a sudden I could prouide, which he, and those with him fel roundly to. After they had done eating, I deliuered him our Kings Maiesties Letter directed to him, and told him the effect thereof. He seemed to be very much pleased that his Maiestie would vouchsafe to write vnto him, and promised me to doe vs all the good he could, not onely for our present Trade, but also to giue vs any place or harbour I would appoint or name, where wee might fortifie our selues, if we so pleased. In fine, I not demanded any thing, but I found him as ready to grant, as I was to aske: growing late, I left him to his rest and departed.

The five and twentieth in the morning, *Mockrib Can* busied himselfe in buying of Knives, Glasses, or any other toyes he found amongst my Company: I went with him and shewed him the ship aloft and below: any thing he liked belonging to the ship, he carryed with him away gratis, besides many toyes of my Companys, which he liked, I bought and gaue him, endeavouring in all things I might to giue him content: after he had been fore and after, he returned to my Cabbin, where he would needs see all my Chests, Trunkes, and Lockers opened and searched. Whatsoeuer he saw there of mine that he tooke liking to, I gaue him for nothing. By this time victuals being readie, he went to dinner, which being done, hee was desirous to be gone to see the other ships, and there behaued himselfe in like sort.

The thirtieth and one and thirtieth, I sent Master Fowler, John Iordayne, and other our Merchants to see the goods: they returned and brought Mustrels and the prices: we set downe what we would giue for each sort, desiring them to doe the like by ours, that so we might come to agreement for both: they held me off with delayes, posting me off from day to day, but concluding nothing, they would neither offer for our commodities, nor abate in theirs. And whereas I had sold *Mockrib Can* all our Sword-blades the cheaper, because he should take the one with the other, they had chosen out the best of them, and returned me backe the worst, being the better halfe, and no speech when we should be paid for them: which done, they remoued their goods to bee gone for *Surat*. And vpon the same made Proclamation vpon great penalties, that no victuall or other thing should be brought vs; leauing me without cause thus abused.

The eighth of December in the morning, came *Mockrib Can* with all his crew vpon the strand, and about some fortie packs of their goods; I came a land with a good guard of shot and halberds: I went to him to his tent, where after friendly salutation and complements past, wee fell to treat of businesse: and agreed for prices of all our Lead, Quick-siluer, and Vermilion, and for their goods likewise in lieu thereof. It is to be noted, that all these goods did not belong to these two great men, but also to the *Shabander*, and diuers other Merchants; yet for the most part, the businesse were carried soly by *Hoia Nassan*, no man daring either to buy or sell with vs,

The enteruiew  
of *Mockrib Can*,  
Gouernour of  
Cambaya, and  
Sir Henry Mid-  
leton.

The delusions  
of the *Guz-  
rais*.

Decemb. 8.  
1611.



without his preuention and leaue, by that meanes aduancing the prices of their goods, and abasing ours, to their great aduantage, and our great hinderance and losse.

*Mozulls letter.* The ninth in the morning, we began to land our Lead, and to receiue some of their goods: as also to be in good forwardnesse to make price for the rest, when a Letter came to *Mockrib Can* from his King, which dashed all his mirth and our proceedings for that present. Hee was very pleasant before he receiued and perused it; but afterwards became very sad: hee sate a good pretie while musing, and vpon a sudden riseth vp, & so goeth his way, without once looking towards, or speaking to me, I being seated hard by him. Before he tooke horse, he better bethought himselfe, and sent for me: when I came to him, he embraced me, telling me hee was my Brother, praying me to excuse this his sudden departure, for that he had earnest businesse, and must be gone; but he would leaue *Hoia Nassan* with me, to receiue and deliuer those goods already bargained for, and to bargain with me for more: shortly after, we heard he was put out of his gouernment of *Cambaya*, *Hoia Nassan* being lately put out of his gouernment of *Surat* (and others put in their places) this afterward we iudged to be the effect of the Kings letter, and the cause of his discontent. *Mockrib Can* being of late Gouvernour of *Cambaya*, and all the Sea-coast thereabouts, hath now nothing left him in this Countrey, but the place of the Customer of *Surat*.

The tenth, the new Gouvernour of *Surat*, and *Affan Ally* came aboard the *Pepper-corne* to mee to see the ships. After they had been there a while, we went to the *Trades-increase*, the Factors being ashore to see the weight of the Lead, which with no little trouble was neere-hand all landed, and imbarqued ready to bee sent a shore: they intreated *Hoia Nassan* that he would be pleased to goe in hand therewith, for that it would aske a great time in doing: the Factors would haue weighed with our *English* weights, which he would in no wise agree vnto: the Weigher of *Surat* was there with the weights of the Towne, and with that weight would he haue it weighed. In the end, seeing no other remedie, they gaue him way, and began to weigh with the countrey beame. After some fewe drafts, they desired they might vnderstand the beame before they proceeded any further, to know whether the Weigher told them the truth what it weighed: for he knowing it, and they not, he might giue them what weight he list: likewise they made triall of those they had weighed by his Beame, by ours, and found very great difference, in fve Pigges tenne or eleuen Maunds, each maund being three and thirtie pound *English* weight. Hee seeing he might not haue the Lead at what weight he listed, began to cauill, saying, he would haue halfe money, halfe goods for his commodities, otherwise we should not haue them, rayling and railing like a mad-man, calling for the Carmen to drawe away the goods, saying, he would none of our Lead, nor other goods, but instantly be gone: I being aboard the *Increase* with the Gouvernour and *Sabandar*, the Factors which were a shore sent one aboard a purpose, to aduise me of their proceedings, and how that *Hoia Nassan* was causing the Carmen to yooke their Oxen, to draw away all the goods they had brought, and if I did not take some speedie course for preuening the same, he would goe from his bargain, and returne all our goods vpon our hands againe: I thought hee was apt enough to doe so, by that little experience I had of him, as also a custome they haue in this Countrey (and by report in most parts of *India*) that what bargain soeuer is made betweene Merchant and Merchant may be rouoked, so it be done within the compasse of twentie foure houres, yea although he haue giuen earnest, and carried away the goods bought, yet hee may returne them, and haue backe his earnest. I vnderstood this bad custome before I landed any of my Lead, and doubting to haue such a trick put vpon me, I did purposely send vnto *Hoia Nassan*, *Iohn Fowler* and others, to know whether he would stand to his bargain, before I landed any Lead, which would put vs to much trouble to land it, and therefore I would be at a certaintie with him: he before many witnesses, promised them to take it all, and be as good as his word, and that with all speed they should land it. And now comming to the point of performance, hee flies from all he had formerly promised: I aduised with such as were about me what we had best doe, and it was thought the surest way, to keepe those men which were aboard me for pledges, till they had performed with vs, and if we could get *Hoia Nassan* into our possession, to keepe him, and free those: whereupon I detained the Gouvernour and *Sabandar*, telling them how *Hoia Nassan* had dealt with me, going about to delude me as formerly, and therefore there was no other remedie, but to keepe them for pledges for performance of the bargain. The Gouvernour counsell'd mee to goe a shore, and fetch the man himselfe, which I did, giuing the Gouvernour a good Present, I let him depart, keeping *Hoia Nassan* and the *Sabandar* for pledges aboard the *Pepper-corne*.

Rude custome  
in buying.

*Hoia Nassan* &  
the *Sabandar*  
kept aboard as  
Pledges.

The nineteenth, *Hoia Affan Ally* the *Sabandar* came from *Surat*: he shewed mee a couple of Letters, which were sent from the Vice-roy from *Goa*, one of them directed to himselfe, the other to the Captaine Maior of *Diu*: I opened and perused them both. The effect of the letter to the Captaine Maior was, that he had receiued his letter, whereby hee vnderstood the especiall good seruice done against the *English*, in putting the *English* Captaine and his people to swim to his Boates for their safetie, otherwise he had taken them prisoners or slaine them: for the which he highly commended him, hauing done the part of a valiant Captaine, and worthy souldiour; which good seruice done to his King and Countrey, would redound to his great honour: for the which hee gaue him as many thanks, as if hee had taken the *English* Captaine prisoner: and partly



partly to gratifie him, he bestowed those Frigates, which hee lately before had taken from the *Mallabers* vpon him, certifying him he had sent his sonne in the Armie, which was young, praying him to assist him with his counsell, whereby he might gaine a great name. Thus was the Vice-Roy and my selfe abused, by the false reports of a lying Braggard. The other letter to the *Sabandar*, was to thanke him that he would not permit the *English* Nation to trade at *Surat*, willing him to continue in that mind, and he should doe the King of *Portugal* great seruice, for the which he should not loose his reward. This day came diuers Carts laden with prouisions for the ships from *Surat*, bought by *Nicholas Bauggam*.

10 The foure and twentieth, the accompts on both sides were cleered, and businesse finished, the pledges on either part released, they promised vs to deale with vs for the rest of our Commodities: they tarried till the sixe and twentieth day, but did nothing worth noting. The seuen and twentieth, came a *Jew* aboard me, which brought me a letter from *Massulipatan*, dated the eighth of September, from one *Peter Floris* a *Dantiscan*, employed by the Company, shewing his setting out in February, his speedie and safe passage and arriuing there in the beginning of September.

A letter of Peter Floris.  
Januar. 2. 1611

The second of Ianuary, 1611. I wrote to Captaine *Hawkins*, from whom I had receiued a letter the eight and twentieth of December: and sent Captaine *Sharpeigh*, *Hugh Fraine*, and *Hugh Greet*, to let the minde of Captaine *Hawkins* in some better course, then he seemed to aime at in his last letter to me. As also to buy some Indicoes, and other commodities, if they might be had at reasonable rates.

20 The sixe and twentieth, Captaine *Hawkins* and Captaine *Sharpeigh* came to the water side: they had left their carriage behind them fiae miles off: I landed with two hundred armed men, and went to meet them, to safegard them and their goods from the *Portugals*, which I doubted would doe their best to intercept them; we met them about some three miles off, and brought all in safetie aboard our ships, not seeing any *Portugals*.

Capt. Hawkins cometh aboard our ships.

The seuen and twentieth, I sent *John Williams* and one of our Factors to *Surat* vpon businesse. This day *Mockrib Can* came to Towne; he had been to meet a great Commander, which was comming from the warres of *Decan*, and was to passe by *Surat*. Before his going out of the Towne, he sent for M. *Jourdain*, and willed him to commend him to me, and to certifie me that he was to goe out of the Towne, but would not tarry out about three dayes, and at his returne he would be as good as his word, for what he had promised concerning our Factory. Now at his returne, he sends for him againe, and with a frowning countenance, contrary to his expectation, demands of him what he did there, and why were we not all gone: he answered, that hee staid vpon his word and promise that we should leaue a Factory, otherwise he had not been there: he said againe, we should haue no Factory there, and that the long staying of our shippes there, had hindered him in his Customes tenne hundred thousand manueys, and therefore in the Kings name charged them to be gone with speed out of the Towne: for neither trade nor Factorie was there to be had for vs. *John Williams* returned this morning, and two carts with prouisions came from *Surat*. The nine and twentieth, I sent for the Factors at *Surat* to doe as *Mockrib Can* commanded, to hast and come away, for that I would be gone.

# ¶ VI.

*His going to Dabul, and thence to the Red Sea, and enforced trade with the Guzerates.*

10 **T**He ninth of February in the morning, beeing calme, we warped ouer the sand with the *Increase*: had we not got ouer this tide, we had lost the whole Spring. This road of *Swally* standeth in the latitude of twentie degrees fifty seuen minutes: variation sixteene degrees thirty minutes. The eleuenth in the morning, we set sayle for the road of *Surat*, and anchored there in the afternoone, by a new ship of *Surat* lately launched, and came out of the Riuer, she was bound for the Red Sea. The latitude of this roade is twenty degrees fortie two minutes.

The road of Swally is in twenty degr. fiftie seuen min. Variation sixteen degrees thirty minutes.

60 The twelfth, we weighed and droue to the South-ward, & anchored two leagues from the road by a ship of *Calicut* bound for *Surat*, out of which ship I tooke a Pilot for *Dabul*. The thirteenth, we weighed & droue down; at noon came a gale Northerly: at the comming of the wind we had seuentene fathome: we halled off West by South, in twelue and foureteene fathome: after steered South West by West till foure a clocke; betweene which time wee had from foureteene to twentie fathome: vpon a sudden we came to eight fathome, and then to sixe, being then in my opinion from the ship that rid in the road of *Surat* tenne leagues: then we haled in East, and East by South three quarters of a mile, and found from sixe fathome to twentie againe: then wee steered South-west by South, till one a clocke after midnight, being for the most part against the tide. At that time the water shoaled in two casts from twentie to fifteene fathome, hauing run in nine houres some seuen leagues and a halfe: then we haled off three houres (being little wind)

till



Damon.

till we came to twentie fathome: then we steered South South-west, at which time we see the land, with two hammocks thereon, bearing East South-east some eight leagues off: which wee iudged to be *Damon*. At fixe in the euening, we haled in South South-east, the wind Northerly: it suddenly fell calme, and so continued till past midnight. This morning our latitude nineteene degrees fifteene minutes, hauing steered all night South by West, and our depths between twelue and fourteene fathome, five leagues off the shore, in the morning little wind, at noone came a gale; we steered South, the winde West North-west. In the euening being betweene foure and five leagues from the shore, we had thirteene fathome; at Sun-set we iudged our selues thwart of *Chaul*. We steered South all night with a faire gale of wind.

Chaul.

He arriveth at  
Dabull, and  
there hath  
Trade.

The sixteenth, wee steered alongst the coast South and by East, till six a clocke in the euening, keeping for the most part in ten fathome or there about, at which time we arrived in the Road of *Dabull*, which standeth in the latitude of seuentene degrees, two and fortie minutes, variation sixteene degrees and thirtie minutes.

The seuenteenth, the Pilot which I had out of the *Mallabar*, I sent ashore in a Fisher-boate with a letter which I had at my being at *Moha*, from *Mollich Abor*, Captaine or *Nobuda* of a great shippe of this place. The letter was to the Gouverneur, to intreat him to vse me kindly, and to Trade with me. In the afternoone, the Gouverneur and *Mellick Amber*, each of them sent me a small present of refreshing, and many complements, offering me any thing the Countrey did afford; and if I pleased to send ashore, he would deale with me for our commodities: I sent a couple of Merchants ashore with a good Present, who were bid kindly welcome, and well entertained whiles they were there.

The eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth (Boats passing each day betweene the shippes and shore) were spent about the sale of some goods, the particulars with each dayes businesse, I referre to the account of the Merchants, holding it not fit here to be expressed. By the three and twentieth, we had deliuered all our goods we had bargained for, and no hope of further sales in this place; I determined with all speed to be gone from hence.

The foure and twentieth, I called a Councell to aduise what we had best to do: I propounded whether it were better to goe from hence directly for *Priaman*, *Bantam*, &c. or to returne to the Red-sea, there to meete with such *Indian* shippes as should be bound thither, and for that they would not deale with vs at their owne doores, wee hauing come so farre with commodities fitting their Countrey, no where else in *India* vendable: I thought wee should doe our selues some right, and them no wrong, to cause them barter with vs, wee to take their Indicoes and other goods of theirs, as they were worth, and they to take ours in lieu thereof. All mens opinions were for the Red-sea, for diuers reasons. As first, the putting off our *English* goods, and hauing others in place thereof fitting our Countrey. Secondly, to take some reuenge of the great and vn sufferable wrongs and iniuries done me by the *Turkes* there. And the third and last, but not the least, to saue that ship, men and goods (which by way of *Massulipatan*) wee heard was bound for those parts; which we held vnpossible to escape betraying. These things considered, we concluded to goe backe for the Red-sea: from this day to the seuen and twentieth, wee spent in getting fresh water aboard: they had bought all my Red-lead, and it was carried ashore and deliuered, but afterwards disliking it, they returned it backe. In the euening we saw a ship in the Offing, two or three *Mallabars* which rid by vs, told vs there was a *Portugall* ship of *Cochin* bound for *Chaul*: I sent the *Pepper-corne*, *Darling* and *Frigat* to fetch her in to me.

A Portugall  
shippetaken.

The eight and twentieth, my men in the *Frigat* had pillaged them, which I tooke from them and returned to their owners: her lading was Coco-nuts, having little else in her. This day we spent in romaging the *Portugals* ship, I could find no bills of lading in her; some small matter I tooke from her, in regard of former iniuries offered me by the Captaine *Maioir Don Francisco de Soto maior* at the barre of *Surat*, as namely, taking my goods, and hindering my Trade. In that I sustained no further harme by them, it was not for lack of good will, but lacke of meanes, as manifestly appeared by letters of the Vice-roy and others, which came to my hands by chance; what I had from them, I haue vnder the hands of the chiefe men in her.

March 24.  
Zacotora.

Anno 1612.

Currents.

The foure and twentieth of March wee had sight of the Iland *Zacotora*, and at foure in the afternoone, the point of *Dellashaw* bore South South-west six leagues off, variation nineteene degrees. From the foure and twentieth at noone till this day at noone, wee steered North-west and by West, and West North-west, and West all night, thinking by day-light to haue bene neare the Westermost part of the Iland; but contrary to our expectation, wee found wee had gone little a head, hauing had a faire gale, which shewes we haue had a great currant against vs. From noone till foure in the next morning, wee steered alongst the land with little wind, and then it fell calme, the currant carrying vs directly vpon a rocke, which lyeth foure or five leagues from the wester part of *Loccatra*: we were forced to anchor till we had a gale to carry vs from it; about two houres after came the wind Easterly, wee weighed and stood to the Westward, and at noone we were foure leagues from the Rocke, here wee found a currant setting to the Northward.

The seuen and twentieth, we steered West South-west, we met with a great currant setting to the



the Northward; in the morning we were thwart of *Abba del Curia*, and before night had sight of *Cape Guadaſui*, being ſome ſeven leagues off: from yeſterday noone till this day night, our courſe Weſt South-weſt, we might go in that time eight and twentie leagues our true way Weſt little Southerly: we ſtood in till midnight, and then hailed cloſe of a wind to the Southward, and ſo ſpent the night till day.

*Abba del Curia.*

The eight and twentieth, by eight of the clock we were faire by the ſhore, mid-way between the two Capes of *Guadaſui* & *Felux*.

*Cape de Guadaſui.*

The ſecond of Aprill, Maſter *Pemberton* came aboard of me, and told mee that he had been at *Soccatora*, and the King ſhewed him a writing left there by Captaine *Iohn Saris* (who was General of three ſhips) wherein he related what time he came out of *England*, his places of reſreſhing by the way, and his arrivall there; as alſo his proceeding to the Red-ſea to ſeeke Trade; ſpecifying likewiſe that he had peruſed a writing left there by mee, wherein were alleged many reaſons to diſſwade him from going thither; yet hauing the *Gran Signiors Paſſe*, he hoped of better entertainment then I had. Hearing this vnexpected newes, I called a Councell to aduiſe what we had beſt doe; whereabout we ſpent but ſmall time, for that we were quickly reſolved to proceed as formerly we had determined, hauing now no other way left: for backe we could not returne till the Weſterly wind were come, which could not be before midde May. Whereupon I preſently diſpeeded Captaine *Nicholas Downton*, and left him in the *Pepper-corne* to tarrie there abouts till the fifth of this moneth, for the keeping of the Port of *Aden*. And I with the *Trades-Increase* and *Darling* to keepe the two-fold entrance of *Babbe/mandell*. We ſteered from thence with the head of *Aden*, being about ſeven leagues off: about foure in the evening wee were thwart of *Aden*: this evening variation thirteene degrees and ſortie minutes latitude of *Aden*, twelue degrees and fortie ſeven minutes.

Aprill 2, 1612.  
Captaine Iohn Saris.

*Aden in twelue degrees, ſeuen and ſortie minutes.*

The third, from foure a clocke the ſecond day, till this day morning little wind, wee ſteered alongſt the Channell Weſt by North, and Weſt North-weſt, towards the heat of the day it began to blow, we continued our courſe as before. About Sun-ſet we anchored in twentie fathome foure leagues ſhort of the *Bab*, where we rid till the next morning.

The fourth, in the morning about eight a clocke we weighed and ſet ſaile, and about ten in the forenoone wee anchored within *Bab-mandell* in eight fathome water. Faire by the Channell which wee came in at, is halfe a league ouer betweene the maine of *Arabia* and the Iland. Preſently at our comming to an anchor, there came a Boat from the ſhore aboard of me, wherein was a *Turke* and three or foure *Arrabian* ſouldiers. This *Turke* was chiefe of the place, ſent by the *Aga* of *Moha* to guard it. He promiſed that if I would haue a letter ſent, he would preſently diſpatch a foot-poſte away, who ſhould returne within three dayes with anſwere, whereupon I writ a letter to Captaine *Saris* at *Moha*, wherein I certified him the cauſe of my comming, and what I determined to doe.

*Babmandell.*

The ſixth, came in a *Ialba* of *Zela*, a place without the *Bab*, vpon the *Habaſhe* ſhoare, bound for *Moha*: her loding was Mats. I bought of her twelue ſheepe, and ſo permitted them to depart. This day much raine.

The ſeuenth, came in a ſhip of *Baſanor*, in the morning early before day, which I cauſed to come to anchor by me, one of Captaine *Saris* Merchants called *Richard Wickam*, came this morning with Letters from his Captaine, the effect thereof I omit to write here. I returned him anſwere thereof, by a *Turke* which came in his company, but *Wickam* I ſtayd with me, for that I doubted they of *Moha* would haue kept him Priſoner, for that I imbarqued the *India* ſhips.

A ſhip of *Baſanor*.  
Letters from  
Captaine *Saris*.

The eight, in the after-noone came in a ſhip of *Dix*, (bound for *Moha*) I ſent off my Frigate to fetch her in, who brought her to an Anchor by me. This was the ſame ſhip I detayned the laſt yeare in *Moha* Roade. This day we romaged theſe two fore-ſaid ſhips, and tooke out of them ſuch goods as were for our purpoſe, which were brought aboard me.

A ſhip of *Dix*.

The ninth, came in a ſmall Frigate of *Shaber*, laden with courſe *Ollibanum*, wee bought ſome part thereof, and paid them Rials for it to their content: we continued romaging the *India* ſhips for more goods. The eleuenth, I ſtayd a ſmall Barke of *Sinde*.

A Frigate of  
*Shaber*.  
A Barke of  
*Sinde*.  
Noce.

Note that euer ſince our comming into the *Bab* till this twelfth day, the wind kept ſtill vpon the South-eaſt quarter; but now at North-weſt, and likely to blow hard: the laſt yeare the ſame day the wind came vp at North-weſt, and continued ſo for three dayes. This courſe the wind holds euery yeare: the reſt of the day, and the next we ſpent in moring of our ſhip, as alſo the *Indian* ſhips which were readie to driue aſhore, had not we layd out moring for them, the wind blowing hard at North-weſt.

The fourteenth, came Captaine *Saris* into the Road about eight in the morning, and anchored by me with his three ſhippes. They ſaluted me with their Ordnance, and I them; Captaine *Saris*, Captaine *Towerſon*, and Maſter *Cox* (their chiefe Merchant) came aboard of me, where we ſpent all that day in friendly communication: I acquainted him with my great lacke of Cables, which he promiſed to ſupply. At night they departed to their ſhips, Captaine *Saris* inuiting me and others the next day to dinner with him.

Captaine *Saris*  
and his Fleete  
of three ſhips.

The fifteenth, I went aboard the *Cloue*, where I and thoſe which came with me were kindly enterteyned,



The *Gran Signiors* Passe.

This Passe I haue of Cap-  
taine *Savis* his  
gift.

A ship of Ca-  
licut.

A ship of Ca-  
rapatan.

A ship of Ca-  
nanor.

The *Hassain* of  
*Surat*.

Another shippe  
of *Surat*.

A ship of *Diu*.

A ship of *Dabul*.

A small ship of  
Calicut.

A Frigate of  
*Shehor*.

A great ship of  
*Diu*.

The *Rhemy* a  
great ship of  
*Surat*.

\* Plentie of  
Pilgrime Mer-  
chants, which  
it seemes the  
Iesuites haue  
learned in  
these parts of  
the *Saraccens*,

which in all the  
*Indies* aduance  
the Affaires of  
State and Mer-  
chandise to  
their Coun-  
treys, & wealth  
to their Com-  
panies, vnder  
colour of pre-  
aching the Go-  
spell; as this  
Booke yeelds  
many Witnes-  
ses.

The Road of  
*Affab*.

entertayned, he shewed me the *Gran Signiors* Passe, and read it to me. Many words passed be-  
twixt vs, he promising to himselfe much good Trade at *Moba* if I had not come, which my ex-  
perience found to the contrarie. At last wee agreed and sealed it in Writings interchangeable,  
that he should haue one third part of what should be taken, paying for the same as I did, for the  
seruice of his three ships in the Action: leauing the disposing of the ships afterward to me, who  
had sustayned the wrongs.

The sixteenth, came in two ships, I sent my Frigate and brought them to anchor by mee, the  
one was of *Calicut*, laden with Rice, bound for *Moba*, the other was of *Carapatan*, laden with  
Pepper, which ship came from *Achen*; and was bound for *Aden*, but by Captaine *Downton* being  
chased to Lee-ward of the place, they determined to goe for *Moba*. This *Carapatan* is a place  
neere *Dabul*, they being subiects to the same King.

The eighteenth, came in a ship of *Cananor* bound for *Moba*, she came from *Achen*, her lading  
for the most part Pepper.

The nineteenth, came in two ships of *Surat*, the one called the *Hassain*, belonging to *Abdela-  
san*, bound for *Zidda*, the other a small ship of my old friend *Hoia Nassan*, bound for *Moba*. I  
caused them to anchor by me, taking their Sayles from their yards, and kept some of the chiefe  
men aboard of me; by them we vnderstood the Great *Mogols* Mothers ship, called the *Rhemy*,  
was shortly to come.

The twentieth, came in a ship of *Diu*, laden with *India* Commodities, bound for *Moba*, and  
presently after came in a ship of *Dabul*: shee passed by vs, I sent my Pinnasse after her, which  
caused them to come to an Anchor.

The one and twentieth, I sent away Passengers out of the *Surat* ships: about noone came in a  
small ship of *Calicut*, bound for *Moba*, which ship we stayd.

The two and twentieth, came in a Frigate of *Shehor*, which came from *Goa*, bound for *Zidda*,  
laden with grosse *Ollibanum*: and presently after came in sight a great shippe which passed the  
great Channell, and was chased by the *Darling*, who caused her to anchor by the *Hector*, she was  
of *Diu*, bound for *Swaken*, laden with *India* Commodities.

The three and twentieth, came in the *Rhemy* of *Surat*, the *Queene Mothers* ship laden with  
*India* Commodities bound for *Zidda*; she was stayed with the rest. In this ship were fiftene  
hundred persons. In the after-noon, I made signe to the *Darling* to come to mee, which pre-  
sently she perceiued and came; I deliuered each ship their Sayles, and willed them in the mor-  
ning betimes to be ready to saile with me, for that I would go to Lee-ward to the Road of *Affab*.

The foure and twentieth, we weighed and set saile from the *Bab*, and all the *India* ships with  
vs: leauing the *Thomas* and *Darling*, to ply vp to the *Bab*, and went for the Roade of *Affab*:  
we arriued at *Crab* Island about five a clocke, and came to an Anchor with all the Fleet, in twelue  
fathome water; where we rid all night, the wind at South South-west.

The five and twentieth, in the morning wee weighed and all the Fleet, and stood in for the  
Road of *Affab*, and about one of the clock we came to an Anchor in seuen and a half of fathoms.

The seuen and twentieth, we fetched good store of *Indicos* out of the ships of *Surat* and *Diu*,  
the *Cloue* being in the offing in sight, plying to and fro, and not seeing vs, I caused the Gunner to  
shoot off a Peece of Ordnance: which they hearing, answered mee with another, and presently  
bore vp for the Road.

## CHAP. XII.

NICHOLAS DOWNTON Captaine of the Pepper-Corne, a Ship of  
two hundred and fiftie Tunnes, and Lieutenant in the sixth Voyage to the  
East-Indies, set forth by the said Company, his Iournall, or  
certaine Extracts thereof.

### §. I.

Their comming to Saldania and thence to Socatora.

July, 22 1611.



He two and twentieth of July, at foure in the after-noon, wee had sight of the  
Table and point of *Saldania*, bearing East, distant twelue leagues, but by reason  
of calmes and vncertaine winds, it was the foure and twentieth day before wee  
were mored in the Roade, where we found three *Hollanders*, one whereof was  
bound for *Bantam*, and in her *Peter But* Generall of thirteene Saile outwards  
bound, who hauing spent his maine Mast, and lost company of his Fleet, put in-  
to



to the Road for to refresh his sicke men. The other two hauing made traine of *Scales* at *Penguin Island* bound home.

*Saldania* is a Bay some fourteene leagues North North-east, from the Cape *Bona Speranza*, Bay of *Saldania* and North by West ten leagues from Cape *Falso*, which is East-ward of the former, and may both be seene in the said Bay: these two Capes are also diuided by another great Bay, the distance betweene these two Bayes, is some three leagues being low marshie ground, extending South and North, which on either side is inuironed with Mountaines. In this Bay of *Saldania*, when you haue brought the Norther point thereof, West North-west, North-west and by West, for a small ship North-west, thwart of the ledge of rockes (or watering place) neere the shore, which will be laid (as it were) in the swampe betweene the high Mountaines, called the *Table* and the *Sugar-loafe*, in fixe, fise, or foure fathome according to the draught of your shippe, in cleane ground, and good anchor-hold you may safely ride. *Penguin Island* with his ledge distant three leagues off, bearing North North-west halfe West, and stretching to the North and by West of you in the road. The maine land also, though it be thirteene leagues distant, trendeth a way to the West and by West, so that there is little about three points open to let in the North-west Sea, which is the greatest stormes. *Saldania* hauing in former time been comfortable to all our Nation traueilling this way, both outwards and home-wards, yeelding them abundance of flesh, as Sheepe and Beeues brought downe by the Saluage Inhabitants, and sold for trifles, as a Beife for a piece of an Iron hoope of foureteene inches long, and a Sheepe for a lesser piece, whereby weake sicke men in former Voyages haue been easily recouered and made strong: now contrariwise, whether our Trade here were spoyled by the *Dutchmen* we here found, who vse to spoyle all places where they come (onely respecting their owne present occasions) by their ouer-much liberalitie; or whether the Cattell in former times so abundantly brought downe, were preyes taken by warres from one another, or other differences which might make them greedy of yron, to make heads for their Launces or Darts, which now by peace or reconciliation they haue little need of; the true cause, for want of vnderstanding in their language, I know not. But well I found, that all the demises we could vse by bribes or otherwise to them, which daily came downe to our tents in faire weather, would procure nothing from them for our sicke mens reliefe, but foure Cowes, and those foure Cowes which we did buy, were so old and leane, that there was but little goodnesse in the flesh; for which they would take no yron, but thin pieces of Copper of fixe inches square, and some seuen sheep at peice three inches square of copper, cut out of a Kettle, whereof they make rings by fixe or eight together, which they weare on their armes, which being bright and smooth, vnto them seemeth very braue.

These people are the filthiest for the vſage of their bodies, that euer I haue seene or heard of: for besides the naturall vncleanness (as by sweat or otherwise) whereto all people are subiect, which the most by washing cleare themselves of, contrariwise this people doe augment, by anointing their bodies with a filthy substance, which I suppose to be the iuice of herbes which on their body sheweth like Cow-dung, and on their wool of their heads is so baked, like a scurfe of greene herbes. For apparrell, they weare before their priuities the taile of a Cat, or some other small beast, and a cloake made of a sheeps-skin, reaching downe to the middle of their thighs; and according to the weather, they turne some time the hairy side, and sometimes the drest side to their bodies.

Their Sheep haue no wooll, but haire, and are partie-coloured like Calues; their legges are longer, and their bodies larger then our sheepe in *England*, but not so fat. The Principall of these people weare about the bight of their armes, a thin flat ring of Ivory, beeing very smooth, and wrought compasse neere sixteene inches wide, and on their wrists some fixe, eight, tenne, or twelue rings of Copper, bright and smooth, all either fastned together, or wrought in one. Other toyes also, as Bracelets of blue glasse, and pearle shels, which are either presented them, or by idle people giuen them for *Estridge* eggshels, for quills of Porcupines, which without restraint the *Dutchmen* did ordinarily buy, also an other most strange and filthy wearing, to what purpose I know not, as the guts of Cattell about their neckes, which makes them smell like a Butchers slaughter-house. In their hands they carrie a small Lance or Dart, that hath a small yron head, and a few *Estridges* feathers as a fan to keepe away the flies: they haue also Bowes and arrowes, but when they came downe to vs, they would leaue them in some hole or bush by the way. They are straight made people, and nimble of foote, it seemeth that their habitation is moouable, to places of best pasture for their Cattell, as in the Valley betweene the Mountaines, whose tops (farre vp into the Countrey) were couered with snow at this time, but those neere the Sea-side are cleare thereof, notwithstanding they are very high.

Wild beasts there are of diuers sorts, but these we haue seene, Fallow-deare, Antilopes, Porcupines, land Tortesses, Baboones, (also the *Dutchmen* told vs of Lyons, but wee saw none) Snakes, and Adders.

Fowles also abundance, to wit, Wild-geese, Duckes, Pellicans, *Passea*, *Flemingos*, and Crowes, which haue in their neckes, as it were, a white band, and small birds greene coloured, and diuers other sorts vknowne. Also Sea-fowles, to wit *Penguins*, *Gulls*, *Pentados*, which are spotted

Prouisio more scarce at *Saldania* then in times past, and why.

Filthy people and loathsome.

*Saldania* sheep. Jewels and Ornaments.

Wild Beasts.

Fowles.



ted blacke and white; also a grey fowle, the Pinions whereof are blacke, which the *Portugals* call *Alcatrasses*, and Shags or Cormorants at the Iland in great abundance, and an other kind of fowle like Moore-hennes.

Great numbers  
of smal Whales

Fishes there are of diuers sorts, but these following haue I seene, to wit, in faire weather there are a small sort of Whales in great numbers; at the Iland Seales in great abundance. With the Saine, we tooke fish like Millets, being as large as a Trought, Smelts, Thornebackes, and Doggs; and on the Rockes, Limpets, and Mussels abundance. In the fresh water the *Vnions* men caught with a Saine, abundance of Millets, as when we met with them they told vs. It is a very wholesome aire, and aboundeth with good fresh water, both for filling in the roade, and for trauellers in the land, which in small streames descendeth from the Mountaines.

The Table.

One morning by my instigation, my Generall and I, accompanied with thirteene men more, whereof foure were small shot, went to see if we could find place where we might cut wood; and beeing gone some three miles, and finding none but small Greene wood, whereof we in the *Peper-corne*, by reason of our great want, were forced to cut: my Generall desirous to get refreshing for our weake sicke men, determined to walke about the *Table*, to see if wee could see any Cattell, that we might by any meanes buy for our reliefe, not thinking it would haue beene so long a iourney, where we past through a most vneasie, vnequall, stony, vnbeaten (and as it were) ouergrowne wildernesse, wherein often we were to descend and ascend, through many deep and hollow water-courses, ouer growne with trees from side to side, which were made with the raines swift descent from the hill called the *Table*, and after a while found a beaten path (where in we past, seeing many pens wherein Cattell had been kept) which for that it lead from-wards our ship, we were forced to leaue, and againe had a most vile tiresome trauell for a while, till we hit into another path, which led along the Mountaines towards the roade, and hauing past a while betweene the Mountaines, as neere as they would giue vs leaue, still following the beaten path which was our best guide, at length we passed ouer in the Swamp, betweene the Southermost *Sugar-loafe*, and the *Table*, at which time we had sight of the Sea side, alongst which wee went ouer the sides of the Clifles, which at length we forsooke, going by iudgement East towards the Swamp, between the Northermost *Sugar-loafe* and *Table*, where in the morning (after we had rested our selues a little by a fire) we made haste, and past ouer the aforesaid Swampe; and before breake of day we came to our Tents, where we found all our men that could be spared, disturbedly in armes, diuided into two Companies, the one halfe vnder M. *Thornton*, the other vnder M. *Pemberton*, determining at day light to separate themselves, and againe to meete on the other side of the *Table*, to goe and seeke vs, which intent our approach did preuent, refreshing our selues with what our friends had prepared for their intended iourney. All the day we kept the *Table* on our right hand, and the Marsh on our left hand, which neere the Mountaines is much pestered with rockes, which haue fallen from the top of the Mountaine. It is moist ground, and seemeth to be good pasture for Cattell. In diuers places scatteringly wee sawe some trees of small stature, somewhat broad topped, bearing a fruit in bignesse and proportion like a Pine-apple; but the huske not so hard, and spungie, the seed whereof were deuoured by the birds, and the husks remaining on the trees, the leaues whereof were in forme of our Housleeke in England, but not so chicke.

Garden-seeds  
to be set at  
Saldania.

At this time was their Spring, both Trees and Herbes blowing ouer the earth. It much repenteth me that I came vnprovided of all sorts of Garden-seeds, which might be helpfull or necessary for reliefe of any Christians, which hereafter might come hither, which though the Saluages should somewhat spoyle, yet euery Christian Captaine would seeke to augment, and re-edifie the same. Also Acornes, which in time may doe good to posteritie, for trees are not here so long in growing, as in our cold Countreys. I will not contradict all such as vwill esteeme it more idlenesse in me, to wish to sow where it is many to one I shall neuer reape; yet for my selfe I esteeme it more idlenesse in me, that I had not bin so prouident as to haue sought means in England to haue performed the same. And I would to God I could or had meanes, to leaue a profitable remembrance for Christian Trauellers vnto the ende of the world, in any place where I shall come.

They depart  
from Saldania.

Now hauing to our vtmost endeaours here finished all our necessary busineses, to wit, watering, and somewhat relieved our weake sicke men with what refreshing wee could get, which was principally Mussels, we prepared our ships to set saile the ninth of August, which by contrary winds was crossed, vntill the thirteenth day following.

The thirteenth of August at foure in the morning, we set saile from the roade of *Saldania*, hauing the wind faire at South South-east: and at sixe a clocke in the afternoone, the Cape *Bona Speranza* bore South-east, distant sixteene leagues.

Cape des Aguilhas.

The sixteenth in the morning, Cape *Bona Speranza* bore North-west and by West, distant twelue leagues, and by foure a clocke in the afternoone, wee had brought the Cape *Aguilhas* North-east sixteen leagues distant, our course being South-east. The eighteenth day, little wind, but an high Sea flowering on the top like a breach in shoald water. The nineteenth, we had a very strong gale of wind.

The



The sixth of September, at three of the clocke, wee discied the Iland of *Madagascar*, or *S. Laurence*, in the latitude of twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes, and at fixe a clocke we anchored in twelue fathome water in the bay of *S. Augustine*, where we found the *Vnion* of *London*, the Vice-Admirall of the fourth Voyage (whose people was distressed, wanting victuals to carry them home) who related vnto my Generall, their infortunate loosing company with their Admirall and Pinnaffe betweene *Saldania*, and the Cape *Bona Speranza*, and neuer since heard of them, how they put into this bay, outward bound to seeke them, followed also after them, and put into *Zanzibar*, (an Iland bordering on the *Abaxin* coast) where the *Portugals* made shewes of fauour and trade, inticing them to land with their boat, where they betrayed and tooke three of their men; the rest seeing the danger, fled with the boat vnto the ship, who proceeded on their iourney, till with contrary winds, before they could recover any fit Port, for want of water they were forced to return towards the bay of *Antongil* on the East South-east side of *Madagascar*, but the wind or the course not suiting with their determination, they put into a good Harbor or Bay of *Iungomar*, on the North-west corner of *Madagascar*, where they were a while fed with good words, and faire promises, and kind entertainment by the King; that in short time the Cape Merchant, in hope of trade for Ambergreece and other things, grew so conceited of this heathen Kings plaine meaning, that at the Kings request went not alone to him, but perswaded his Captaine and other Merchants to accompanie him, who being brought to the Kings presence, hee sent also for the Chirurgion, Trumpet, and Drum, who refusing to goe to him presently, there sallied out of the woods a great number of people, which attempted to force the boat and men in her, with Darts, Arrowes and Lances, who perceiuing themselves preuented by the good care and endeauours of them in the Boat, they pursued the Boat with armed *Canoas* out of the river, vntill by many shot from the ship she was rescued. And few dayes after while they lingred in hope of some good newes from their Captaine and Merchants, they attempted the ship with a demy army of some hundred *Canoas*, which came in order and forme of an halfe Moone, which to preuent brought themselves vnder saile, and shooke them off, and departed on their iourney. It seemed that they could not fetch *Socatra*, or the Master vnwilling to go to the Red Sea, or *Surat*, but went to *Achin*, and there dealt for some fit commodities with the *Guzerates*, & from thence to *Priaman* to lade Pepper: where the Merchant made bargaine to receiue it at *Tecco*, an Iland three leagues distant from *Priaman*, at fiteene, foureteene, and thirteene Ryals and an halfe of eight by the Bahar of Pepper, euery Bahar is three hundred and twelue there. This ship the Generall plentifully supplied with victuals, for whose reliefe he made the longer stay; he also vniited them in loue one vnto another, who at our comming in were diuided, to wit, *Samuel Bradshaw* for his sober, discreet, and prouident carriage in the Companies busines much enuied by their factious Master, and his adherents; whom wee left in the said Bay, as seeming louers and friends.

In this Bay we continued seuentie houres; it is for the most part all deepe water, and vncertaine, no ground in diuers places (by diuers reports) in two hundred fathome; by vs further examining of deeps had beene in vaine, but we found all the South shore in a manner, from the Wester point to the high Cliffe-land, all flat rockie, whose ledges are to be seene dry at the low water. At the Easter end of the rockes neere the cliffe, wee anchored in twelue fathome, and might haue rid neerer the shore in seuen fathome: we came in out of the Sea with a strong gale at South South-west, but comming neere vnto the land, the wind grew duller, yet blew reasonable fresh in the day, but in the night ordinarily calme the time we were there; but that beeing the newe Moone, which makes the fowlest weather in the Countreyes, I cannot say of other times. On the land it seemes alwaies to be very hot, especially when the Sunne is to the South-wards of the Equinoctiall.

In this place are two trees of diuers kinds, some so full of fat sappe, that fire beeing put to it as it standeth greene, of it selfe it will runne vp, blazing in the leaues and branches: the Timber is soft, and the leaues and boughes yeelds a yellow sap. An other sort also of trees, whose timber is neere as hard as *Lignum vita*, and of colour white, with a small brown heart, whether any kind of white Saunders I know not: that wood which we cut off for fire-wood in the *Peppercorne*, which was the most plentiful of any sort there, did all hang trased with cods of greene fruit (as big as a Bean-cod in *England*) called *Tamerim*: it hath a very sowre tast, and by the Apothecaries is held good against the Scuruie; our Admiralls men who had more leasure gathered some as it was greene, for their particular vses. Here is also plentie of an herbe (which for his forme is scarce to be discerned from a *Semperviuum*) whereof the Alloes, called *Alloes Socatrina* is made of all sorts, but I know not whether these saluage people haue either the knowledge or the vse thereof.

The people, by what occasion I know not, forbore to come to vs, so that wee gat no kind of Cattell for refreshing, neither beife nor mutton, whereof others heretofore haue been offered for a Ryall of eight an Oxe; but now it is said, that for want of gouernment in the *Vnion*, when any was brought downe, what the Factor did prouidently forbore to keepe downe the price, dis-

A a a

ordered

*Madagascar* or *S. Laurence*, in the latitude of 23. degr. 38. minutes.

Three of the *Vnions* men betrayed by the *Portugals* at *Zanzibar*.

Or *Vingamora*. The Captaine of the *Vnion* with the Cape Merchant and others betrayed at *Iungomar* in *Madagascar*.

They attempt the taking of the *Vnion*, with an armie of 100. armed *Canoas*.

The *Vnion* left in the Bay of *S. Augustine*, Septemb. 9. 1610. bound for *England*.

Strange trees.

*Semperviuum*.



Disordered  
bartering hurt-  
full.  
Note.

ordered fellowes for their owne particular, gaue what the saluages demanded; so that now they can scarce get any for tenne shillings a piece. It seemes, that in all places of this Iland, men must stand vpon their guard, for the people are treacherous. Yet by report, stout and valiant, and not ignorant in ordering of their people in battell array, as it seemed by their order at *Gungmar*, when they assaulted the *Vnion*. Their weapons are Bowes and arrowes, Lances, and small Darts which they carry in bundles.

Now hauing performed all our necessary busineses, as wooding and watering, and relieved our Countrey-men to the utmost of our powers, we set saile out of the said Bay.

September.

The ninth day of September, at foure a clocke after-noon, we set saile out of the Bay of *S. Augustine*, leauing the *Vnion* there as afore-said.

Note.

The one and twentieth, the wind beeing at East South-East, and the Current by my iudgement setting South-west, wee were intangled with a Lee-shore, which we called the *Carribas*, which are diuers small Ilands, of which also lieth diuers ledges of Rockes that are by the breach of the Sea onely discerned; and spent sixe dayes before we could quit our selues of them, beeing betweene tenne and eleuen degrees South latitude.

Mozambique.

This Coast lieth neereft North-easterly, and South-westerly, and the wind all these sixe daies betweene the East North-east, and East South-east; so that against our wills wee were still forced to Lee-ward, though by towing with our Boates, and otherwise, we endeauoured to get off. This place by my iudgement may be to the North-ward of *Mozambique*, somewhat more then seuentie leagues: by night for the most part we were neereft those dangers, which were alwaies betweene vs and the shore, that wee could neuer discouer neere the maine, nor giue any good iudgement of the distances betweene Iland and Iland, neither set them downe their true forme.

Current.  
October.

The greatest danger is in the strength of the Current setting on, and no place to anchor in, beeing deepe water close aboard the Rockes; and though somewhat neere these Rockes you haue ground, yet it is so deepe and foule ground, that there is no anchoring; and on the Norther part hereof, though by my estimation wee were little more then two leagues from the shore, yet wee had no ground in an hundred and fiftie fathome. These are sandy Ilands, and (for the most part) were full of Trees. After it grewe darke euery night, wee might see the fires on shore made by the Countrey-people, but wee had no list to spend so much time as to goe on shore to speake with them. After it pleased God that we had once got cleare of these dangers, wee to our great admiration, found the Current to carry vs to the North-wards, as much more as by our iudgement the shippe went: as when by our iudgement wee might goe some fiftene leagues, we went thirty leagues. The second of October we had much raine.

The ninth, we found the Current to cease, except it set to the East-wards, which we could not discern. The tenth, eleuenth, and twelfth, we found our selues to loose euery day, more and more by the Current.

Duas Irmãos.

The seuententh at Sun-rising, wee descried two Ilands, which for their likelihood are called the *Duas Irmãos* (or the two sisters) which lie one from the other West by South, and East by North, and are distant from the West point of *Zacotora* some seauen leagues and an halfe; we steering North North-east with the West point of *Zacotora*, had these depths, twentie three, twenty foure, and twentie sixe fathome, distant from the said point some three leagues and an halfe. After wee had got about the Wester point, wee found the wind to shorten, so that it would not permit vs to leade it alongt the coast, but by the helpe of a Current we were put off, the Admirall and the *Darling* anchored in twelue fathome, while I in the *Pepper-corne*, through calmes, and a gale of the land, could not get into shoald water to anchor in, till the ninth day at noone, what time wee anchored in twelue fathome, neere to a Towne called *Gallanzee*, and toward the coole of the euening, I went with the Pinnasse and Saine, vnto a low sandie point, thwart the Admirall and *Darling*, a league to the East-ward of our Shippe, to trie to get Fish for refreshing of our people; hoping in the coole of the Euening there to meete with my Generall, which fell out accordingly to my desire, God blessing vs with abundance of Fish, which serued all the whole Fleete two meales, and much longer if it would haue kept. Heere my Generall informed mee, how that the people with whom in the Morning hee had spoken, had confirmed that which hee greatly doubted: which to our grieve would prolong our Voyage: which was, that the Easterly Monson was already come, and all our hopes of getting to *Cambaya* were frustrate for this nine Moneths, of which wee expected to bee better informed by the King at *Tamcrin*, the place of his residence.

Abundance of  
fish.

Tamcrin.

The twentieth day being Saturday, we anchored at a point neare six leagues short of *Tamcrin*, and five leagues from the point of *Gallanzee*, which we did by the helpe of a Sea-turne, which continued long that night, but not contented by gaining and holding that place, till we could by day bee better aduised, by reason of an edy tide by the shore on the West-side; by the shore where



where wee rode, on the West-side thereof, which forced our sternes to wind-ward, and a little flattering gale of the land, wee weighed, and were forced off into the Currant: So that the one and twentieth day wee were carried backe thwart of the Towne of *Gallanza*, and farre off in great depth.

The two and twentieth, we in the *Pepper-Corne* were like to haue bin put cleane off the Iland, but the Admirall and *Darling* got into shoald water, and there anchored, and about two a clock I also anchored in the Bay Westward of *Gallanza* in six fathom, & presently went on shore with my Pinnasse, carrying *Barricos* to seeke fresh water; going with a flagge of truce, to see if any of the Inhabitants would come to mee, for I earnestly desired to speake with some of them, in hope to haue procured some Goates, or other refreshing for our people, but none, as it seemeth, durst come to vs, for feare of the Kings displeasure, who will haue nothing sold to any stranger, but from himselfe; it seemeth he would haue none of his people haue to doe with any strangers, but that all intelligences, allowances, for fresh victuals and prises, must come from himselfe, as afterwards I found, though now I wondered to see the people stand as farre off in troupes, and came not neare vs, which made me thinke they had spies attending on them by the Kings order to be the cause. So at night hauing filled thirteene *Barricos* of water, I returned aboard: this night being a high water at nine of the clocke, at a full Moone, I esteemed it flowed vpright, betweene ten and eleuen foote; all the time of flowing the streame sets to the Northward, I meane close by the shore: and with the ebbe and a small gale of the shore, we set saile, and stretcht it alongst the shore some foure or fve mile, thwart of the sandy Bay of our fishing, and neare our Admirall, and finding the Currant there to set off to the Westward, we anchored till the next helpe of the tide or wind.

The fve and twentieth being Thursday, as the wind serued we set saile, and about eleuen of the clocke we anchored in eight fathome, a mile from the land, right against the Towne of *Tamarin*, where the Kings house is North from the Casile, on the top of the hill aboue the Towne; at our anchoring the Generall shot off fve peeces of Ordnance, I three, and the *Darling* one. The Generall sent Master *Femell* on land, handsomely attended with the Pinnasse, fitted with a red Crimfon tilt, presenting the King with a Present, which was from the Generall, a faire gift Cup of ten ounces, a Sword-blade, and three yards of Stammell broadcloath. The King to receiue them, had by the water-side in readinesse fitted, an Orrange-tawny coloured Tent, where he sate attended on by the principall of his Countrey-men, the *Arabs* and a guard of small shot; they continued conference more then an houre: hee thankfully receiued the Generalls Present, bade him welcome, shewing desire to see him on land, promising him water free, and what else the Iland did afford, at reason, according to the drought of the Iland, which continued two yeeres without raine; for Alloes not a pound to be had, his owne Frigat being gone to sell it in the Red-sea. For the *Ascension*, he saith, came first hither in the moneth of February, and finding a *Guzerat* ship here, within eight dayes shee departed in her company towards the Red-sea, and eight dayes after came in her Pinnasse, who made no stay, but followed her Admirall, and in Iuly, both the *Ascension* and Pinnasse returned out of the Red-sea to *Zacatora*, where they hastened to take in water: and soone after departed towards *Cambaya*. Further hee saith, that his Frigat being at the Port of *Bazain*, neere *Damon* in *India*, they were informed by the *Portugals*, that the said shippe and Pinnasse arriuing on the Coast too soone, before the Winter and foule weather was past, were both cast away, but the men saued. The King sent the Generall a Present of twelue Goates.

The six and twentieth being Friday, my Generall went well attended on, and with a guard to visit the King; our ships gaue him, as before, fve; three and one peeces of Ordnance, and hee was receiued on land by the Kings order, with ten great shot, & otherwise he was receiued by the King, in orderly and ciuill sort, and had both for him and his followers so good cheere provided, as the place could presently afford: but the King shewed no willingnes that we should here make any longer abode, for he would not yeeld that wee should set vp our Pinnasse heere; his excuse was this: that neither his own ship, nor any other, as the *Guzerat*, which he hath great profit by, dare not come into this place while we are heere: and further, I suppose the time we stay heere is very chargeable to him in this respect; for to shew the strength of his Towne, he hath drawne downe the *Arabs* and others from all parts of the Land, and while they stay heere, they liue on his charge, which I thinke is the only occasion he would haue our abience: this day wee filde a great part of our water. Saturday, we almost made an end of watering out of a pond, fed by springs descending from the hilles. Sunday our people went on land to recreate themselves, and did no other businesse.

This King of *Zacatora* is called *Mulli Amore Bensaide*, and now is here but Vice-roy vnder his father, who is King of *Fartac* in *Arabia* not far from *Aden*, and comes into the sea at *Camricam*. Hee saith, that his father holds warre against the *Turkes* of *Aden*, in his owne defence, for hee denied vs a letter to the Gouvernour of *Aden*, saying, hee would not doe vs so much wrong. The people that he vseth for his Honor and strength in *Zocatra*, are the *Arabs*, the rest



that liue in most seruile flauery, are the old Inhabitants of the Iland, which haue been banished people.

How *Alloes* is  
made.

*Sanguis Draco-*  
*ni.*

There is for Merchandize growing vpon *Zoccatra*, *Alloes Soccatrina*, which they make about August, of an herbe like vnto *Semper-vina*, which we haue in *Spaine*, but no great quantitie, not passing a Tunne in a yeere; there is a small quantitie of *Sanguis Draconis*, or Dragons blood, a little whereof our Factors bought at twelue pence a pound. And Dates which serue them for bread, which the King sells at five Rialls of eight by the hundred. Cattell for mans sustenance these, Bulls and Cowes at twelue Rialls of eight a piece, Goats at one Riall a piece, Sheepe at halfe a Riall a piece, and Hennes at halfe a Riall a piece; all exceeding small, according to the drie rockie barrenesse of the Iland: wood at twelue pence a mans burthen; euere particular is a very deare pennyworth: and what else this Iland may yeeld, I am yet to be informed of, but of rockes and stones, drie and bare, it seemes the whole Iland is composed.

¶ II.

of Abba del Curia, Arabia Fœlix, Aden and Moha, and the treacherous dealing of both places.

They depart  
from *Zacotora*  
for *Aden*.

The length of  
*Abba del Curia*.

Two great  
white Rockes.

*Saboyna*.

Nouemb. 1.

*Cape de Guarda-*  
*fui*.

Nouemb. 5.

His day all our important businesse being done, wee set saile, directing our course to *Aden*-wards in the Red-sea, taking leaue of the King with three shot out of the Admirall, one out of the *Pepper-Corne*, and one out of the little *Darling*. Our course, after wee gate off the land, alongst by *Abba del Curia*, to Cape *Guardafui*, which is the Eastermost point of *Abax*, was nearest West, distant foure and thirtie leagues, to wit, from the Wester point of *Zacotora*, to the East end of *Abba del Curia*, is fourteene leagues. And *Abba del Curia* a long narrow ragged Iland, may be in length East and West, some five leagues; from the West end of *Abba del Curia*, to Cape *Guardafui*, is fiftene leagues; on this Iland, *Abba del Curia*, the King of *Zoccatra* hath some people and Goats; North from the middle thereof, neare three leagues, are two great white rockes, neare adioyning one to the other, and are some halfe a mile in length; these rockes are not white of themselves, but made white with the filing of Birds.

The one and thirtieth, being Wednesday, at eleuen a clocke we were thwart of the Wester point of *Zacotora*, and at two a clocke, the white rocke, called *Saboyna*, wee left North on our Star-boord side, which beareth North-west and by West, foure leagues of the most Wester point of *Zacotora*; and at three a clocke after-noon, we descried the two highest Mountaines of *Abba del Curia*, bearing West South-west distant ten leagues.

The first of Nouember, being Thursday, at Sun-rising we were thwart of the middle of *Abba del Curia*, leauing it on our Larboord side, two leagues and a halfe off, and the two Rockes on our Star-boord side distant halfe a league; at noone wee were in North latitude twelue degrees and seuentene minutes, the variation seuentene degrees and five and thirtie minutes: this after-noon we met with a currant, which set vs to the South-ward. At one in the after-noon, we descried the Cape *Guardafui*, but it was night before we came neare it; so that we past it by night, without any true discouery thereof.

The second, being Friday, in the morning wee were thwart of an high Mountaine, nine leagues Westward from the Cape *Guardafui*, and betweene that point, and another high point, five leagues distant West southerly by the Compasse, there is a low sandie point, lying one league and a quarter off, into the Sea; and some three leagues more Westerly, we anchored, and went on land with all our Boats for to cut wood; whereof we in the *Pepper-Corne* had great need: heere we met with some of the Inhabitants, who informed vs that the last Mount we past, is called *Feluck*, or by the *Portugals*, *Felix*: but so soone as they knew we were *Christians*, they fled from vs.

The third day, being Saturday, we landed againe, and cut more wood; and after-noon we set saile, standing on our way Westward towards the Red-sea, continuing our course till the fifth day ten a clocke, at which time we descried the Coast of *Arabia Fœlix*, bearing North North-west, and North by East, being distant from the nearest land, some twelue leagues; at noone I found my selfe in thirteene degrees eight and twentie minutes North latitude: at Sun-set wee were distant from the land some twelue leagues; the Mountaines within the Land all high, very rough, without shew of grasse, wood, or any other fruitfulness: wee now directing our course West and by South, as the Coast lyeth, soone expecting to see the Citie of *Aden*, for that with my first fall with the land, I esteemed my selfe not about foure and twentie leagues short to the Eastward thereof: but whereas I esteemed the ships made their way North-west by North, ouer the Gulfe, by reason of the Currant, we finde they haue made a little better then North; and that at our fall with the land, we were little lesse then threescore leagues short of *Aden*, we continued our course alongst the Coast with a good saile all day, and a short saile all night, to the end



not to over-shoote *Aden* all the way, for the most part in five and twentie, twentie, fiftene, twelue, ten and eight fathoms.

Wednesday at Sun-setting, below the Mountaine, being very neare it, on the sudden we descried *Aden*, which is situate vnder the foote of an vnfruitfull mountaine, a place where I should scarce haue looked for a Towne, but it is set there for strength, where it is very defensible, and not by any enemy easily to be wonne, if the defendants within be men of resolution, and so that it be formerly victualled, and provided of munition; and to Sea-ward, though it be in a manner drie at low-water, there stands an high Rocke somewhat larger then the Tower of *London*, which is not by enemies to be in hast ascended, by reason it is so steepe, and that but one way by narrow steps to get vp, where foure men may keepe downe a multitude: this Rocke is so walled, flanked, and furnished with Ordnance, as it seemeth to me, it may command both the Towne and Roade: yet who will auoid it, may ride in nine fathome water without their command, or within their command, from nine fathome downward. Also a lit le distance to the Northwards of the foresaid Rocke, is another rocke, being low, almost euen with the water, which is of small compasse, whereon is a Fort built and well furnished with Ordnance, the souldiers vsually continuing in this Garrison of *Aden* I could neuer vnderstand, but according as occasions are, they are drawne down from other Inland Townes. The low countrie adioyning within it, doth supply it with prouision, and partly with their Barkes, which passe in Trade from *Aden* to *Barbora*, a Towne right ouer on the *Abessin* side, from whence they bring Cattell, and much fruit, and prouision, with Mirrh and Incense, and what else I must conceale till further information gotten.

This Towne standeth in the Latitude of twelue degrees, and five and thirtie minutes, the variation Westerly, is twelue degrees and fortie minutes; it floweth, by estimation, vpright between six and seuen foote water on the change day: a South-east by East, or North-west by West Moone, maketh a full Sea: this mountaine, at whose foote the Towne standeth, is a *Peninsula* pointing out into the Sea, and toward the maine is first a narrow necke of sandie ground, and within of the like, a larger marsh-like ground stretching vp to the Mountaines, which may be from the Towne sixteene or twentie mile. At our first anchoring, the Gouverneur in the darke of the euening sent an *Arab* in a *Canoe* to view our ships, who refused to come aboard, though he were called.

A description  
of the situation  
of the Citie of  
*Aden* in *Arabia*  
*Felix*.

A secret.  
The latitude of  
*Aden* 12. degr.  
35. min the  
variation We-  
sterly 12. degr.  
40. min.

Thursday morning, the same *Arab* came aboard the Admirall from the Mir or Gouverneur, to vnderstand what we were: if friends, we should be welcome to land: this while was a Present making ready to send the Gouverneur, which was a graued Turkie-fashioned Peece, and a principall sword blade, sent to land by *John Williams*, and one *M. Walter*, Linguists, with other Factors to accompany them. The *Turkes* not permitting them to come into the Towne, entertained them without the Gate, neere the waters side, yet with great shew of ioy, pretending much kindnesse to our Nation, with whom they say they haue had much familiaritie in *Stambola*, *Aleppo*, and other places, but vsed not one word of any trading with vs, but framed their speech to make vs vnderstand, that they euery day expected the comming of thirtie thousand souldiers: which to vs seemed very strange, that so barren a Countrey as that seemed to bee, could yeeld prouision for so many people. But vnderstanding their speeches proceeded of feare, it was signified, that our Generalls request vnto the Gouverneur was, that for his money he would giue him a Pilot, to carrie his ships to *Moha*: then he told them that he was but Deputy to the Mir or Gouverneur, which was out of the Towne, and the next morning would be returned; and then the Generall should be thereof informed. He sent the Generall a Present, which was two *Barbora* sheep, with broad rumps and small tailes, some Plantains, and other fruits, wherewith our people returned.

They send a  
Present to the  
Gouverneur of  
*Aden*.

Friday, the Generall sent againe betimes in the morning, to require a Pilot for *Moha*; then they were brought into the Mirs house, and still continued with faire words; but the Mir was not yet returned: but when the Deputie-gouverneur heard our ships were vnder sayle bound away, he sent no Pilot, but a request that if the Generall would not stay and trade with all his ships, yet that he would stay one there for their supply, demanding the prizes of diuers of our Commodities, which gaue present shew of content, if performance might follow accordingly, with glozing shewes of Indico, Ollibanum, Mirrh, and diuers others things there fit for vs; but before the Messenger came to giue knowledge to the Generall, our ships were so farre about the point, that by reason of the Current, we could not againe get about the Easter side of the point in sight of the Towne, but anchored thwart of a Bay on the South side of the Towne: The Generall seeing diuers people fishing in the Bay, and great store of people of fashion on the hill, went to the shore side in his Pinnasse, to enquire of them when the Current might change, and that we might get about. The Deputie-gouverneur shewed himselfe angry, pretending our comming was to discouer their strength, and with no good intent, in so much that *John Williams* was in doubt they would haue staied him: but the Mir now present being lately come to Towne, seemed not so rigorous, but dissembled the matter, giuing good words, granting a Pilot for *Moha*; yet desired that one of our ships might stay for their supply, saying, that that Towne by former Gouvernours ill vsage of strangers was growne out of Trade, which he did endeavour to set on

Turkish tricks.

Mir is Lord.



The cunning  
treachery of  
the Turkes.

foote againe, hoping by vs to make a beginning: and further, that as he was a Gouvernour, so had he a Balha was superiour ouer him, from whom if all our ships departed without trading at his Towne, he should haue blame, in that it would be imputed to his ill vsage of vs, to driue vs away. And for that we vnderstood by others, that the former part of his speech was true, our Generall and we thought the latter part to be true also (which was meere to delude vs) which the Generall by the Messenger did in a manner grant, so we could find safe riding for our ships, the dangerous Easterly Monsoon on this shore, which he made slight or little regard of, wishing our ruine, and no safetie.

Munday morning early, *John Williams* was againe sent to the Gouvernour for his Pilot, according to the last nights promise, and had now answer from the Gouvernour, that the Pilots wife would not permit he should goe, vnlesse we left foure of the principallest men in the shippes in pawne till his safe returne; which bred in vs a generall dislike of their inconstancie, yet the Generall, for performance of his former promise, determined to leaue me behind in the *Pepper-corne*, but altered his determination in my direction; for whereas before I was directed not to carry aboue a quarter part of our goods on land at one time; now we were to carry none at all: for since they will not trust vs with one of their rascall people, but on such disgracefull termes, therefore he thought fit not to trust them with any of our goods; but if they had need of any of our commodities, as they pretended to haue, they should buy and pay for it aboard the ship; and in case they mistrust any euill dealing, we should exchange pledges; so that for so many as for doing their businesse they should need to haue aboard, we should deliuer on land so many of the neereft like in qualitie: if not liking of this, that we may follow our Admirall to *Moha*. The same day about noone, all things being determined of, the Generall with his owne ship and *Darling*, departed towards *Moha*, and as they prepared to set saile, they discied a saile in the Offing, which they supposed to be a *Guzerat* bound to *Moha*, out of which the Generall had hope to procure a Pilot, stood off with her a little while, till perceiuing it to be a smaller saile then before they expected, gaue ouer their chase, and stood on their course towards *Babel-mandel*.

The *Darling*  
was a small ship  
of 90. tunnes.

Mir, or Amir,  
or Emir, signifieth  
Lord.

Three of our  
men staid on  
shore.

Tuesday, we laboured with long warps to get vp, both against wind and Current, whereby we got well vp (as men struing to hasten their owne harmes) beeing thwart of the fishing Bay. The Mir of *Aden* sent a Boat and a Messenger aboard, to desire to speake with the Merchants, to know whether they purposed to trade with them or no: whereupon *M. Fowler*, *John Williams*, and the Purser (for other businesse) went on land, the Merchants declaring to the Mir in what manner we had direction to trade with them. The Mir not liking of that way, in no wise accepted of such trading: this seemed a contradict to his purpose and policie; therefore least after their returne aboard, I should depart for *Moha*, as they said, he thought best to detaine those three men, thereby to procure him some thing, though he pretended that he staid them for anchorage, and other duties, amounting to fifteene hundred *Venetianoes* of gold, euery one at one Ryall and an halfe of eight.

Before this Towne of *Aden*, I made my vnprofitable aboad vntill the sixteenth of December, liuing in continuall danger, if any storme had happened, which is there euer very doubtfull on this Monsoon, or time of the yeare: by romaging I omitted no meanes for bringing our goods in readinesse, if so it should happen that in the end we find sale or trade with them: for notwithstanding by the varietie of tricks, whereby from day to day they falsly deluded our people in their hand, as to send Messenger after Messenger to my Generall to *Moha*, to obtaine licenſe to bring our goods into their Towne, and then the Merchants would resort out of all places in the Countrey neere-hand, to buy the same, which might be said, least we had discouered the vnlikelihood of any Merchants in that Towne, likely to doe the same; yet could I neuer conceit hope of trade or honest dealing amongst them.

Cunning treachery.

All the time I lay there for the most part, I sent my Pinnaſſe euery two or three daies to land, to know how my Factors did, with some one or two men besides the Cocks gings, which whatsoever they had to doe, they were curteously dealt withall, the souldiers frequenting their company, giuing them drinke; and if any man *Iew* or *Bannian* had ouer reckoned them in the price of any thing, they would euer be readie to do them right: all which I make account was done by the Gouvernours direction, the better to abuse vs, by drawing our people to conceit well of them, and trust their flatterie and lyes, wherein they excell: and on the resort of any extraordinary people into the Towne, they would tell our men, that they were Merchants, come to see if we had landed any of our goods for the to buy, when they were souldiers called in out of some other neere adioyning Inland Townes, vpon some plot in their head newly deuised. And likewise our Factors in person were most times kindly vsed, and were resorted vnto by such as the Gouvernour appointed, and that should tel his tale: whereas he had so provided, that not any, not so much as an *Arab* fisher-man nor other, were permitted to come neere vnto me, least they should tell me the truth, to his disaduantage. By my people in the Pinnaſſe I sent of purpose to discouer, by whom I am informed, this Citie in times past hath been great and populous, but at this time, the houses both great and small are greatly ruinated and sunke in euerie part of the Towne, shops of merchandise there are none of any account, Merchants none to be diuerſed worthy of that calling: for money

*Aden* decayed:  
the present state  
thereof.



ney seemeth to be very scant amongst them, which appeared when our men offered to change a peece of eight for Aspers, they vse to take it from hand to hand, gazing as at a strange thing; an ill signe in a place where a ships lading of merchandize is brought to sell.

This present Gouvernour time growing neere out that he must be gone, and therefore before his departure, would haue been glad to haue seene vs so foolish as to land some of our goods by any deuise, would often commend Captaine *Sharpeighs* confidence in them, who was here in the *Ascension* sixteene moneths before vs, and how at first he brought goods on land without mistrust, and sold it, and his men came boldly on land like Merchant men, of which since wee did not the like; he made doubt whether we were so or not, and that he tooke delight to heare his  
 10 Trumpets sound on his walls; all which I tooke to be no other then hooking deuises, and vntrue delusions, for I cannot thinke, but that if at the first, like harmelesse men they trusted much, they repented it before they went away. Captaine *Sharpeigh* was the first of our Nation that came here, and perchance might passe away in some reasonable sort: but since then they haue had time to aduise themselues how to doe more villanie,) which they haue, nothing else to plead. My conceit is, that at our first comming they made account to buy our goods without money, and that their plot in desiring first one shippe to stay, was two-fold. First, it was more likely for them to worke their wills on one shippe, then on three. Secondly, in procuring the stay of this heere, the other two were the better to bee dealt withall at *Moha*, since what villanie could be wrought on them at both places, was for the seruice-  
 20 and benefit of our Basha: And they knowing that we were ignorant, that this winter time now ensuing was so tempestuous, and vnfit for any such businesse of Commerce, and that no ship could long stay there without their fauour and friendship, as in the case of fresh water to drinke onely, if there were no wind or Sea to be dreaded, which are both often most vehement, and at *Aden* is low shoare, nothing to hinder the mayne Sufte and violence of the mounting billowes, whereby they might with good iudgement thinke, that in little time we might bee forced from our Road at nine fathome, into five fathome neere to the Towne, in some shelter of the Iland, and vnder command of their Ordnance. From whence without their leaue, we could not haue carryed her out againe, or if this faile, he might thinke by coloured kindnesse, or some other deuice for our owne pleasures, or by want of water, sometime to draw some store of our people, and that of  
 30 the better sort on land to them, which already he hath: whereby to force them to procure the rest to bring in the ship, but indeed hee had ill counsell. For his haste spoyled his Market at the first, by staying our three men, doubting our ship would be gone: which made me very suspicious and warie in sending but few men on land at once.

Capt. *Sharpeigh*  
the first of our  
Nation at *Aden*

Saturday, I sent my first Letters to the Generall to *Moha*, by a Souldier of *Aden*, fitted for the Gouvernours turne, whose returne was so ordered, that he neuer came neere any of vs with an answer: he pretended that the Gouvernour of *Moha* promised deliury of the same, but presently sent him backe with a Letter to *Aden*.

Thursday, the Gouvernour rid out of Towne, who remayned absent till the first of December, in the meane time our people in Prison were more hardly vsed, paying in a manner as much  
 40 to the Messenger for fetching their victuals, as it cost besides, hauing little countenance or fauour any way shewed them: and it was told them that the Mir was gone, and a new was to come in his stead, but it prooued not so for that time.

Capt. *Downton*  
Letters to Sir  
*H. Middleton*  
suppressed.

Saturday, about mid-day, the same Mir returned againe into the Towne, and came to our men in Prison, speaking kindly vnto them, and causing good prouision to bee made for them, at his owne cost, whereby he guld vs by pretended friendship, promising nothing but kindnesse and good dealing, so soone as we should begin to trade, and then they shall haue their full libertie without payment of the aforelaid fifteene hundred *Venetians* formerly demanded; the custome five in the hundred, all other charges reasonably, and readie Gold for what wee sold, and therefore wishing that as before we had sent a Foole of our Message, that now we should send a  
 50 man of our owne, with a guide of his, whom wee might be sure would bring true answer from our Generall. This day I made shew to bee preparing to bee gone with the ship: aboard came a Letter from *John Fowler* to impart to mee this ioyfull newes, vrging mee againe to write to the Generall, to know his pleasure herein for landing of our goods, wherein I was not so streightly tyed, but I might haue done it my selfe, if I had seene any signe or likelihood of good dealing: which seeing no cause of encouragement I kept to my selfe, to the end not to bee vrged by the importunitie of others to doe any thing vnaduisedly, which might either preiudice my friends or wrong my selfe; now seeing the time was before me till *May*, to goe to *Moha* (for so long the Easterly Monson lasteth) at such time as rigorous weather, or being wholly frustrate of trade, should driue me hence, and being once gone, I cannot come hither againe till the first of *May* or  
 60 Iune, whatsoever thereby were to bee gotten, wherefore, for diuers respects, I desired to heare from the Generall.

Munday, I dispatched away the Messenger with a Letter to my Generall (which prooued an after-griefe to me) and eight dayes after we had nothing, but shewes of kindnesse and good quarter, thinking long till our Messenger returned, that we might beginne our good Markets.

Sat-



Saturday, my Boat-swaine informed mee of his great wants of small Cordage, for diuers purposes, wishing that he and some others might goe ashore, to lay some on the strand by the Towne wall, now while we had leisure, before our greater businesse came in hand, for which I sent to land to intreate the Gouvernour that our people might doe such a businesse in safetie vnder his wall: which was promised with great fauour, in the best and conuenientest place they could find, with a house at night to put vp their things till the next day. In the meane-time the Gouvernour set Smithes to making of shackles for our people, and some of them were by signes told of it, which suspecting nothing, tooke it as a merry jest, which afterwards they found in earnest.

Twentie more  
of our men be-  
trayed.

Wednesday, after-noon, my men were all betrayed that went on shoare, bound, shackled, and pinioned, and some put in the Stockes: all tortured and grievously abused, stript of their money 10 and all else they had: my Pinnasse lost, the gings gone amongst the Rope layers. So there was two Merchants, a Purser, and one to attend on them, a gadding Apothecarie, my Chirurgion, and Master *Caulker* (who carryed my Letter to *Moha* as aforesaid) my Boat-swaine, and one of his mates, two quarter Masters, the Cooper, Carpenter and Gunners mate, and my Cock-swaine, and five more of the Cokes ging, which in all are twentie persons, some few for their pleasures, the rest to worke, saw the gings who were most of them appointed to keepe the Pinnasse, but being out of my sight, they did what they list, and the Boat-swaine seemed to want their helpe about his Ropes.

Munday, I set saile out of the Southermost Road of *Aden*, directing my course towards *Moha* (through the streight of *Babel-mandell*, in the entrance of the Redde Sea, being distant from 20 *Aden* (West by South) thirtie two leagues. The *Arabs* both here and in all other places of *Arabia*, of all degrees, are in great seruitude to the *Turkes*.

An Eclipse of  
the Moone.

Thursday, at foure in the morning, the Moone was eclipsed, and at one in the after-noon, I past the *Bab*, or streight being halfe a league ouer, hauing in the midst ten fathome water, and towards both sides eight, sixe or foure fathome depth, as one list to borrow to, and may be some two miles through which sets a good strong tyde, both ebbe and flood. I left on my star-boord side, a Mountaine and Rockie *Peninsula*, extending from the Mayne, beeing all neere low-land, with a low narrow necke of sand, and on the lar-boord side, I left a low Island of some five miles long East and West, being also Rockie; betweene the West end thereof, and the *Abaxin* Coast, for ought I can discerne is a cleere channell of three or neere foure leagues broad, but I thinke not 30 much vsed by the ships, for that the water is deepe, and not for anchoring, besides the other is the neerer way. We being past the *Bab*, were ignorant what dangers lay in our way, or how farre within the streight the Towne of *Moha* stood, whether in a Riuer or Bay, or how else we knew not, but discovering we kept by our lead betweene nine and seuen fathomes, all alongst the *Arab* Coast, and as the day light ended we anchored in eight fathome, nine leagues within the *Bab*, against a little Mount standing alone by the Sea-side.

*Moha* eighteen  
leagues within  
the *Bab*.

Friday, at sixe a-clocke in the morning we set sayle, standing alongst North, and North by West, as our depths directed vs, first betweene nine and seuen fathomes, and lastly, betweene sixe and foure fathomes, when wee came to haue the shoales without vs; but as wee came neere to 40 *Moha*, which is scituated eightene leagues within the *Bab*: on the verge of a low sandy barren ground. Our Admirall we saw rid alone (and no *Darling*) some foure mile into the Sea, in sixe fathome, and riding with two shot ahead, by reason of the vehemencie of the weather, which erst I suspected not: My present cares were somewhat in this vnknowne passage, for the safetie of the ship, which without great vigilancie and regard to our depths, might haue beene set fast to our further famine: but the neerer I came, the more my griefe gnawing at my heart, as one while reuiuing my griefe for the losse of so many of my men, and then casting doubts, what might befall my friends here; their Pinnasse mand, I see lye along by the ships side wherein was Master *Thornton* the Master, but durst not put off till wee were thwart of them, for feare they should not recouer their owne ship againe, being once put off by reason of the wind and currant. I being somewhat neere, as a signall of heauie newes, they puld downe their Flagge, whereby I 50 vnderstood some misfortune was befallen my Generall, I beeing anchored, hee with the Pinnasse came aboard; where after the blasts of passion and griefe (by the defects and frailtie of the flesh) somewhat blowne ouer, he began by degrees to informe me of all things that had happened since wee parted at *Aden*: as first of their quicke passage from *Aden* to the *Bab*, where they tooke in a Pilot to bring them to *Moha*, where the fourteenth of Nouember they arriued, that was from *Aden* in thirtie houres, yet their misfortune was such, that against the Towne and very neere the Road, whether by mis-vnderstanding, or the Pilots neglect to the depths, or being not acquainted with the working of our shippes, it is not materiall to examine, but on the sands the shippe came aground, and so sticke fast that her bilged stood on the shoalest of the bankes; so as notwithstanding the great Sea by force of the wind, the head and sterne being in deeper water, did heaue and set without any painful striking, but to get her off without lightning they could not, wherefore they could not be precise in trusting themselves without pledges in the hands of the *Turkes*, who omitted nothing to preuent our doubt of being welcom, with great

The Trades In-  
crease arriueth  
before *Moha*, in  
the Red Sea,  
Noue. 14. 1610.



great varietie of friendly promises in euery thing we demanded, and request once made, they were plyed with Barkes to lighten the ship, wherein they vsed great expedition, we landing as well our Wheat-meale, Vineger, Sea-coales, Pitch and Tarre, with our vnbuilt Pinnasse, and other prouisions which came next hand, or in the way, as well Tinne, Lead, Iron, and other merchandize to be sould, and staued neare all our water. And of all others, Master *Laurence Femell* seemed most fearefull, for that in a priuate Boate he speedily carryed all his things on land, leaving nothing that he regarded aboard of the ship of his owne.

The ship now hauing laine a ground                      houres, with great trauaile to lighten and shift  
the ship, they got her afloat. The Trades-Increase  
a float.

10 It is also to be vnderstood, that this part of *Arabia*, from                      Eastward of *Aden*, and vp the Red-sea to *Cameran*, which is threelcore and ten leagues within *Bab-mandell*, and I know not how farre within the Land, is called the Land of *Teoman*, and now gouerned by one *Ieffor Basha*, whose residence is in the Citie of *Zenan*, which they account to bee by moderate trauaile fifteene dayes iourney; by poste, I thinke they goe and come in that time. And the Gouernours of *Aden* and *Moha*, which is the better place, in that it is of more resort of ships; and these Gouernours are yeerely placed by him; as at this present in *Moha* is one *Regib Aga* by his place or office, who was his seruile slaue attending on him, and he was preferred to *Aden*, where he commanded the other yeere, when Captaine *Sharpeigh* was there, and for that he was a beneficiall Knaue to his Master; he was preferred to *Moha*, a better place.

20 Now at our first arriual, he sent to giue knowledge vnto his Master, with what informations best pleased him, and was to stay for directions from his Master how to deale with vs; wee trusted them as men of humane feeling, being ignorant of what was against vs. Now while the messenger went to know the Basha's pleasure how to dispose of vs: The *Aga* was laying the ground of his Treason, and drawing euery thing toward readinesse, for the effecting of his desired haruest, omitting nothing which might further his villanous purpose. Also by drawing into the Towne from the nearest neighbour Iland Townes and Countrey adioyning, such and so many souldiers as might fit his turne, whose rigour and malice against vs hee neglected not to pro-  
uoke, by scandalous reproches, as might best serue for his purpose, as that wee were Pirats and *Christians*; (which they account as bad enemies to their holy Prophet *Mahomet* and his Lawes)  
30 and that our comming was to discouer how to ruinate and destroy the holy houses of their god, as *Meca* and *Medina*, and what seruice they should doe to God and their Country in destroying of vs; as also informed them that wee had so much money and goods, as if they would behaue themselves valiantly when time serued, will make them and their Countrey happie, with so many other deluding deuices, as seemed fit for such an action; meane while our innocent distrustlesse men hired and fitted their house, and preparing against the returne of the Basha his answer, for present sale of their commodities, by the abundant shewes and promises of fauour to them. The *Aga* euer vrging, by wondering at our small quantitie of goods in the ship of so great burthen, and euer were Boats sent for goods, after the shippe was afloat, and that there was no more, till further occasion to be landed; his greedinesse seemed to be such, as the poore *Arab* Barque-men  
40 shewed feare to returne without lading; but when he perceiued there was no more at present to be had, he went another way to worke; which was, he informed our Merchants, that all ships that came to this Towne in Trade, their Captaine, for their better assurance, as a pledge of good dealing, receiued the *Gran Segnors* Vest for their better securitie, which being once inuested in the view of the people, no man after durst offer them any wrong; as all the principall officers of euery ship had signes of curtesies, the which vnlesse our Captaine doe come on land and accept of, he should neuer thinke him the great *Turkes* friend, nor beleue his meaning was good, as hee pretended, and therefore should doubt to giue him Trade, lest hee being a Man of warre should turne them to further mischief; which vnlesse he receiue such right, according to the welcome and custome of the place, he could not but thinke his end not for their good.

50 The ship now moored in a place, from whence within seuen or eight months was no returning, the vehemencie of the stormes so great, the vnkowne dangers in these Seas such, no place of more comfort knowne, and no man permitted to come neare vs, that either could or would better informe vs of the contagious weather ensuing, the dangers there to bee expected, or more comfort elsewhere to be found, but as it were, must stand at the *Turkes* mercy, whether they will giue vs life, or restraîne water or other reliefe to maintaine the same; our house hired, our Factors and goods on land in readinesse and present sales after answer brought excepted: And now this vnexpected doubt cast, whether we be true men or theeuers: And no way left to approue the former; or to shunne the latter; but the comming on land of our Generall, on whose safetie depended the carriage and estate of the whole voyage, which could not but crosse their minds and conceit, since they knew his determination was otherwise. Master *Femell* gaue the Generall know-  
60 ledge of the *Aga* his words, and further gaue him to vnderstand, that the Companies businesse, without his presence on land, could take no effect, but must rest without doing any thing. Which once knowne, Sir *Henry Middleton*, notwithstanding the little trust he had in the faith and honesty of the *Turkes* in these forren places, and the infinite regard and care he had to follow and  
pursue



purſue the plot and benefit of this his iourney, as well here, as in *India*, and places now being vrged that his abſence was likely to proue preiudiciall to the Company that all his endeauours during the Voyage, were wholly intended for the benefit, dice of the company, and were it not for the ſafetie of the ſhips, and good of the Voyage, take delight to recreate himſelfe on land, as well as others: wherefore, now ſince there might further the buſineſſe, and not be imputed vnto him for his pleaſure, he niggardly of his preſence amongſt them. Therefore he prepared himſelfe to land, without doubt, and to receiue that Veſt of the great *Turke*, as the badge or aſſurance of ſuch as with like ſolemnitie had it put on their backes. And before his going came aboard to informe the Generall of what he thought fit to prepare him in, againſt the ſudden apprehenſion of feare (as in faint-hearted people neuer wants) of any violence the *Turkes* to be attempted, the firſt day of the Generalls landing, or what elſe he intended at the Generalls going to land, hee being Cape-Merchant, and ſwaying the buy, would haue ſtayed aboard, but could not in ſuch a caſe bee ſpared, being ſo great a buſineſſe.

Maſter *Femels*  
feare

Sir *Henry Middleton*  
dilection on  
land.

The Generall being come to land, was met by the Gouvernour and principal officers, who were caried to the Gouvernours houſe, where he had a rich Veſt of Cloath of Gold, and a horſe very richly furniſhed for him to mount vpon, the Gouvernour holding the Generall gat vp, all which was reaſon Sir *Henry Middleton* ſhould accept of, beſides the Badge of their friendſhip.

The communication, after the ſolemnitie was ended, was ſuch, and ſo ſolemn, ſuch proteſtation and ſhewes of kindneſſe and friendſhip, as might deceiue any man, which is not a deceiuer himſelfe. Sir *Henry Middleton* in ſhort time after ſeeing ſuch kind ſhewes by the Gouvernour toward him, and in regard of the long time he had deſired leaue of the Gouvernour, that he might there ſet vp his Pinnacle, which he had framed out of *England*; the Gouvernours anſwere was, That the Countrey was bound whatſoeuer pleaſed him, as if he were in his owne Countrey; ſeeming glad that he ſhould command him any thing which might content him: for which, forthwith Sir *Henry* cauſed preſently all things to be brought to land, which need to be vſed in the ſervice, all his Carpenters, Smithes, or other that might further that worke in hand, and haſt poſſible might bee vſed for diſpatch of the ſame. Sir *Henry Middleton*, with his ſervants and furniture, kept houſe on land, by his continuall preſence to further the ſaid worke, ſo cauſed many more to reſort on land, for their ſeueral ends, then otherwiſe would haue done. The eight and twentieth of Nouember, *Regib Aga* his plot growing to ripeneſſe, ſtrengthened by the directions of his Maſter *Jeſſor Baſha*, ſent the Generall word in ſecret that he had receiued ſo good newes from the Baſha concerning our buſineſſe, that he altogether conceale the ſame, but thought good, for his content, to ſend him a ſervant, who by his better leaſure ſerued him to reueale the particulars; this ſeemed to be done, to make Sir *Henry Middleton* more ſecure, whoſe vpriſt thoughts gaue him no cauſe to ſuſpect any treachery, as at preſent was prepared for him and his. But in the euening, inſtead of ſervant from the Baſha, he effected his predeterminate treacherie with iron maces, knocking downe the Generall, Maſter *Pemberton*, and the Merchants, with all the reſt that at that time were on land, where they alſo murdered eight of our men, who by reaſon of their former friendſhip, of kindneſſe, not deeming any ſuch treaſon to be intended towards them, were unarmed, and had no weapons to reſiſt ſuch vnexpected murderers. Thus they without mercy, not only killed the ſervants, but kept priſoners, both by the necke, hands and feete, the Generall with eight of his company, and Maſter *Pemberton* with nine of his company; but alſo with three of ſouldiers attempted to ſurpriſe the *Darling*, who rided nearer the Towne the ſame night, by a ſmall creek by the ſea ſide, who (not knowing of the betraying of their Maſters Boat) being a Boat coming aboard, eſteemed it to be their own boat, but preſently deſcended, and all full of people, began to miſtruſt falſe meaſure. But the *Turkes* ſeeing no man ſtirring, thought themſelves ſurely poſſeſſed of her, murdering the ſervants, whom they found aſleep; but in the end our mercifull God turned their miſchiefe toward vs, vpon their owne pates, and made them fall into the hands of our ſouldiers, made for vs, for in repelling theſe vnexpected enemies, though to the loſſe of ſome of our owne men, who were ſlaine in the conflict, were ſlaine and crowned of the *Turkes* ſixteen and twentieth, whereof the Admirall of the Towne, who was their Leader, was ſlaine, thus hauing cleared themſelves of them quite, they cut their Cable, and ſet ſaile, and anchored by the Trade, who as yet knew not of the betraying of the Gouvernour, till they of the *Darling* had informed them thereof, by which means they prevented another miſchiefe, for that the Trade Boat, with a

The bloodie  
treason of the  
*Turkes*.

Seuen and  
twentie *Turkes*  
ſlaine.



nd places of more hope,  
Company; answered,  
e benefit, and not preiu-  
of the Voyage, he could  
now since his company  
leasure, he would not be  
to land, to put them out  
urance of safetie to such,  
g came Master Femell a-  
against his landing: But  
10 whether by any suspicious  
ee for being the occasion  
at might happen, or some  
of any violent course by  
what else I know not, but  
ng the buying and selling,  
ng so great an actor in the

principall of the Towne,  
h of Gold put on his back, 20  
olding the horse while the  
cept of, being, as they pre

and so solemnly, and with  
eeceive any honest man, or  
fter seeing the varieties of  
g time he had to stay there,  
e, which he brought ready  
tre was before him to doe  
ng glad that he would com- 30  
with Sir Henry Middleton  
ed in the said worke, with  
n hand, and to that end all  
ddleton, with his attendance  
er the said worke, which al-  
otherwise would haue done.  
g to ripeness, and receiuing  
all word in the afternoone,  
usiness, that he could not  
send him a taste thereof, till 40  
to be done, to make Sir Hen-  
use to suspect any such mis-  
ng, instead of good newes  
maces, knocking downe the  
t at that time were on shore,  
ir former fauours and shewes  
them, were naked without  
mercy, not only in chaines  
with eight and fortie of his  
so with three great Boats full 50  
e Towne then the Trades-In-  
r Masters Boat and men) see-  
rely desiring two Boats  
the Turkes comming aboard,  
er, murdering the Trumpet-  
God turned their pretended  
all into the pit that they had  
the lest of two more of their  
ned of the Turkes in flight, se-  
their Leader, was also one: 60  
le, and set saile, and stood off  
g of the Gouverneur, neither of  
med them thereof, by which  
at, with a third more of her  
men,

men, some to fill water, and others for pleasure were going on shore: also this morning in the *Darling*, on her gallery, they found one of the *Turkes* souldiers, who had escaped with life, but their Boats gone was left behind: him they carried prisoner aboard the *Trades-Increase*. From this eight and twentieth of Nouember, till the fourteenth of December, by reason of the continuall stormes, they heard no newes from the Generall. But the fifteenth day, *John Chambers* one of the *Trades* quarter Masters, with a Flagge of Truce went on shore, where he found the Generall, and the rest in Chaines as afore-said, in most inhumane manner so that one could not goe aside to ease himselfe, but the rest in a row must goe with him, to their great annoyance; yet at his returne brought hopefull newes of the enlargement of all saue the Generall and Master Fe-  
10 mell, who were to goe vp to *Zenan*, the place of the Basha's residence, there to answer to such matters as should be objected against them. Also the seuenteenth day, the same Messenger went againe on shoare (in manner afore-said) carrying with him certaine prouisions and other neces-  
saries for the Generals reliefe, and the rest there with him, who returned with varietie of newes, but none good. Thus much Master *Thorneton* at his comming aboard me, as afore-said in-  
formed me of.

The one and twentieth day in the afternoone, by the same Messenger I sent a Letter to the Generall, to giue him knowledge of my mis-fortunes at *Aden*, who returning brought me a let-  
ter from my Generall, in briebe informing me of the business before repeated, as willing me if by  
any meanes I could get out of this Sea, and to stay at *Aden*, till I had heard what would be-  
20 come of them: also he had sent the *Darling* to ply out towards *Aden*, to giue mee information of his betraying, and to preuent my comming to *Moha*; also that he and sixe more of his compa-  
nie were the next day to take their iourney towards *Zenan*, the Basha's Court, as afore-said.

The two and twentieth, the Generall with all his company, except the Carpenters, who wrought still in Chaines vpon our Pinnasse for the Basha, and vnable hurt men, who re-  
mayned still in Chaines at *Moha*, set forth in their iourney, attended on by a strong Guard of  
Souldiers, lest any of them should escape: yet the same euening, notwithstanding their nar-  
row looking to our men, M. *Pemberton* slipt aside among the bushes with so much haste, as his  
weak sick bodie was able, made to the waters side, where, although tyred with running, it plea-  
sed God that he found a *Canoe* hauing in her a paddle wherewith to rowe in her, hee put off to  
30 Sea, committing himselfe to the danger thereof, rather then to stand to the *Turkes* mercie, and  
through rowing, his faint wearinesse increased so, that in the morning his inabilitie forced him  
to giue ouer rowing, hauing nothing to refresh himselfe but his owne water, it so pleased God  
that the same morning aboard the *Trades Increase*, was descryed a *Canoe* in the offing, which seem-  
ed to drine, vnto which being reasonable faire weather, the *Trade* sent off her Pinnasse, who  
brought both Master *Pemberton* and his *Canoe* aboard their own ship, being scarce able to speake  
through faintnesse.

From this day to the seuen and twentieth day, the weather continued for the most part boy-  
sterous and stormy. Also this seuen and twentieth day, the *Darling* through foule weather, ha-  
uuing lost Anchor and Cable, and not able to performe what the Generall (as afore-said) had sent  
40 them about, returned vnto *Moha* Roade: where I, whom they were sent vnto, in the *Pepper-  
Corne* did ride.

The second of Ianuary with all three ships we set saile out of *Moha* Road, intending to ply  
vp towards *Bab-mandell*, for three respects. First, for ease of our ground tackle, being through  
long boysterous weather much decayed: and secondly, to seeke place to fill water for our people  
to drinke, by want whereof wee were very much distressed; and thirdly, and lastly, there to  
stop the passage of all the *Indian* ships entring this Sea, whereby to draw the *Turkes* to release  
our Generall, people and goods, our great necessitie constrained this our present attempt in this  
faire seeming weather; at our first setting sayle, we stood ouer to the *Abaxin* Coast, where wee  
left the *Darling* to looke her Anchor and Cable formerly lost, we with the *Trades* and *Pepper-  
50 Corne* plying vp to wind-ward, but hauing scarce any aboard, the better in the euening anchored  
on the *Arab* side in eight fathome, some three leagues to the wind-wards of *Moha*, and some  
four mile from the shoare.

The third, in the morning, the tyde of ebbe in hand, we set sayle working to wind-ward, as  
before in the afternoone, the wind so increasing that I in the *Pepper-Corne* spent my two top-  
sayles and constrained to bring other two new ones to the yard, before which was effected, the  
the night approched, and wee more then halfe Seas ouer towards the *Abaxin* Coast, where in  
regard of the foule weather we formerly had at *Moha* for two respects. I must desire to stop;  
first, the next morning if the weather were faire, to haue the *Darling* Company to proceed on  
our former purpose; secondly, the weather vnfit, by the place and sight of the *Darling* to finde  
60 easier Roade to anchor in this day betweene eight and nine at night, so soone as we could get in-  
to sixteene fathome water by our sounding lead in fast seeming ground wee anchored, the *Trade*  
somewhat to the North-ward, or Lee-wards of the *Pepper-Corne*, and as towards morning the  
wind increased with a churlish Sea, with cloudie darke weather, in which wee lost sight of the  
*Trades Increase*, but by reason of the darke weather doubted nothing, at which time shee had  
broke

Decemb. 21.

M. Pemberton's  
escape.

Ianuary 2.

They passe  
uer to the A-  
baxin Coast.



broke an Anchor and droue, and let fall another Anchor, which afterward driuing from sixteene to fixe fathome, they were forced to cut a way to flat the ships head to the offwards to preuent further danger.

The fourth of Ianuarie, day light approaching, wee preparing to weigh our Anchor suddenly, the ship droue from sixteene to eighteene fathome, and before wee could flat our ships head to the offwards, we had lesse then fixe fathome: which soone after increased to eight, ten, &c. We then seeing the *Trade*: (to my disturbance) standing ouer towards *Moba*, and seeing *William Pemberton* in the *Darling*, riding in an easie Roade, to whom I would gladly haue gone, both for quiet to my minde, and ease to my ground takle, but that I knew not what need the *Trades Increase* might haue of my Carpenters, in case of any casualties whatsoever I know not of, in my hastening after her the weather rigorous, wee split both our new top-layles, the night before brought to the yard. They being sowed with rotten twine, as all our layles for the most part hath beene, through which meanes it became night, by what time I got into the Road, where presently to my griefe I vnderstood of the *Trades*: misfortune to lose two Anchors and Cables as afore-said, wherefore I sent my Carpenters aboard to stocke some other Anchors, from this to the eighteenth day with little ease, we continued a wearisome Road, to the spoyling of our Cables, as afore-said.

From the sixth day, to the eleuenth day, euery day came *Canoes* from the Towne, bringing Letter from the Carpenters with varietie of forged newes, informed them by the *Aga*, who permitted their sending the rather for that most commonly it was to get wine or beere, where-with they pleased the *Turkes*, and sometimes sent some little fresh victuals, according as they had wherewithall to buy or were permitted to send aboard.

The twelfth, the *Darling* returned into *Moba* Road to vs, saluting me with three Peeeces of Ordnance, as a signe of good newes, and by Master *Pemberton*s instant comming aboard of me, to my great comfort confirmed; for that hee had found a good watering place, and a very easie Roade for our ships, and his Anchor and Cable that he went to seeke, which as afore-said: they in his absence were forced to let slip.

A good watering place found.

The eighteenth, in the morning there came certaine from *Moba* to vs, bringing two Bullockes, two Goates, certaine Hennes Egges, and some fruits, but no newes from our Generall; This day at one in the afternoone we let saile, standing ouer towards the *Abazin* Coast (where Master *Pemberton* found the safe Roade and wattring place, and at night wee anchored three leagues short of it, vnder an Iland (which for the abundance of great *Crabs*, thereon wee called *Crab* Iland.)

Crab Iland.

The nineteenth, we weighed againe, and stood neerer into the Bay, and anchored vnder another lesser Iland.

The twentieth, we weighed againe, and stood further into the Bay, and anchored right against the watering place, some halfe a mile from the shoare, in eight fathome water. I sent *George Ieff* before in the Pinnasse to seeke out the Riuer, and to see if hee could speake with any of the Countrey people, who no sooner landed, but by and by there did present them selues vnto our mens sight, at least an hundred of the Countrey people armed with Lances, whereof one came to our people beeing of a bolder spirit then the rest, who not onely spake with them, but also desired to goe aboard with them, who at his comming aboard informed mee by an Interpreter, how that the *Turkes* had sent word vnto them, how they had betrayed and murdered diuers of our men, and wishing them also to doe the like to as many of our men as they could lay hand on. This yong-man was a principall mans sonne, and was very kind vnto vs all the time we were in this Bay: he this night did lye aboard the *Trades Increase*, where he was very kindly vsed to his great content.

Turkish Pesticence.

The one and twentieth, I with all our Boats, and most part of our men went on shoare, setting some to digging of Wells, some to fetching of ballast, others to filling of some little water out of a little Well wee there found made readie to our hand, and the rest being armed to guard them that wrought, and soone after our landing came downe vnto me the Priest, the father and brethren of the yong man afore mentioned (who as yet was not gone from vs) whom at his comming ashore they very ioyfully receiued, presenting me with a Goat, I also gaue vnto them foure of the *Trades*: shirts put in by the Merchants for the Companie, which they very kindly receiued; promising to bring downe the next day some Goates, to sell vnto vs for our money, which they very honestly performed, as by the sequell may appeare.

The two and twentieth, I hauing continued ashore all night with a good Guard, to see that there should no harme be done to our water, I appointed our men to their businesse as the day before, but by reason of the boysterous weather, none of the Countrey people came downe to vs: the cause of my present continuance on shoare, was for that I see such ill vsage of my Generall, and his people betrayed both at *Aden* and *Moba*, although they had made such faire shewes and promises, I hauing no assurance of the honesty of this people to vs, bred in mee suspicion what harme might be attempted against vs here by the *Turkes*, or by their perswasion to this Countrey people, eyther by poysoning our water or other wayes; therefore further then needs must I trusted



trusted none, so also I continued this night ashore with a good strong Watch.

The three and twentieth, having settled our Company to every particular businesse, there came downe to vs the same men, who the other day had beene with me, and after them followed some others, driving before them diuers Goates to sell to vs according as they had promised. I very kindly entertayned them, and caused the Purser to buy their Cattle, and in the evening they departed very well satisfied, promising every day to bring downe more, of which they made good performance. This day we made an end of watering.

From the foure and twentieth to the six and twentieth day, they brought downe every day both Goates and Sheepe, whereof we bought according to our occasions and spending, they returning well satisfied.

The nine and twentieth, the wind at North North-west we set saile, I determined to get vp to the *Bab* with all our three ships, there to make stay of all the *Indian* shippes, that this yeare should enter this Sea, by them to force the *Turkes* to re-deliver my General, and the rest of his Company our goods and Pinnasse, as aforesaid; but being thwart of *Crab* Iland it fell calme, the tyde setting right on the Iland, of this time I made the best vse I might, for so soone as we had anchored, I accompanied with Master *Thorneton* and Master *Pemberton*, went on shoare with all our Boates, and most part of our men, whom I appointed to cutting of wood, both for dressing our victuals and other needfull vses. This after-noon we descried comming ouer from *Moha*, two *Ielbas*, one whereof came directly aboard the *Trade*, bringing me a Letter from my Generall, dated the fifteenth of Ianuary, informing me of his safe arriual at *Zenan*, with all his companie, saue *Richard Phillips*, Master *Pemberton*s youth, whom hee left very sicke at a place called *Tyes*, who desired to be informed of Master *Pemberton*, whether he were safely escaped aboard or no, for that he doubted the *Arabs* attending on their Asses, to haue murthered him for his Ass he rid on; of the varietie of hopefull seeming promises of his enlargement, being onely delusions; this Letter being kept till the seuenteenth of the same, also mentioneth of the safe arriual of Master *Fowler*, and the rest of my Company (betrayed at *Aden*) at *Zenan*; how God had raised him friends among the midst of his enemies, to wit, the *Raha*, who is next in degree to the *Basha*, with diuers other that fauoureth his iust cause; contradicteth my present determination of staying the *Indian* ships, for that as yet they haue no iust cause to object against him, it might proue preiudiciall, not only to him and his Company, but also to our Nation trading in the Mediterranean Sea, but that the *Basha* had cleared *Regib Aga* of the betraying and murthering of him and his Company, taking it vpon himselfe, as that it was done by his warrant and command. To this my Generalls letter by the same messenger, I returned an answer; first giuing him to vnderstand of Master *Pemberton*s safetie: our infortunate loosing and spoiling our ground tackle of my present determination intercepted by his letter; my opinion of their faire seeming, yet deluding promises: and lastly of our safe Road and watering place on the *Abazin* Coast, right opposite to *Moha*, being some 13. leagues distant, where we haue refreshing reasonable cheape.

The seuenth of February, the *Trade* returned to me in the Roade of *Assab*, Master *Thorneton* bringing me my Generalls letter, dated the five and twentieth of February, therein desiring me as yet to forbear reuenge on them which haue wronged him: also informing me of the present hopefull estate of his businesse, also that five dayes after the date hereof, he with all his Company are to take their iourney downe to *Moha*, willing mee, till his arriual at *Moha*, to expect no more letters from him; also giueth me knowledge of the death of *John Baker*, one of my Quarter Masters, and *Richard Elmesmere*, one of the *Trades* Company. To this my Generalls letter, for want of conueyance, I wrote no answer.

The first of March, I sent the Pinnasse to the Towne, and in her the Purser, and the said *Alle*, who in their going, found a place of better water descending from the mountaines, by reason of the raines within the land (whereof we afterwards filled some water; but the raines once ended it was dried vp.) They hauing bought some few Goats and sheepe returned; and in the evening we descried a Boat comming ouer from *Moha* to vs-ward.

The second, the said Boat came aboard the *Trade*, bringing me a letter from my Generall, wherein he gaue me to vnderstand of the cause of his delay of his iourney, partly by reason of a great solenne feast of the *Turkes* approaching, but principally to haue the *Sabander* of *Moha* his company, for the more safe trauell; also witheth the Carpenters forbear to proceed any further in building the Pinnasse, for that the *Basha* intendeth her for his owne vse, and not for vs; also willing me to forbear reuenge.

The fith, I sent the *Darling* ouer to *Moha*, to expect newes from my Generall, where shee found in the Road a great ship of *Dabull*, called the *Mahomet*. This day the Generall with all his Company arriued at *Moha*.

The eleuenth, I doubted lest any euill had befallen the *Darling*, by reason of her so long absence, set saile with the *Trade* and *Pepper-Corne*, standing ouer towards *Moha*: but before I was so farre off as *Crab* Iland, I saw the *Darling* comming ouer, and for that the wind shortned vpon vs, and we not able to fetch the Road, I sent Master *Thorneton* in the Pinnasse, to vnderstand what newes, but I in the *Pepper-Corne* with the *Trades-Increase*, returned into the Road againe: in the

The Road on the *Abazin* Coast, thirteene leagues from *Moha*.  
February 17.  
The Road of *Assab*.

March 1.  
The Towne.

The *Mahomet* of *Dabull*.



euening Master *Pemberton* with Master *Thorneton*, and two and twentie of the *Trades* Company, and fourteene of the *Pepper-cornes* Company betrayed at *Moha* and *Aden*, came ouer the point of the Iland, bringing me a letter from my general, wherein he gaue me to vnderstand of his assured hopes of enlargement, so soone as the *Indian* ships of this yeere were all come in, and the Westerly winds come. Also that the *Turkes* had seduced the aforesaid *Richard Philips*, whom in his iourney vpwards he left sicke at *Ties*, him by threatening they had forced to turne *Turke*, and therefore came not downe to *Moha* with him, he reioycth to heare of Master *Pemberton's* safety, also informeth me that none of the letters I had sent him were deliuered to him; also desired my opinion, whether best for him to make an escape aboard, if he can, or to remaine at the *Turkes* deuotion; also wisheth that the *Pepper-Corne* be the next that comes to *Moha*.

The eighteenth, I with the *Pepper-Corne* set saile, standing ouer to *Moha*, but being neare ouer, it fell calme, and a lee-ward tide, whereby I was forced to anchor in twentie fathom water, on a banke which we there found three leagues from *Moha*: and in the euening there came off a *Canoe* vnto me, to know what we were, deeming me to be an *Indian* ship, for that by reason of the hazie weather, they could not well discern vs.

The nineteenth in the morning, I set saile, the wind at South standing into the Road, whereas yet was only the said great *Dabul* man: but before I came to an anchor, my General sent his man aboard me with a letter, that frustrated my present hopes, wherein he gaue me to vnderstand that he must be forced to dispeed me away very suddenly, for that my presence caused feare in the *Dabullians*, and discontent to the *Aga*. Notwithstanding this my Generalls letter, I sent *George Iesse* in the *Pinnasse* on shoare, by whom I sent two letters, the one briefly to giue to vnderstand of our wants, also my opinion of the *Turkes* performance, who through custome of falsehood, their true performance is not to be expected, but only to feed Sir *Henry Middleton* with faire promises, to serue their owne turnes; and then we hauing no matter to worke vpon, saue the emptie ships, which the *Turkes* hauing their goods on land, would nothing regard, and then my General to remaine at the *Turkes* deuotion, whether to be sent aboard according to the *Basha* his inforced agreement, or to be ransomed at their pleasures, or sent back againe to *Zenan*, and so to *Stambula*. The other, if he should think good to shew the *Aga*, therein making shew, that so long as he was detained prisoner, his power extended not to command vs that were free & at liberty, and therefore could not keep vs from the Road of *Moha*, nor in any other thing further then we see good our selues. To these my letters the General writ an answer, the copy wherof followeth.

Sir Henry Middleton's letter to Captaine Downton.

Captaine Downton, your ouermuch care may worke your owne harmes, and doe me and my company no good, and therefore take nothing to heart more then is cause, for I haue had, and still haue my full share thereof: and whereas you alledge you are loath to deparr this Road without me, I am more loath to tarry behind, if there were any remedie: I made a forced agreement with the *Basha* at *Zenan*, that the ships should absent themselves out of this Roade, till all the *Indian* ships were come in, and then at the first comming of the Westerly winds, both I and all my Company shall be set free: if they faile to performe with mee, then I would haue you shew your endeauours: in the meane time you must haue patience, as well as my selfe; I would be loath the agreement should be first broken on our side, without any cause giuen by them. For the prouision that should haue been sent in the *Ielba*, it was my fault it was not sent, in that I did not urge it to the *Aga*. After your departure to morrow, as I desire you to see performed, I will goe in hand with the lading of the goods in the *Ielba*, which shall not bee about three dayes absent from you: I haue promised the ships shall not come in the Roade till the Westerly winds be come, which will be a moneth hence at the furthest, in the meane time you shall heare from me by *Ielbas* or Boats, which I will send of purpose: I doubt not but there will be good performance made with me by the *Turkes*, in that my agreement was made with the *Basha*, and not with *Regib Aga*. If I doubted any new stratageme, I would haue attempted to haue escaped any before this time: I haue had, and still haue meanes for my escape, were it not to leaue my people in danger of their liues; doubt not, if they performe not with me, when the Westerly winds come, but I shall haue good oportunitie. I had laid a plot to haue escaped, if I could haue persuaded Master *Femell*, but he will by no meanes be drawne to any thing, till he see whether the *Turkes* will performe or no, he makes no doubt but to be sent aboard with the first of the Westerly winds, when you shall come to demaund vs; you may ride in your quiet road: stead on the other side, with all your ships, till God send us that long wished for Westerly wind, vlesse you get a slatch of wind to carry one of your ships to the *Bab*, to see if all be well there, and so retorne backe to you. I know that all sorts of prouisions wastes apace in all the ships, which God sending me aboard, I hope quickly to renew.

The seuen and twentieth, according to my Generalls requests, I sent the *Darling* ouer to *Moha*, for effecting the foresaid businesse.

The twentieth ninth and thirtieth, the *Budwees* brought downe both Goats and sheepe to sell.

The first, second and third of Aprill, the *Budwees* brought downe either Bullockes, Goates or sheepe, to sell vnto vs.

The fourth, the *Darling* returning from *Moha*, but the wind taking her short, shee was forced to anchor to the Northwards or lee-wards of the Road, till the wind should come more large.

The

Aprill 1.



The sixt, the *Darling* came into the Roade of *Affab*, and anchored neare the watering place, neare the *Trade*, to deliuer the victuals and other prouisions, which had been so long detained by the *Turkes*, and also brought me a very kind letter from my Generall.

The seuenth, the *Darling* plied vp to an Iland neare the *Pepper*, there to be Carreind (this I-land we called *Crane-Iland*, for that on it we killed most *Cranes*) from this day to the twelfth day, the *Darling* did land her goods and victuals, and vnrigged their shippe, and certaine of the *Trades Company* were gathering of Brening.

The one and twentieth, the King of *Rabeta* sent me a Present (by a kinsman of his) being a fat Cow and a Slaue, he continued aboard the *Trades-Increase* all night.

10 The thirtieth, the *Trades-Increase* was heilded and trimmed on both sides, so farre as conueniently might be: this day we filled all our emptie Caske with water, being nine and twentie Tunnes, the water being faire.

The fourth and fift day of May, wee trimmed all our Boats, being reasonable faire weather, the wind at South South-east. The seuenth and ninth day, the *Budwees* brought downe good flore of sheepe and Goates, but through want of cloath, we bought very few, onely three Bullocks, which we gaue money for.

The eleuenth, my Generall made his most happie escape aboard the *Darling*, with fifteene more of his Company.

20 The twelfth, my Generall sent the Pinnasse ouer from *Moha*, and by her a letter, giuing me knowledge of his escape, as aforesaid; also desiring me, vpon the sight of this letter, to repayre ouer to *Moha*, with the *Trades-Increase* and *Pepper-Corne*; which direction I presently put in execution, making the ships in readinesse to set saile: but before my comming, hee so behaued himselfe in the *Darling*, to the terrour of his enemies the *Turkes*, that neither Boat from the shoare durst go aboard any of the *Indian* ships, neither from the ships to the shore, without asking his leaue, and making knowne their businesses; so that now *Ragib Aga* of *Moha*, began to sing a new song, and insinuate with Sir Henry Middleton by diuers messengers, as by *Nobuda Mahomet* and others of the Generalls best friends there, with Presents, now fearing what harmes might happen vnto them, in recompence of his treachery towards him, and therefore desired to haue peace with the Generall: for Master *Femell*, before his returne aboard, in more especiall fauour, was by the *Aga* inuited to his house, whereto he was vrged, and there too soone yeilded to eate and drinke with him; whereupon some former speeches giuen out by Master *Femell*, that he would make complaint of his wrongs in *Stambola*, which now he remembring at his departure, with a smiling countenance told him they might meete together at *Stambola*. This night being come aboard he seemed ouer-ioyed; but three dayes after, about two of the clocke in the morning he ended his life, as we all thought, by poyson; the Chirurgions opened him, and this was their conceit: whereupon the Generall embarged all his ships.

The nine and twentieth, at two of the clocke in the morning, as aforesaid, Master *Femell*, Cape Merchant, died.

40 The first day of Iune in the euening, we had a very strong gust of wind, being so hotte, that it was able to take away our breathes; it also draue the sand of the shore in such sort, we could scarce looke to wind-ward.

The second, came aboard the Admirall, *Alle* the sonne of *Portugall* parents, being a Captaine, turned *Turke*, who, for that he had been the Generalls Trudgman, or Interpreter at *Zenan*, and so had some acquaintance with him, and therefore was sent downe to capitulate with him of a Peace: he informed the Generall that Master *Pembertons* said Boy was alreadie brought downe to *Moha*, and promised the next day he should be brought aboard. This *Alle* and *Taccacee* a *Bannian*, came to know the Generalls demand, which was an hundred thousand Rialls of eight.

50 The eight in the morning, the Generall sent the *Darling* to *Beloule*, a place on the *Abexin* Coast, being ten leagues to the Northward of *Affab*, to fetch water, and buy some Goats for reliefe of our men, who began to fall sicke of a faint disease; the best remedie for which as we found, was letting blood, and purging of the body; this disease went away in byles and scabbes, and this disease no man escaped cleare of.

60 The nineteenth, *Shermall Sabander* of *Moha*, accompanied with many of the chiefeft Merchants of the Towne, and the *Alle Haskie* and *Taccacee* a *Bannian*, came in state with diuers sorts of musicke, from the *Aga* to the Generall (aboard the *Trades-Increase*) to capitulate of the fore-said summe by him demanded, for satisfaction for our said goods, which then, in regard the Generall, and all we saw at the present no more to be gotten, and that which should be agreed vpon, to come out of the said *Sabander* of the *Bannians* our friend his purse, who daily relieved our men in their misery with bread and other sustenance, not so much as our dogge but also had daily allowance from him; so that alwayes his presence administred comfort to our distressed people: therefore it was concluded, wee to receiue our iron and lead againe, and for the rest of our goods not to be had (wherein was concluded all Vests and other presents the Generall had giuen) the summe at present agreed vpon, was eightene thousand Rialls of eight, and for that at present they had not money to defray so great a summe, they desired the Generall to take out of

Crane Iland.

The King of Rabeta.

May.

Sir Henry Middleton escapeth with fifteene more, the manner you haue in his owne Iournall.

The death of Master Femell, Iune 1.

Beloule, a place on the Affab Coast.



Richard Philips,  
Master Pemberton's  
Boy, restor-  
ed.

the said ship of *Diu*, so much goods as he should esteeme a fit pawne for so great a summe (which they would daily redeeme as they could raise moneyes) and then the ship to goe in presently to land and make sale of the rest of her goods: the utmost time limited for the last payment, was fourteene dayes. The *Sabander* brought aboard with him, according to promise, Master *Pemberton's* Boy, being clad in apparell of the *English* fashion.

### ¶ III.

*Their departure from Moha to Assab, and after that, higher into the Red-sea, thence to the Socatora, and after to Surat.*

10

July 3.



He third of July, hauing reasonably prouided the ships with Rice and other graine (for that our *English* prouision consumed apace) the Generall with all three ships and Pinnasse let saile, and standing ouer to the Bay of *Assab*, there by getting daily refreshing, to recouer our weake faint sicke men; where we arriued the fourth day, at eleuen of the clocke afore noone. The fift, sixt, seventh, eight and ninth dayes, the *Budwees* euery day brought downe either Bullockes, sheepe, or Goats.

The thirteenth, we made an end of watering. The King of *Rabeta* sent the Generall three fat Bullockes for a Present, by one *Abdella*, his sisters sonne, the Generall very kindly entertained him, and accepted of the Kings Present, presenting him againe with a Vest of Broad-cloth; the Generall also gaue the King heartie thanks, for all the kindnesse and good dealing receiued from his subiects, at this his Port. The said *Abdella* then desired the Generall to come with his ships nearer the *Bab*, being by their report a good harbour, and is neare the Kings Towne, and more plentifull of refreshing, where he might better shew his loue vnto the Generall. This day the General feasted him aboard the *Trades-Increase*, and in the euening caused a banquet of sweet meats and wine to be prepared on shore against their landing, whereof he hauing both eaten and drunke, very thankfully tooke leaue of the Generall, and departed to the King againe.

Their endentor  
to take a rich  
Turkie Shippe,  
which came  
from *Sues*.

The foure and twentieth, we set saile from *Assab*, directing our course towards *Cameran*, an Iland on the *Abaxia* Coast, some fortie leagues to the Northward of *Moha*, in fifteene degrees North latitude, in which is a Towne and fortresse, to which place they thought they were come or neare comming to stay for directions, by reason of our being neare, to the the Northwards it is feldome seene that any will attempt going, while the Westerly Monton lasteth, which in the Red-sea bloweth most all Northerly, till the last of July. We turned vp all day, and anchored at night, in which we were pestered with a dangerous shoale, to which wee vnawares came so neare, that we had oftentimes enough to doe to quit our selues of them, when we had little more water then we needed: this continuing two dayes, hauing no Pilot, nor other meanes (and the Currents vncertaine) readily to find it: And the weather doubtfull, being in vncertaine places to ride in open water, if the weather in the night should proue aduers, the Generall with griefe being often moued to giue ouer the businesse of seeking the *Turkie* ship of *Sues*; himselfe concluded that it was fit for him to prouide for the safetie of his owne ships, which are to him certaine, then with too much hazard to pursue things vncertaine, and perchance might misse finding her when he came there; so wee bore vp with the Iland of *Iuball Succor*, which is bigge and high, and another great Iland to the Southwards of it, being also high, called *Iuball Arrec*; these two neighbour Ilands are inuironed with diuers other smaller Ilands to the Southwards, and in diuers places ledges of sunken rockes, being discerned only by the breaches on them: those Ilands as they lye South and North, by supposition may be in length some ten leagues, they lye North North-west from *Moha*, where in cleare weather they may plainly be seene, which happeneth very feldome: from the Wester part of *Iuball* to *Beloula*, the course is South-west by South distant some twelue leagues; little wide of which course lyeth two sunken rockes knowne by the breach, they are neare adioyning to the said Ilands South by West: from the Wester part of *Iuball Arrec* are two Ilands and a Rocke; and from these towards the Coast of *Africa* South-west lye foure other small flat rockes, lying distant from the former some foure myles and an halfe: there is no danger in going neare them, for we found deepe water close aboard the South Westermost of them, being the nearest to the *Africke* Coast.

Two Ilands  
called *Iubal*  
*Succor* and *Iu*  
*bal Arrec*.

August 6.

The sixt of August, at foure of the clocke in the morning, we set saile from our good harbour of *Assab*, and before sixe at night we anchored in the Roade of *Moha*, seeing neare the Towne wall moored and vnladen the said *Gallion* which came from *Sues*, which we had gone to seeke and mist vs, as we were intangled amongst the shoales, and was come into *Moha* five dayes before, also there was come in one Gally, and three more euery day expected.

The seventh, the Generall went in with the *Pepper-Corne* and *Darling* (for dispatch of his businesse) so neare as the ships could well ride, and also, if need required, to command all the ships in the Roade: and about ten of the clocke, our old friend *Taccace* and *Sabrage*, the *Sabanders* man,

60



man, came aboard with a Present from *Sbermal* the *Sabander* : to these the Generall gave notice of his business, and dispeeded them away.

The tenth about eleven of the clocke before noone, wee past thorow the Easter Channell of *Bab-mandell*, finding in the midst nine or ten fathom, and toward either side, seven, six or five fathom, according as we edged in or off; the *Darling* and *Release* put out through the greater or South-western Channell, which may be some foure leagues over, all seeming very cleare of danger, the *Release* going farre by the shore, on the South-west side of the Iland of *Bab-mandell* in twelve fathom; the Easter Channell is not above a mile and a halfe over. Bab-mandell sailed on both sides.

The eleventh at noone, the high land of *Aden* bore North North-west, distant some eleven leagues, and by estimation East by South halfe a degree some sixe and thirtie leagues. Note also that from this day vnto the end, I reckon the dayes from noone to noone, for that by every daies obseruation of latitude, I rectifie my trauesse, as now from noone the eleventh day, to noone the twelfth day, I reckon vpon the twelfth day onely in my discourses, I reckon according to the true day, as from midnight to midnight, &c.

The one and twentieth, from noone to six at night East, some foure leagues before Sun-rising, we descried Mount *Felix*, bearing East by North eleven leagues distant (by which we certainly perceived how the Current had abused vs) from Tuesday the twentieth day after-noone, to Monday the six and twentieth day, notwithstanding some while of the land, and other while sea turnes, betweene calmes oftentimes a prettie gale continuing sometime foure, sixe or seven houres together, yet by reason of the Current we could neuer get a head; but by the said six and twentieth day in the morning, we were fallen to the Westward some foure leagues, the six and twentieth day at nine of the clock in the morning (hauing continued vnder a steepe high whitish cliffe all the foresaid time) it pleased God to send vs a small gale of wind off the shore, with which wee came off North North-east into the Sea, in hope there to finde the wind more prosperous.

The seven and twentieth, by iudgement we might runne East North-east fourteene leagues. This day at foure after-noone, Mount *Felix* bore South by East some nine leagues distant; this Mount, by my estimation, may bee sixteene leagues Westward of Cape *Guardafui*: this night when it was calme, as also when the wind blew, we met with a potching sea, which well informed me, that we grew neare the length of the Head-land, and began to bring the Southerne sea open of the Cape, or the point of the land: the nine and twentieth we descried *Socatora*. Cape de Guardafui.

Note that in this trauesse from *Aden* to *Socatora* is no certaintie, by reason we were so much deluded by the Current, wherein by the water oftentimes wee seemed to get, yet by the Current we lost, or were driuen backe.

Now hauing effected all our businesses, as watering and getting some ballast, and bought all the Alloes here to bee had, and left letters of aduice with the King of *Socatora*, for such of our nation, as in like manner might come to Trade in the Red-sea, both to preuent their losse of time and further trouble.

The fourth of September, at two in the after-noone, we set saile from the Roade of *Dellisba*, September 4. the wind presently grew calme, so that we did little good all the night.

The three and twentieth, at sixe in the morning, being neare the end of an ebbe, we set saile and stood away North and North North-east two howres, some two leagues, the wind at South, our depths from ten to sixteene fathom, and presently as against a wall, seven, sixe and five fathoms. About eight of the clocke, we had sight of the trees of *India*, which standeth both in South and North *Smally*, which bore East by North from vs (by a meridian Compasse distant six leagues) we runne in East North-east and North-east by East with the flood, still raising the land to the Northward, till neere two of the clocke; our depths vncertaine, sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, shunning diuers suspicious riplings, keeping betweene eight and fifteene fathom, we anchored in soft Oze, and by my obseruation it floweth East North-east one quarter North, and West by South one quarter South by the Moone, and by this time the flood runneth five houres, and the ebbe seven houres, by reason of the Winter freshes by the abundant raines are not yet fully expelled, and therefore doth overcome or shorten the flood-streames; but at other times, though the Spring-streames goe alwayes strong, yet the flood and ebbe are equally sixe houres a peece. In the Winter-streames, which is Iune, Iuly and August, my coniecture is that Cables and Anchors, nor Ships bowes can be made of force to resist the streames. The Coast lyeth heere neare North and South; this day being come to an anchor, my Generall sent off his Pinnasse to fetch a Boat which sailed neare vs, who came from *Surat*, and was bound to *Goga*, loaden with Rice, who informed him we were over-shot *Surat* a great way toward *Cambaia*, and that we must returne seven or eight leagues, if wee would goe to the Barre of *Surat*: this Boat the Generall kept with him, because they would vse the Master of her for a Pilot. A boat of Surat.

The foure and twentieth, there came another Boat voluntarily aboard the Admirall, and also continued with good content with vs for Pilots: the former informed the Generall, that there were staying for vs at the Barre of *Surat*, fifteene armed *Portugall* Frigats, to intercept what we should there intend; so at full sea, which was at two after-noone, we set saile with a little wind



at South, standing off West into the deeper Channell, turning downe the ebbe while day light would permit, and then anchored in foure and twentie fathome in a vehement streame, where riding till morning day-light, when the ebbe being spent and we not able to weigh our anchors till the tide broake, so that we made a small tides worke; yet this five and twentieth day night at seuen of the clocke, wee anchored some league short of the Roade, Southward of the Barre, where we saw riding at anchor three *Indian* ships.

Eightene  
sayles of *Portu-  
gall* Frigats.

*W. Finch* intended to returne  
into *England* by  
the way of *Persia*.

The six and twentieth in the morning, with the tide of flood wee set saile, standing into the Roade, where we anchored by the said three ships of *Surat*, which were intended to be laden for to goe to *Sumatra*, but partly by reason of our approach, and partly for that the *Portugals* would come to no reasonable composition with them for their Custome and *Caritas* (or *Passe*) their Voyage was giuen ouer, according to our Pilots former information. We here found eightene sayle of *Portugall* Frigats, whereof sometime more, and sometime lesse, according as they see occasion appeared in our view, al being vnder the charge or conduct of *Don Francisco de Soto Maior*, Capitaine Maior of the forces of *Damon* and *Chaul*, accompanied also with the Capitaine Maior and forces of *Dim*: who for a long time together without intermission, so pestred the streames about vs, that none could neither out of the Riuer, nor any other way come neere vs, but they would narrowly search and see that they had neither Letters nor other prouisions, that might comfort or reliefe our necessities, whereby they often tooke occasion to rob diuers of sundry things, with threatnings that they were bringing them vnto vs their Enemies; and therefore confiscated: by this meanes our men grew to great weaknesse, and euery day more and more of our men fell downe with the scurue, wanting to refresh or comfort them; at last by our Neighbours the ships Boat of *Surat*, we receiued a lame aduice from one *Nicholas Bangham*, left by the *Hector* to attend on the Merchants there. Yet after many dayes, was gotten from him (which for the purpose was lying by him) both a Letter from Capitaine *Hawkins* remayning in *Agra* (which is the place of the great *Mogull* his residence) and another from *William Finch* at *Labor* which was going home-wards ouer land by the way of *Persia*, by which the Generall vnderstood the little hope they conceiued of any good for our Nation in this Countrey people without faith. After some time there was knowledge giuen by the said *Nicholas Bangham*, that Capitaine *Sharpeigh*, *John Iourdain*, and others were euery day expected in *Surat*, being comming from *Agra* by the way of *Cambaya*, which gaue some content to Sir *Henry Middleton*.

The thirtieth, by the Generals direction, I with the *Pepper-Corne*, *Darling*, and *Release*, set saile, endeavouring to finde the passage ouer the Barre into the Riuer of *Surat*: but partly by the *Portugals* diligent attendance to cut off from vs our Boats which sounded before the ships, if they exceeded the command of our Ordnance, and partly the vncertaine and dangerous sudden shoalings we in each ship found, did chiefly frustrate our present endeours.

### §. IIII.

Many proud affronts of the Portugals. Disgusts from the Indians.

Octob. 1.

Insolence of  
*Portugals*.

**T**He first of October, we all set sayle backe againe towards the Road, where our Admirall rid, but the wind shortening vpon vs, and the tyde of ebbe growing also strong, we could not fetch the Road, but were put off some foure miles Westwards of the Roade, wherefore it was Wednesday before the wind and tyde so much fauoured vs as to get into the Road. Sir *Henry Middleton* wrote vnto the *Portugall* Capitaine Maior, requiring him that if he could not permit him to Trade here, yet, that he might take in the Merchants and others his Countrymen which were heere on shoare in this Countrey, and then hee would be gone from this place; but the *Portugall* Captaines answere (to this) was No, for hee would carrie them to *Goa*, and from thence, they should be sent home; also it seemed that *John Iourdain*, had beene flat tering with the fathers both at *Agra* and *Cambaya*, and had obtayned some commendations to the Vice-Roy, or request or hope of conduction into *Portugall*, knowing at present no better meanes to get into his Countrey: by which Sir *Henry Middleton* could neuer imagine nor expect any safetie to such as continue firme to our State and Countrey. And neere the time of this Letter from Sir *Henry Middleton*, Capitaine *Sharpeigh* by some principall *Portugall* then on land in *Surat*, made motion either by Letter or otherwise, to the Capitaine Maior to giue him his *Segure* (or safe conduct) for his safe passage aboard the *English* ships; whereupon the Capitaine Maior, in scoffe wrote vnto the *English* Capitaine and his Companions, his *Segure* for their safe comming aboard his *Galliot*, without addition for his departure thence, the thing which he required. And further to shew the base account he made of our Nation, added, that if they would take their passage along with him to *Goa*, he would vse him and his Company with as much fauour, as he would doe to *Turkes*, *Moores*, or other Nations that vse these Seas; and all other Nations (a few *Persians* excepted) are *Jewes*, *Bannians*, and *Gentiles*, which though it were



were in him an vnpleasing and vile speech, yet I like well his plainenesse, in shewing them what to trust to before (not thinking they could haue escaped his hands) otherwise it is likely, that some of them would haue beene perswaded, that their vsage should haue beene better then is heere promised.

Sir Henry Middleton being very zealous in procuring the libertie of our Countrymen, though both by Captaine *Hawkins* and *William Finch* his Letters, and by all else we could vnderstand of the Countrey, all hope of good here to be done for the Company, cyther for present or to come was wholly quenched; he writ to haue them come by land and meete him at *Dabul*, but that journey was thought toot tedious, and by reason of the Warres in *Decanie*, dangerous. The time thus lost seemed very tedious; wherein our water and other prouisions fast wasted, our people daily for want of comfortable refreshing, fell generally into sicknesse, which made our estate doubtfull, not knowing where or by what meanes to get refreshing, we being so garded by these our Enemies, that none could come to vs, neither could we goe from our ships: And Captaine *Sharpeigh* made prouision for vs at the Towne, though without hope that it could escape the *Portugall*, who lay in continuall waite for it. It being prouided, it was in vaine to sell it againe, but order being giuen to send it howsoeuer, it was immediately sent towards vs.

The eleuenth, Sir Henry Middleton, much disturbed in minde at our present doubtfull estate, and our great losse of time, and that to so little purpose, and therefore leauing the *Trades Increase* in the mayne Road, he with the *Pepper-Corne*, and *Darling*, and *Release*, put in practice to discouer alongst the Coast to the North-ward, to find out some place where our shippes might safely ride so neere the shoare, as to command the place of landing, and frustrate the *Portugalls* attempts for taking our Boates and people: but the day neere spent, wee anchored neere the North point, thwart of the barre at the enterance of the Riuer of *Surat*. This day *Allonso Gransido* dyed.

The twelfth, early in the morning, the *Portugalls* tooke the Boate which was comming towards vs with our prouisions: in loffe the Captaine *Maio*r presently sent thanks to Captaine *Sharpeigh*, for his care of him in sending him victuals for his supply. This said morning at the first of the flood we set sayle standing with the point to the Northwards, and by reason of the quicknesse of the streame, and our suspition in this vnknowne place, wee euer put that shippe smallest of draft head-most, and before the smallest we sent our rowing Boates, making no more haste with our Sayles, then that our Boates might keepe head with their Oares. And yet further to preuent what perill by these strong Tydes might happen, wee had our Anchors alwayes in readinesse to let drop whensoever by their signes ahead, wee should vnderstand of any sudden shoalding. The Armie of the *Portugals* likewise weighed and followed keeping a brest betweene the *Pepper-Corne* and the shore, they all rowing in order of Battell with their Colours displayed, oftentimes making great shoutes as in some great attempt; the Captaine *Maio*r in a small Frigate, going from Frigate to Frigate throughout his Fleet encouraging them at length the *Darlings* Boat a good distance of betweene the ship & the land, by occasion of a suspicious ripling & where shee was sounding, presently by the Captaine *Maio*r's direction one of their smaller swiftest Frigats (being ouer-bold through our long sufferance) rew forth with great swiftnesse to cut off from vs the *Darlings* Boat, being seconded by another of the same kind. The Master of the *Darling* seeing his Boat and men in such danger, could no longer forbear, but for her rescue he began to shoot at them, the former Frigate gat cleere ahead. But the second seeing our shoote flye so fast at her with feare put on shoare, the men abandoning her ranne away in the mulde; the Armie now comming vp for her rescue perceiuing our shot came amongst them so fast shoued a sterne leauing that Frigate to our deuotion wee perceiuing them so to leaue her, and for that she was fit to serue our turnes, bestowed the fetching of her. In this Frigate wee found some small quantity of Indico, Cinamon, Comin-seed, Cotton Yarne, Mirabolans (dry for Phisick) & one small ballet of *Candekins* mill, & very coarse, all of smal value, these things had the *Portugals* lately taken from a poore *Bannian*. By this occasion we anchored here in seuen fathome water, thwart of the North point in the mouth of the Riuer of *Surat*, within Musket shot of the shoare at low water, here wee rid till the next day.

The thirteenth, in the morning we weighed and stood somewhat neerer into the shorewards, and anchored in fixe fathome, presently we descryed diuers men on land, wherefore the Generall sent Master *Iesse*, and *Matthew Bragge* ashore with a Flagge of Truce: but they being *Portugals*, and perceiuing them landed, retyred flourishing their Swords as though they had atchieued some worthy exploit: this day about nine a clocke in the fore-noone, the Generall sent a way the *Darling* into the maine Road, where the *Trades Increase* rid, she made no stay there, but presently againe returned bringing with her one of the *Indian* ship Boates, and seenteene of their men whom the Generall at times sent away with Letters to the Towne to Captaine *Sharpeigh* whom before their going the Generall royally rewarded, also promising them better satisfaction at their returne: five of them were this euening sent away with Letters, who promised to returne againe to vs with Letters, but according to their accustomed practice of lying and deceit, they onely spake to giue present content and meant the contrary, so that there is no hold in their words. This day there came somewhat neer vs a great *Indian* Boat laden with Paddy, the General made

Vngracious  
gratitude.

A *Portugall* Frigate  
gattaken.



made stay of her, and for our present supply, bought of her one Candie, & fixe Maunds of Paddy, which the next day we tooke into the *Pepper-corne*, and they hauing satisfaction to their content, being dismissed, departed.

The sixteenth, we seeing two Frigats riding a good distance to the North-ward of vs, which the Generall had a desire to see what they were, and to know the cause of their riding there: which being *Portugals*, and seeing vs rowing alongst the coast towards them, they set saile, standing awhile alongst the coast, and then to the Offing; but finding our selues further and further a sterne gaue them ouer, and stood in with the Riuer, and point of South *Swally*; we landed, determining with our net to fish, but the depth of the water not seruing, the General was going vnto the Riuer in his Galliot to fish, at which instant there came a good gale of wind off the sea, wherewith againe came in the two former Frigats, accompanied with two other Frigats, newly come from the bar-foot of *Surat*. In which was the late Captaine of our little Frigats; who lately hazarded his life by running away in the deep mud, supposed now by worthy valour to recouer her againe, (as soon after we were informed) to whose attempt the wind was as fauourable, as aduerse to vs, who had farre to row to wind-ward ouer a broad shoale, whereon we alwaies had between three and foure foot water; but we somewhat gotten off to set saile, and the *Release* not farre off to second vs: and contrary to their expectations, in stead of flying see all our endeauours bent to hasten the meeting with them, and seeing our Musket shot fell but little short of them, which immediately was like to reach them: but as seemed, their former resolution found some contradict, for they all at once exchanged their sterne for their prowes, giuing vs some waile bafe shot in their running away; we pursued long, since we lost not much, we were euer in hope to get ground of them, but the wind increasing, and what betweene our people tired at the oare, and our too small saile to our little Frigat, put them cleane from vs, and so we returned to the *Pepper-corne*, leauing the *Darling*.

The twentieth in the morning, *Thomas Glemham* in the Pinnasse went on shoare to attend the comming downe of any of the Countrey people, either with messages or prouisions to sell, all giuing direction, if any came to giue him knowledge by shooting off three Muskets together, that the Generall in the Frigat would then goe on shoare the Pinnasse comming on shoare, one man onely for a Centinell went on shoare, who no sooner came to the top of a small hill neere the water-side, but presently seeing a troupe of *Portugals* rush out of their ambush towards them, retyred to the Pinnasse, who rowed a little from the shoare and anchored; the *Portugals* comming to the water side, discharged their smal shot at our Pinnasse, who so well repayed them with their Muskets, that presently they ran away, soone after they saw one of the Inhabitants on Horse-back, whose comming downe (as they suppose) the present sight of the *Portugals* hindered, and therefore shot off three Muskets together, which the Generals hearing, presently went on the shoare with the Frigat, but contrary to our expectation the said *Indian* came not downe to them, neither any Message nor Letter, neither from the General nor Captaine *Sharpeigh*. In the euening some of the poore Inhabitants brought downe some few fruits to sel, which the General caused to be bought, and as our men repayed to the Frigat to come aboard, there came downe vnto them three men out of the *Portugall* Armie, who for some disgust there giuen them, fled to vs for succour, the one of them a *Dutchman* borne in *Lisbone*, called *Lorenzo de Campo*, the other two were *Portugals*, the principall of them called *Frances Consalues*.

The one and twentieth in the morning, the Generall in the Frigat went on shoare, where hee no sooner landed, but presently an *Indian* brought him a Letter from Captaine *Sharpeigh*, certifying Sir *Henry Middleton* that the next day he would come downe with all his goods guarded by an hundred Horsemen; this day a *Mallabar* Boy called *Antonio*, who had bene five or fixe yeares Captiue to a *Portugall* Soullier in this Armie, now finding good oportunitie to his desire, fled vnto vs for succour.

The two and twentieth, early in the morning, the Generall went on shoare in the Frigat, attended by the *Release*, to expect the comming downe of Captaine *Sharpeigh*, according to his information in his Letter: now approaching neere the shoare, the Frigat anchored, and presently landed thirty men with small shot, the Generall appointing one of them for Centinell, to stay on the top of a small hill neere the water side; the rest also to be neere the water side, for the better auoiding any sudden attempt, but all to looke about, to see if they could discouer any bodie comming downe from *Surat*-wards: the Centinell in short time saw two *Bannians* comming from the North-wards, whereof he instantly gaue knowledge: these *Bannians* brought downe some Tobacco, and other trifling things to sell; they beeing come aboard the Frigat, certified the Generall that the last night five *Englishmen* came from *Surat*, to a village some foure miles from this place; and that this morning they came from them, and that this afternoone they would come downe to vs, presently there sallied out of a valley betweene two hills on a sudden, seven troopes of *Portugals*, with their colours displayed, whom our men seeing made a stand, the *Portugals* also made a stand, as hauing no list to come within the reach of our shot, although there were neere three hundred of them. The Generall commanded our men to retire, and to imbarque themselues: which being done accordingly, the *Portugals* then made pursuit after them, and with five or fixe Baffles (by them brought for that purpose) and other small shot, they began

Three hundred  
*Portugals* assault  
our men.



to shoot at our Boates and men, but did them no harme, who failed not to answer them againe with the like, whereby (as afterwards wee were informed) they went away with the worst. Now after longer stay, and our people not comming according to our expectation, the Generall returned aboard the *Pepper-corne*, determining this afternoon with the ebbe to be gone from this place to the *Tradef-increase*; but as we were setting saile, a company of men were descried comming from the North-ward, wherefore we againe anchored, and the General went on shore in the Frigate, where presently came downe to them three of our Country-men, of the *Ascensions* company, to wit, *Thomas Musgrave*, *Bartholmew Davis*, and *William Morgan*, who with them brought Captaine *Sharpeigh*, and *John Iordaine* cloaths and provisions. On Thursday came downe to them Captaine *Sharpeigh*, with an hundred horsemen for his guard, all armed with Bowes and arrowes and Sworles: with him came aboard *Jaddow*, the Broaker, and a *Braman* (or *Bannian* Priest) and an other *Indian*, Captaine *Sharpeigh* his seruant.

Certaine Englishmen come aboard.

The five and twentieth, Sir Henry Middleton in the Frigate, went on shore (accompanied by Captaine *Sharpeigh*, and *John Iordaine*) where *Coia Nassan* at the water side promised to meete him, who was there in readinesse according to his promise. The Frigate comming to the water side, the Generall was fetcht on shore on a Pallankin, borne on foure mens shoulders, and there kindly entertained by *Coia Nassan*, and according to the Countrey fashion, a Carpet was spread whereon they sat to conferre of our present businesse. It was by them in a manner concluded, our ships to goe to *Goga*, a place on the West side of the Gulfe neerer to *Cambaya*, and to haue Pilots from the shore for our more safe conduct; but a sudden (and at this time of the yeere vnusual) showre of raine happening, they brake vp their conference, promising the next day there to meet againe, fully to determine of our said businesse.

Captaine *Sharpeigh* commeth aboard. Our Generall goeth on land.

The sixe and twentieth, according to mutuall promise, the Generall in manner aforesaid went on shore in the Frigate, who anchoring neere the shore side, *Coia Nassan* in one of our boats sent off *Jaddow* with a Present of tenne fine Bastas, and fiftie Bushels of Wheate to the Generall, and two Pilots for our safe conduct to *Goga*: the Generall very kindly accepted thereof, and with the Pinnasse went to the shore side, where on a Pallankin in manner aforesaid, hee was receiued and entertained on shore, where they proceeded on their former conference; but the Pilots hauing discovered the manner of the place, whose vnfitnesse gaue no content, and therefore their determination therein soone altered, and it was concluded and agreed vpon, that our ships should for the space of sixe dayes be gone off to Sea, which the *Portugals* perceiuing, they suppose would also be gone, and then we againe to returne, and suddenly to dispatch our businesse. This Evening we set saile, standing to the South-wards to the *Tradef-increase*, but the wind shortned vpon vs, so that we anchored some mile West-ward of the roade. This day in the morning, *Thomas Lane* died.

The seuen and twentieth in the morning, the Generall departed aboard the *Tradef-increase*, and soone after sent his Pinnasse for Captaine *Sharpeigh* and my selfe, to confere about our present businesse, (also he sent men to fetch away the Frigate and *Portugals* from the *Pepper-corne*;) after a Counsell held, the Generall sent a letter to *Don Francisco de Soto*, Captaine Maior of the *Portugall* army, therein repeating the manifold discourtesies by him shewed towards vs: First, not onely hindering our landing, but also the passage of our letters, kept vs from all reliefe for our sicke men; and what at great charge was provided, he had taken from vs, and kept vs from our people on shore, which if we could haue gotten, we had been gone long since: and also his endeauours the twelfth of this Moneth, to cut from vs our boats founning a head our ships, what time we tooke one of their Frigats, which we now hauing done our businesse, if hee would send for her, we would freely bestow her on him againe. Also the Generall released the *Indian* shippes, whom for conueiance of letters betweene Captaine *Sharpeigh* and him, he restrained from going into the Riuer, who now being dismiss, they presently departed towards *Surat*: also wee made ready our ships to be gone off to Sea.

October.

The nine and twentieth, we set saile to sea-wards, the *Portugall* Frigats still following vs in their accustomed manner. This day we met with a boat bound to *Cambaya*, laden with Coco nuts, of whom the Generall bought seuentene thousand, which he distributed amongst our people, and the *Indian* boat was presently dismiss: this day was M. *Mullenex* the second time put into the *Pepper-corne*. The one and thirtieth, S. Henry Middleton seeing that the *Portugals* still followed vs, determined to stand off no further, but againe to returne to doe our businesse so farre as conveniently we could, in despite of them.

The first of Nouember, according to the Generals predetermination, we returned to the North-wards as the winds and tides permitted. Saturday in the morning, we anchored thwart of South Smally, where the General in the Frigate went on shore, but heard no news from *Surat*.

Nouember. 1.

This night the *Portugals* in the riuer shot off diuers peeces, which they told the *Indians* was for ioy they had receiued tidings of the coming of two great Gallies, and twentie Frigats more for their assistance, whereby they abused themselves, in thinking with their lyes to terrifie vs, who were now armed to withstand all their villainous practises, vsurping authority in an other Kings Dominion, where they haue no more to doe then in *Denmarke*.

The



An excellent  
roade found.

The fifth, Sir *Henry Middleton* sent *William Pemberton* Master of the *Darling* (in whose endeavours he had firme confidence) with his ship the *Release* and Frigate againe, to discover to the North-wards as afore-said; who there found a hard place, wherein not onely our smaller ships might at high water goe, but also the *Trade-increase*, being a little lightned, might also goe safely over the Barre, and there ride within Calieuer shot of the shoare.

The sixth in the morning, with the first of the flood, we all set saile, standing to the North-wards, and anchored thwart of the place discovered: at high water wee with the *Pepper-corne*, *Darling* and *Release*, went in over the Barre, whereon the least depth wee found was three fathome and a foote, but at low water three foot. Beeing in, we all anchored within Calieuer shot of the shoare, as afore-said in eight fathome, and right a head or to the North-ward of vs, anchored twelve *Portugall* Frigats, somewhat without the reach of our Ordnance. This afternoone the Generall and my selfe, with a guard of fortie small shot, went on shoare to seeke out some place where we might relieue our wants of fresh water: in the salt marshes we found a place of brackish water, whereof till better could be gotten, we were forced to make vse. Here the Inhabitants brought downe to sell five or sixe goats and sheepe, and some fruits, which for reliefe of our out-tired weake people were all bought.

Newes of more  
Portugals.

The seventh, we filled some water, bought some small provisions as the people brought down: we haled the *Release* a ground, in hope to stop her leaks, beeing as it were in a manner deuoured with wormes, for the safetie of her and her people: we erected a Tent, in which I continued, keeping a Court of Guard and Centinels aboard, to prevent the practise of the *Portugals* our enemies to preiudice vs. The eighth, all our Carpenters vsed their best endeavours to trie the stopping of the Pinnasse her leaks: this day *Nicholas Bangham* came downe, bringing provisions such as by the Generals directions he had provided, as Limes for our diseased people, bread, lamp-oyle, and candles, and his owne provisions. This euening, some of our inhabiting neighbours of the neerest Villages, informed the Generall, that in the Riuer was arriued two Gallies, and eightie Frigats: vpon which newes the Generall altered his determination, and for the better securitie thought good to bring all our forces together, the better to frustrate any practises that might be intended against vs; wherefore at his first departure aboard his ship, which rid in the Offing, gaue me directions to guard the said Barke vpon the shoare, and as soon as the tide serued, to heaue her a float by my ship, or the *Darling*, which about midnight was performed; when presently we set saile over the Barre, and rid by the Admirall.

A Market at  
the roade of  
Swally.

The ninth in the morning, *Coia Nassan* came downe, the Generall beeing then on shoare; hee certified the Generall, that so soone as all our ships were come into the roade, hee would bring downe goods and trade with vs; in the meane time a Market should be kept vpon the sea strand, of all necessary provisions; also informed the Generall, that the Frigats last come into the Riuer, was a Caphala or fleete of *Portugall* Merchant Frigats, bound to *Cambaya*: at his departure *Nicholas Bangham* went vp to *Surat* with him.

A second  
assault of the  
Portugals.

The twelfth, beeing in the roade, we had a Market there kept vpon the strand of diuers sorts of provisions, to wit, Meale, Bread, Bullocks, Goats, Sheepe, Hennes, Butter and Cheese, Sugar and Sugar-Candie, Limes, Plantans, Water-Mellons, Goards, Onions, Radishes, Pallinger-mies, Cucumbers, Milke, a kind of Peascod which they call Paupery, and Gindus, a small fruit as big as a little Crab, beeing in taste betweene sweet and sowre, and in the midst thereof hath a small round stone, Sugar-canes, and Tobacco, also Salt-fish dried, and Praunes, and Palmita wine, which they call Taddy. All these afore-named things were at reasonable cheape rates.

The one and twentieth, my Centinell vpon the Mount, saw over the top of an other hill neere adioyning, the heads of some of the *Portugals*, who there lay in ambush to the number of five hundred men: he had no sooner giuen the Alarum, but presently they seeing themselves discovered, they all with their colours aduanced, with great celeritie ranne downe, to cut off our people from the Boat; but hauing a little tasted of our shot, both out of great and small Peeces, and seeing some of their fellowes tumbling in the mud, they made as great hast backe out of the reach of them: diuers of them that fell downe, afterwards came to themselves, and made means to crawl away, onely *Antonio de Sousa*, a Gentleman of *Chaul*, hauing a deadly wound in the head, lay still. We seeing the neglect of compassion by his friends, in commiseration fetcht him aboard; whose wound beeing incurable, he died within two houres after, and we buried him on the shoare. Sir *Henry Middleton* in his ship in the Offing, hearing our peeces, and doubting of some disgust, hastned with his Frigate full of people vnto vs, yet notwithstanding we gaue the enemy leaue to take his pleasure on the shoare, without landing to trie any further fortunes with them: going on shoare we found diuers of their reliques, as shoes and socks, which for their more expedition away, they left behind: afterwards we were informed by the Muccadam or Constable of *Swally*, that the *Portugals* had kild and hurt in this attempt, eight of their people.

The arrivall of  
*Mucris Chan*  
the Gouvernour  
of *Cambaya*.

The foure and twentieth afternoone, came downe *Mucris Chan*, with one hundred horse-men, and many more footmen, five Elephants, with diuers Camels, Carts and Oxen, for transportation of his provisions, wherein he shewed his greatnesse. Furthermore, he had diuers Carts to carrie his Leopards, wherewith at his pleasure he vsed to hunt. Hee was there met by Sir

Henry



*Henry Middleton*, at whose landing was discharged a Volley of an hundred and threescore small shot, and at the instant of their salutation each ship in order shot, to wit, the *Darling* three, the *Pepper-corne* five, and the *Trades-increase* nine peeces of Ordnance, then was deliuered vnto him the King of *Englands* Letter and Present vnto himselfe, whereof with all shewes of kindnesse he accepted: and *Macrib Chan* with sixteene *Moguls* and *Moors*, such as he made choice of (leaving the rest of his followers a shoare with *Hoia Nassan*, and *Coia Arsan Allo*, and other Merchants, where was erected as it were a little Towne of tents) boldly accompanied *S. Henrie Middleton* aboard the *Trades-Increase*, where in the best manner the ship afforded, he was entertained, and continued all night, and part of the next day. *Sir Henry Middleton* often vrged him concerning our maine businesse, which he still put off with delaies till an other time. But all his looking was, both himselfe and by diuers instruments to find out, and buy all such fantasticall toyes, that might fit his turne to please the toyish humour of the great King his Master; and for ought that we could gather, further then serued his owne turne, he little respected our selling or buying of our principall Merchandize brought for that place; hauing satisfied himselfe in that ship by his wittiest inquisition, desired in like manner to see the other ships, where he ranne the like course aboard the *Pepper-corne*: he bought all our Chests of Sword-blades, whereof he seemed to be so greedy, as he would not trust vs to send them after him, but would see them all sent a shoare before his departure, which in few dayes after, hauing selected out all the crooked ones, and such as liked him, sent backe the rest carelesly, and ill conditioned, as their accustomed manner is to doe all things whatsoeuer they haue bought, when by all the view they can haue they dislike the same. Which businesse being ended, they hastened a shoare accompanied by *S. Henry Middleton*, my selfe, Captaine *Sharpeigh*, and *John Iordaine*. He beeing landed, carried vs to his Tent, where being all set vpon Carpets, with many of his friends, *Sir Henry Middleton* againe moued speech concerning our businesse, as aforesaid: which he againe put off till to morrow. When wee saw nothing to be done, and the night approaching, we tooke leaue, departing aboard to spend the night in consultation of our next dayes businesse or affaires.

*Macrib Chan*  
came aboard  
the *Trades-In-*  
*crease*.

The sixe and twentieth in the morning, *Sir Henry Middleton* hastened ashore, thinking to doe much businesse: being come he was informed that *Macrib Chan* was gone, and yet the better to pacifie him, they told him he was gone to the *Portugals* to make friendship betweene vs, which the Generall well knew was not so, but rather suspected that his going to the *Portugals* was, hauing receiued already from vs in presents all hee could get, that hee would now also see what he could get from the *Portugals* to doe ill Offices against vs. Wherefore, laden with discontent, he againe departed aboard his ship in the euing, *Hoia Nassan* yet staying, pretending of purpose to buy our Commodities, whereof the Generall set downe the particular prizes, but this day being farre spent, it was referred till the day following.

The seuen and twentieth in the morning *Macrib Chan* sent one of his chiefe Gentlemen and his Broker with a Letter to the Generall: which I supposing to be of import and behoofe of our Common-wealthes businesse, presently in my Boat sent the Messenger aboard the *Admirall*, the effect whereof was soone found to be no other then to beg his perfumed Ierkin and his Spaniell Dogge, which was denyed him the day before when he begged his Beuer Hat: also hee desired our workmen and Smith to make him the modell of a chaine pumpe, also this morning Captaine *Sharpeigh* and Master *Iourdaine* went ashore to *Hoia Nassan*, to conferre with him of the prizes of our Commodities.

Base Vanitie.

The eight and twentieth, *Hoia Nassan* departed to *Surat*, carrying with him the Generals Ierkin and Dogge, which *Macrib Chan* had formerly begged, and that we should the lesse doubt, he left behind him in his Tent *Hoia tellardin* his sonne-in-law, pretending he should stay till his returne. *Hoia Nassan* being once gone, he set flight, being carelesse of our businesse, and the next night he dissolued his Tent and departed, to no small disturbance to vs, seeing none left to rectifie any businesse. This day *Bartholmew Duns* one of our Carpenters was sent to *Surat*, to make prouision of planks and boards for re-edifying of the *Release*, wee thereinto encouraged by their fauourable promise, in which is very small hold, for he once there, found nothing but delusions or delays, for wheresoeuer he found Timber, either he could not find any to sell it, or not to saw it; so all his businesse was not onely frustrate, but he also in despaire of libertie to returne. This day Master *Iourdaine*, Master *Fraim*, and others went vp to a Village neere adioyning to view some packes of *Indian Cloth*, which *Hoia Nassan* had brought downe thither to barter with vs for some of our Commodities: they returning brought downe the *Mustraes* of euerie sort, and the prizes demanded for them *per Corge*: the Generall vpon such as he liked set downe what prizes he would giue for them, requiring them to doe the like by his Commodities, and to haue answere the next day: but they held them at high rates, and offered weakly for our Commodities, which they esteemed of necessitie, we must be forced to sell them howsoeuer.

The first of December, they perceiuing that *Sir Henry Middleton* would not giue them their demand for their Commodities, nor sell them his at their owne rates, to shew their carelesnesse, or to try his temper, did not onely speedily send for their *Mustraes* of clothes, but also carryed backe to *Surat*, all such packes as they had formerly brought downe to *Damka*, a Village three mile

Decemb. 1.



mile from vs. Also the poore Inhabitants were restrayned from bringing downe provisions to sell vs, as formerly by permission they did.

The sixth, the Generall was informed the *Mockrib Chan*, and *Hoia Nassan* were comming downe, and in the euening we see as it were a Village of Tents pitcht somewhat more then a mile within the land, to the East-ward of the Road, but whether they came in peace or no, we knew not.

Barbarous in  
humanitie.

The seuenth, *Iaddow* & *Narran* Brokers came downe, certifying the General that *Mockrib Chan* and *Hoia Nassan* were comming downe, and were now at the Tents, and to morrow would bee heere with him. They translated our Kings Letter, and then departed, but yet their extraordinary sadnesse, as men sent by constraint, gaue vs no hope of good towards vs, the rather for that they had formerly restrayned as prisoner our man sent to the Towne about businesse, as also their iueritie in proclayming the losse of their noses, to any that should bring downe any provision to vs, whereby they shewed their desire to force vs away by Famine. This day the *Darling* was againe haled off to her moring.

Chiefe Com-  
modities for  
India.

The eighth, *Mockrib Chan* and *Hoia Nassan*, came downe with a great traine to the water-side, and at the same time, to put ieaousie of their ill dealing from vs, brought downe some fortie or fiftie packes of *Indian* Clothes, and so increasing to the number of a hundred and eight packes, yet the sight thereof could not moue all of vs to beleue, they meant faithfully to deale with vs: but they having extraordinary desire to our Quick-siluer, and Vermilion, and *Mockrib Chan* to our Veluet, though they made smallest shew thereof. Yet for that it could not be had by it selfe, without our Lead and other Commodities, by which meanes they condescended to deale at present for our Lead also, deferring all the rest till some other time, but would not deale with vs otherwise, but so as they would gaine fiftie in the hundred at their owne doores without further aduenture, and ours which we haue brought so farre, wee could not draw them but to such poore rates, as will beare but a small part of our freight hither.

The ninth in the morning, Sir *Henry Middleton* went on shoare, not hauing any sure confidence in their performance, where in words they continued firme. Wherefore the *Trades Increase* began to land her Lead; somewhat before noone was brought vnto *Mockrib Chan*, a Letter from the great *Mogull*, whereat he was so dampe, that scarce any words was to be gotten from him, but presently after dinner he departed, but *Hoia Nassan*, and others continued, as they pretended, to effect the businesse: this night before the Generall went aboard, being still in suspicion of inconstant dealing, and seeing the great paines and toile in landing our Lead, and what intollerable disgust or discontent would arise among our people, if by shrinking from their words we be forsaken againe to imbarque the same, sent some of our Factors with the Brokers to *Hoia Nassan* to signifie the same, and before further trouble to know his full resolution: who returned him answere, he should not need to doubt, for they would haue it all: whereby without further doubt, the greatest expedition was vsed for landing thereof. This day in the euening, *William Johnson* Sailer of the *Darling*, and *Iohn Couerdale* Trumpetter of the Admirall, ran away to the *Portugall* Armie, and *Iohn Pattison* to *Surat*.

The tenth, there came aboard to see our ships the Gouvernour of *Surat*, and *Coia Arsan Alle*, being departed from the *Pepper-Corne* with the Generall aboard the Admirall, in the effing this sudden disturbance happened, which crost the content on all sides, for *Iohn Iourdain* came speedily from the shoare to informe the Generall, how that *Hoia Nassan* hauing already the Veluet and some other things which he most desired, was now in a great fit of wrangling, so that hee thought no good for vs would be done: for he had both made them giue ouer weighing the lead; and also sent for his Oxen to draw away the Carts with the packes of *Indian* Clothes: whereat the Generall grew so impatient, that he presently made slay (to inforce performance) both of the Gouvernour and *Coia Arsan Ally*, to their great trouble of minde, but after some little pause, the Generall caused them to be imbarqued with him selfe in the Frigat, and came in calling vpon me in the *Pepper-Corne*, to impart what he had done, wishing my opinion, who seeing him in the right way, saw no cause to counsell him to reuoke the same, but rather for securitie of our businesse to perseuere: from me he departed to the shoare with a reasonable Guard, and gaue *Hoia Nassan* knowledge, what his crosse dealing had forced him vnto, and that since the Gouvernour of *Surat* came in curtesie, and the businesse concernes him not; wisht himselfe to come aboard and take his place, and he would dismisst the Gouvernour; who seeing no other remedie, with a grimme looke and fowre countenance came into the Frigat, and the Gouvernour to his great content was dismisst, and they were brought to remayne with me in the *Pepper-Corne*.

The eleuenth, we continued landing of our Lead, and had so lightned the Admirall, that at high-water the night following to our great content, we brought her in ouer the barre, also hauing now all our strength together where our businesse lay.

The twelfth in the morning, Sir *Henry Middleton* sent for the Gentlemen Prisoners to bee brought aboard his greater ship; which *Hoia Nassan* for long time obstinately refused, till I had order to send him perforce: hee being there, in regard of the hastening of our businesse it was thought fit to enlarge them both, leauing other pledges in their places, as for *Coia Nassan* was

Coia



*Coia Illardin* his sonne in law, and one of his sonnes : and for *Hoia Arsan Alle*, two *Persian* Merchants. And for pledges on our side to remayne with them in their Tents, were *John Williams* and *Henry Boothby* : this night were opened, counted, sorted and agreed for fortie packes of *Indian* Clothes.

The fifteenth, there came to vs two *Portugall* youthes from the Armie, one of them beeing the Captaine *Maio* his Page. Portugall Fugitives.

The sixteenth, in the morning wee saw to the Southward five *Portugall* Colours displayed : whereof the Generall vnderstanding presently by his command, were landed some two hundred armed men with Shot and Pikes to meet them : which they perceiuing retyred, in which pursuit being neere vnto our Swally, wee met with *Hoia Nassan* and all his troupes, who was coming downe with some twentie packes more of *Indian* Clothes : he informed the Generall that the *Portugals* were already gotten ouer the muddie Creekes, and were neere vnto their Frigats, wherefore the Generall gaue ouer his pursuite, and returned aboard. Portugall's bravery and flight.

The nineteenth, *Peter Rosemary* (a *Portugall* whom wee brought out of *England*) a Sailer of the *Trade*, being appointed as Guardian to attend on (or looke to) *Francisco Consalues*, they both ran away to the Armie.

The seuen and twentieth, there came from *Surat* *Hoia Nassan*, to see if hee could buy any of our Clothes and other Commodities : but not agreeing vpon the prices, hee againe departed. This day by a *lew* from *Masulipatan*, the Generall receiued a Letter from one *Peter Floris* (a *Dutchman* employed by the Company of Merchants of *London* trading to *East-India*, who had there settled a *Factorie*) certifying the Generall of three ships, which were coming out of *England*, whereof one was to goe into *Red-Sea* : which was very vnpleasing to the Generall and vs all, in regard of the danger we suspected they should fall into.

The thirtieth, *Master Iourdain* and *Master Fraine* were sent to *Surat*, to agree for some more *Indian* Clothes, as also to vrge the putting off of some of our Commodities. The same day the Generall receiued a Letter from Captaine *Hawkins* at *Cambaya*, signifying that his determination was with all his household to take his passage to *Goa*, and from thence to *England* ; But Sir *Henry Middleton* conceiting, if hee once get to *Goa*, his goods would stop his passage to *England*, if not shorten his life, by the same Messenger did most earnestly and friendly aduise him to the contrarie, and inuited him to take his passage with vs into *England* : also our people at *Surat* informed the Generall that *Mockrib Chan* made shew to bee willing that wee should leaue a *Factorie* for venting of the remayne of our Commodities : which kept vs sometime in hope, but afterwards vanished by inconstancie.

The eight of Ianuarie, *Nicholas Uphlet* came downe from *Cambaya*, with Letters from Captaine *Hawkins* to the Generall, certifying him that by reason of his former Letter, hee determined to come downe to our shippes, and take his passage with vs. January 8.

The sixe and twentieth, Captaine *Sharpeigh*, *Master Fraine*, Captaine *Hawkins* with all his goods and Family, and the rest (*Nicholas Uphlet* excepted) came downe, whom the Generall with a Troupe of some two hundred men, went some three mile vp into the Land to meete and guard them from the *Portugalls*, whose Armie was not farre off. Capt. Hawkins.

The seuen and twentieth, the Generall sent *John Williams* to *Surat*, to know their resolutions for leauing a *Factory* there.

The nine and twentieth, *John Williams* returned with an absolute denyall of hauing any further dealing with our Nation, but were all commanded to bee gone out of *Surat*, not permitting them to stay to receiue Debts there owing them : wherefore they sent to know the Generals pleasure, whether they should presently come downe, or vñe meanes to delay the time, to see whether their determination therein would alter.

The thirtieth, Sir *Henry Middleton* writ to our people at *Surat*, speedily to repaire downe to our ships.

The one and thirtieth, according to the Generals direction, all our people came downe from *Surat* with all their goods.

The sixth of February, there passed by towards *Cambaya*, a great *Caphala*, or Fleet of neere five hundred saile of *Portugall* Frigats. February, 6.

The ninth in the morning, vpon the top of a high water, the Admirall warped out ouer the Barre, and anchored in the Offing. This day about noone came downe from *Cambaya*, *Nicholas Uphlet*, Captaine *Hawkins* seruant, whom they had left behind in pawne, as afore-said, for whom we stayed since the last of Ianuarie, what time our Merchants were expelled *Surat*. This day in the euening we set saile, and went out ouer the Barre, and anchored in eight fathome, some mile in the Offing thereof, neere vnto the Admirall.



¶ V.

*Their departure to Dabull, Socatora, the Red-sea, and  
Acts there.*

**W**E departed the ninth, hauing continued heere the space of an hundred and thirtie eight dayes, in which we sustayned many and sundry abuses by delayes, breach of promises, which holding the Countrey people from trading with vs, and hauing exchanged a few Commodities at very hard and vnprofitable Rates, which holding further trade, disappointing vs of setting a Factorie, which holding some debts formerly, and commanding our Merchants out of their Towne, and our ships to be gone. The cause mouing them to hasten vs away (as we afterwards vnderstood) grew thus at the instant of their conference, whether fit for them to permit vs to leaue a Factorie, to vent the rest of our goods brought for that place there or no; was deliuered into the hands of *Mockrib Chan* a Letter from *Dangie*, a *Bannian* in *Cambaya*, by the instigation of the Iesuites there; aduising them, that if they gaue place to the *English* in *Surat*, the *Portugals* would come with force, and burne all their Sea Townes, and make spoile of all the ships they should send abroad, the contents whereof was applauded of most; all agreeing it to be their best course, and thereupon dismiss our people, as aforesaid.

The threatenings of the *Portugalls*.Observations of the Tides, &c. at *Smally*.

This Road of *Smally* within the Bar lyeth in twentie degrees, fiftie five minutes North latitude, the variation in sixteene degrees and fortie minutes Westerly, wee found the water highed more on the full Moone spring then on the change, by foure foot: the one beeing foure and twentie foot, the other twentie, the night tydes higher then the day tyde by three foot, according as the wind blew, the Coast or Strand within the Barre lyeth neere South and North by the Compasse, which the variation allowed is North by East, and halfe East, and South by West halfe West, also at West South-west halfe South, and East North-east halfe North, the Moone makes a full Sea.

The tenth, the Generall stayd to dispatch his businesse with *Iaddow* and *Narran* the Brokers: also we tooke out of a Frigat bound to the *Rehemy* at *Goga*, certaine Candies of Rice and Pitch, giuing them Bills to be paid at *Surat* by two men, who were indebted to Captaine *Hawkins* account.

They depart from *Surat*.

The eleuenth, in the morning at fixe a clocke at high water wee set saile, and at two in the afternoone we anchored in the South Road at the Barre foot of *Surat*, by a new ship called the *Hassany*, bound with the *Rehemy* vnto the Red-Sea: also we tooke out of another Frigat certaine Charcole, assigning them to be paid at *Surat* in manner aforesaid.

The fourteenth, at one of the clocke in the morning we met with a Banke, whereon wee had from sixteene to thirteene fathomes, and suddenly againe to twentie and twenty two fathomes, after which we haled vp by a wind West by South some three leagues: from fixe a clocke in the morning to noone South South-east some nine leagues, the wind at North, our depths twentie, nineteene, seuentene, and sixteene fathomes, what time wee were some tenne leagues off the Land West-wards in North latitude, nineteene degrees, thirtie seuen minutes. At one a clocke we past by three *Mallaber* ships bound for *Surat*, laden with Cayro (or stuffe to make Ropes) & Coco Nuts, who there rid in fourteene fathome, nine leagues off from the land to spend the ebbe, and South-east from seuen other ships neere in towards the mountaines, from noone to mid-night, we went South South-east some five leagues, the most part of this night being calme.

The fifteenth to noone South South-east fixe leagues, the wind Northerly a very easie gale: this night we heard diuers great Ordnance shoot off ashoare: this night our passage hath beene in fifteene, thirteene, and twelue fathome, this land is mountainous mixt with diuers Vallies like harbours or entries. Our latitude at noone was nineteene degrees, foure minutes. At Sunne-set, wee were three leagues off the shore, our passage in betweene twelue and fixe fathome. From noone to mid-night our course was South by East eleuen leagues, the winde Northerly.

*Dabull*.

The sixteenth to noone South by East twelue houres, eleuen leagues, the wind Northerly, the land high and full of harbor like Bayes all alongst in fine shoalading in five fathome, and foure miles of the land, and nine fathome three leagues of our latitude eightene degrees, one minute. This day at Sun-setting we anchored in seuen fathome thwart of the Barre of *Dabull*, to which Towne the General went in hope to sel some of his *English* Commodities, or (as it were) to shoot another Arrow after diuers formerly lost.

Latitude, 17.34  
Variation 15.34

The seuenteenth, in the morning, the Generall in the Frigat went in neere the Barre to discover the depths and so aboard againe, which was five fathome very neere the South point of the entrance, but very little further North-wards towards the middle of the entrance but two fathome: the latitude of this South point is seuentene degrees, thirtie foure minutes, the variation is fifteene degrees thirtie foure minutes.

This



This day about noone came off two Boates from the Gouvernour, the one with a present, which was three Bullockes, certaine Sheepe, Plantans, Bread, and water Millions: in the other Boate came the Messengers, which were sent to know what we were, and our businesse, though they before did imagine who we were, partly by our acquaintance with them at *Moha*; as also their hearing of our being at *Surat*. The Message, according to the *Indian* manner, was delivered with many complements and promise of all friendship, and further that they would buy our goods for money, and give vs Indico, Cloth and Pepper for the same, (which was more then we could expect, or they had order to grant) for what Indico they had with Cloth and Pepper was presently to be employed in their owne ships now bound for the Red Sea; vpon these kind promises the Generall sent Merchants ashore both with a present to the Gouvernour, and with Mufres of *English* Clothes, and other of our Commodities: but of all, except some little Broad-cloth and Kerfies of our best colours, as *Stanimels*, *Poppiniay* greene, and other light colours, and lead in barres, we could sell none: for our Red Lead, the Gouvernour bought and sent it aboard againe: and somewhat after the manner we found at *Surat*, the Gouvernour dealt double with vs; granting free leaue to sell, yet vnder-hand had men in waite to restrayne or teare away such as came to buy; so that no man buying made his owne price, for what hee desired to buy: for Corne and other prouision and water to be brought aboard for money, wee had with all fauour, and at last we had a Cable of eightene inches, and ninetie sixe fathome of the Countrey stuffe, worth eight pound sterling, for one of the *Darlings* Anchors. Now, whether such kindnesse as we receiued were out of their good disposition to strangers, or not, it is hard to iudge, they hauing presently blowne abroad and intimated at *Moha*, that we endeauour to right what wrongs any should impose vpon vs, and therefore might seeme to make the best shewes vnto vs.

*Dabul*, double dealing.

The sixe and twentjeth, in the after-noon, besides diuers *Mallaber* Merchants ships which anchored by vs, we saw also in the Offing a great Ship and Frigat, to whom, two houres before night the Generall sent off the *Darling* to bring in the said ship: but doubting the missing of her by night, as also the smalnesse of his force to command her, when night came sent off mee also in the *Pepper-Corne*, with his Frigat well manned to attend vpon mee in regard of the Frigat in her companie. About mid-night, though very darke, I gat sight of her riding at Anchor, sending our Frigat to the other running away, and the great ship getting sight of vs, was come to saile, but being commanded to strike saile, did it, also their Captaine and Principals to come aboard me, he sent a Souldier and two more in a *Canon*, who excused the Captaine to be aged and vnweldie, and that their great Boat was so pestered with lading, that they could not row her; wherefore, though vnwillingly, I was forced to send my owne Pinnasse for some of the principall Merchants and Souldiers, but with such streight direction to my Cock-swaine, that vpon paine of great punishment he should permit none to goe into her, to the end to preuent spoyle. I intended Sir *Henry Middleton* should be the first *Englishman* should enter her: meane-while our Frigat with the other which they had taken, returned to vs; and to my grieve gaue knowledge that they killed one of the *Portugals* in flying. Now hauing diuers of their men aboard me, I gaue direction to stand in for *Dabul*: but by reason of their ill sterage, which we imputed to be done of purpose, and for that with all our sayles wee could not fetch them vp being gotten a little a-head vs, and fearing they might mend their sayling, and get from vs, I caused them to be called vnto to take in their sayles, and anchored till day, which directions giuen and our Anchors readie to let fall, I departed into my Cabin to examine some of the *Portugals*, what their ship was laden withall: meane-while my Master pretended to doubt whether the shippe were anchored or no, without any order or knowledge sent my Pinnasse aboard, wherein went one of his mates, more greedie of pray then carefull of credit, who did not onely goe into the ship, but there fell to rifling, who though often called made no haste away, till his owne pleasure was fulfilled. Against whose comming aboard, I caused *Thomas Glenham*, *John Staughten*, *George Cockam* and *Robert Mico* the Purser, to bee readie at the Ladder with a Lanthorne and Candle to search them one by one (in the *Portugals* light aboard our ship) and turned them out of the Boate: which being done, and the things throwne into the Boats sterne by *Thomas Glenham*, *John Staughten*, and *Robert Mico*, I sent againe aboard the *Portugall* ships, willing the Purser to tel them aboard if there were any thing else wanting, they that had bene aboard without my direction should make it good: but by reason that *Thomas Loue*, *George Ieff* and *Matthew Bragge*, three Masters Mates of the *Admirall* lately dead, the Frigat was now commanded by one *Terrie* a seruant to *Giles Thornton*, who before our Boat gat aboard againe, notwithstanding they were commanded to the contrarie, went aboard with our Frigat, whereas, like disgouerned pilfering people, they ranne all into the ship, not forbearing to breake open Chests, tumble into the Frigat, and make spoyle of all things that liked them, forbearing no ill language to such as I had sent to restraine them. But the euill being done, it was too late to vndoe it: and though it bred in me much trouble and present discontent; yet I vsed the best meanes I had left to cure the same, which was, I desired *William Pemberton* who with the *Darling* came newly to vs, to make the more haste into the Road, and to informe the Generall of our peoples misbehaviour, to the end

*Portugall* ship.

Unrulinesse in Mariners, when Prey is present.



A Portugall  
ship of 300.  
tunnes taken.

before they should haue meates to conuey away or remoue the same care, might bee taken for bringing off, all things to light, which the Generall no longer vnderstood; but at one a clocke when we all anchored by him, commanded both the Frigats wherein our people were, to anchor of and now of them: to come aboard him; and Sir Henry Middleton and my selfe with the Captaine, and Merchants of the Portugall ship, went first to our owne Frigat, and then to the Frigat newly taken wherein our people were; and had euery one narrowly searcht; and all things taken from them, and they turned one by one out, as they were searcht, of all what was found belonging to the Frigat was there left, and then our small Frigat was by our Pinnasse towed aboard the Portugall ship, where all the rest was deliuered for the vse of such to whom it belonged. This ship belonged to *Cochin*, called the *Saint Nicholas*, of burthen some three hundred tunnes, the Captaine named *John*, being bound to *Chaul*, their lading consist, was principally 10  
dried Coco Nuts, some Tinne, blacke Sugar, and Racke Nuts, ten Fats of *China* Dishes, certaine Bags of Allome, and some small quantitie of *China* Dishes, and some *Cayro*, or ball Ropes. We made all inquisition possible for their bills of lading; but none they would bee knowne of, which put vs to great trouble to find out, the little we had from them, which were certaine balls of *China* raw silke, some small quantitie of Cloues, and some few Cannastres, and three Chests of Cinamon, and some Waxe to make vs Candles: all which was as it were but a mite in comparison of the dammages done vs by the Portugalls.

The Frigat belonged to *Chaul* and bound to *Oman*, of burthen sixtie tunnes, her lading, Rice and *Tamarin*, out of whom we tooke some bagges of Rice for our provision: this businesse continued vs in doing euery day somewhat till the first of March. By this Frigat the Generall dispatched away all such Portugalls as came to him from the Armie at *Surat*, to wit *Lorenzo de Cam- 20*  
*po*, and his consort; the fellow taken in the Frigat and the two Boyes, that came away from their Masters, giuing them money in their Purses, according to their seuerall qualitie; besides, the apparell formerly made for either of them vnto the Merchants, that ought the most part of the Silke, the Generall gaue a fine Broad-cloth, and to the Captaine of the Frigat, from whom wee tooke the Rice, a fine Kerse. Also this day the Gouverneur sent to giue the Generall knowledge, that the next day or night following the great *Caphala*, which pass by vs the sixth of February afore-said, towards *Cambaya*, would either the next day or night following againe passe by towards *Goa*: which howsoeuer they pass either by night or day we saw them not.

Consultation.

The fourth, the fore-said businesse being effected, the Generall called vs all to consultation 30  
what was best to be done, shewing his desire to goe to the Barre of *Goa*; there to demand of the Vice-Roy restitution of our wrongs done to vs and our Nation by the Portugalls, to the end if that he refused to doe it, we might the better haue warrant, to right our selues vpon any Portugalls, which by our endenours wee might meete withall; which demand of the most was thought reasonable, but not fit in regard of the shortnesse of time and varietie of delayes, and treacherous plots we were to expect, to our further abusing; wherefore it was concluded and agreed vpon, for that the time not yet seruing to go to the South-wards about the Cape *Commerin*; Againe, to returne to the Red-Sea in this vacant time to see, if we can get away these goods lying vpon our hands in a manner holten for lost, to recover some of our former losses from the subjects of the great *Mogoll*; as also to croise the *Turkes* at *Moha* and *Aden*, for the mischief 40  
they haue formerly done vs; and principally for to rescue, defend or recover that ship sent out by the Companie, the yere after our coming out, which wee heard of from *Masulipatan*, which we haue great doubt of; lest she befallen into like mishap as we did in the Red-Sea, but for that this day the wind serued not to set saile, we deferred it to the fift day in the morning.

They depart  
from Dabull  
urne to  
ed sea  
againe.

The fifth, at fixe a clocke in the morning, we all set saile from *Dabull* standing away North North-west alongst the Coast, the Generall wishing to see the shippe of *Cochin*, neere vnto her Harbor of *Chaul*, cleere of danger by the *Mallabars* their enemies, and at Sun-set we anchored in seuen fathome, some league distant from the land; distant from *Dabull* some fixe leagues, and short of *Chaul* some nine leagues; the wind at South, and so veering to the West-wards.

From the Coast of *India* to *Socatera*, wee this time daily found our ship further to the South- 50  
wards, then by our course we could expect, and especially when we were thwart of the Gulfe, or entrance of *Sinus Persicus*, which I imagined to be some current setting thence to the South-wards.

The twentieth of March, the Generall despatched away *William Pemberton* (in the *Darling*) before to *Socatera*, to inquire of our ship bound for the Red-Sea and *India*, which wee heard of from *Masulipatan*.

The Easter end  
of Socatera.

The foure and twentieth, at tenne a clocke in the morning wee descryed land bearing West South-west, some eight leagues distant, being the Easter end of *Socatera*, being high land, ha- 60  
uing foure white clifles or salid hils; the Norther part whereof by reason of the hazinesse wee could not discerne.

The five and twentieth of March, at Sunne-setting, the point of *Delisha* bore South-east foure leagues distant.

The sixe and twentieth at fixe a clocke in the morning it fell calme, and the current setting North.



Northward vpon the rocke, whereby we were forced to anchor in foure and twentie fathome water, on the South South-east side of the rocke (which is *Saboyna*) some halfe a mile distant; at this rocke is great store of fish. Betweene nine and ten a clocke, we againe set saile, standing away Westwards of Cape *Guardafui*, the wind being at South. The rocke *Saboyna*.

The seuen and twentieth, about foure a clocke in the morning, the rockes Northwards of *Abba del Curia*, thence distant some three leagues and a halfe, bore North of vs some halfe a mile off, which is by estimation twentie leagues West by South, from the Wester point of *Socatora*: our depthes we there found was sixteene, seuentene and eightene fathome; day being come, wee saw the Island of *Abba del Curia*.

10 The eight and twentieth in the morning, at sixe a clocke, the Cape *Guardafui* bore South-east seuen leagues distant, and Mount *Felix* West halfe a point Southerly nine leagues: wee came within foure mile of the land, and the depthes fortie, nine and thirtie; thirtie, seuen and twentie, three and twentie, one and twentie, eightene and fiftene fathome, and about three after-  
noone, in a fret of wind at East North-east, wee anchored in rough ground in seuen fathome a mile and halfe Westwards from Mount *Felix*; all which Coast the Generall coasted along in his Frigate, and tooke in, and brought along three of the Countrie people, which he gaue letters vnto, to be deliuered vnto the *Darling*, if shee came heere after our departure, and so put them a shoate: they informed the Generall, that foure dayes since there passed by towards the Red-sea foure Indian ships.

20 The nine and twentieth in the morning, the Generall sent letters to other people on land, to be deliuered to the *Darling*: the countrie people brought downe to our men to sell, some store of sheepe, small Goats; with some small frailes of *Olibanum* and gumme *Arabick*, all which they had at reasonable rates; the people still taking vs to be *Mahumetans*, and not *Christians*, or (as they call them) *Franges*, whom they fauour not, so the Boat returning aboard about noone, the Generall thought good no longer to stay for the *Darling*; wherefore we set saile, standing away towards *Aden* in *Arabia Felix*. At foure a clocke in the after-noon Mount *Felix* bore East by South halfe a degree South, some eight leagues distant. Franges. The Western *Christians* in the Eastern world are since that Expedition of *Godfrey of Bullen*, called *Franks*, because the principall of that armie were French in Nation or original.

From noone the thirtieth day, to one a clocke in the morning, the one and thirtieth day, thirtene houres, North-west eighteen leagues, the wind at North North-east; this day after-noon we descried the land of *Arabia Felix*.

30 The one and thirtieth in the morning, at one a clocke, being neare the land, we cast about to the Southwards, to spend time till day; at fise a clocke in the morning, wee cast about againe North-west to landwards: from sixe a clocke in the morning to sixe after-noon twelue houres, we stood alongst the Coast West by South, and West South-west thirteene leagues, alwayes keeping within fise mile of the land, in depthes betweene eightene and thirtie fathom, from sixe a clocke to midnight, sixe houres West South-west sixe leagues.

The first of Aprill, from midnight till sixe a clocke, West by South, halfe South fise leagues, at which time, by estimation, we were eightene leagues short of *Aden*: This day the Generall sent for me, Master *Lawse* and Master *Fowler*, to conferre of our separation: at length it was concluded, that I in the *Pepper-Corne* should continue neare, or before the Towne of *Aden*, to keepe that no Indian ship should arriue or stay there, but to put them by towards the Red-sea, and to that end I receiued a direction or commission from my Generall, who was with all expedition with the *Trades-Increase* to repaire to the *Bab*, or doore of the Red-sea, both for safetie of the Companies ship, whereof we had intelligence from *Masulpatan*, to be following our tract, both to the Red-sea and *India*, euen into the mouthes of the Wolues, which by Gods mercy we haue escaped, as also there at once to take reuenge, both of the *Turkes*, and subiects of the great *Mogoll*, for the wrongs done to our King and Countrie. Aprill 1.

The second, from midnight to sixe a clocke, West South-west three leagues, little wind at East; about eight a clocke in the morning, what time we should haue been separated, some eight leagues Eastward of *Aden*, we found at an anchor the *Darling*, who had got before vs, by reason of our lingering for her foure dayes, who had done their businesse at *Socatora*, and were againe departed thence, before we past it, and gate aday before vs, by the *Saboyna*, *Abba del Curia*, and Mount *Felix*, where we lingered for them: they brought from thence the copie of a letter left with the King, by Captaine *John Saris*, Commander of the ships of our Indian Company, to wit, the *Cloue*, the *Hector*, and the *Thomas*, signifying, that notwithstanding by Sir *Henry Middleton*s letter, he vnderstood of the villanies there done to vs, he with his said ships was gone into the Red-sea. Immediately the Generall with the *Trades-Increase* and *Darling*, departed towards the *Bab*, leauing me in the *Pepper-Corne* at an anchor, some eight leagues Eastwards of *Aden*, according to former determination. Generall *Saris*.

60 The third at one a clocke in the morning, we set saile, and stood to the Southwards, the better to discouer, and so all the day vnder saile, we kept vp to windwards of *Aden*: in the morning we saw three saile bound for *Aden*, but stood away from vs, that wee could not come neare them all night, for that it blew hard, we did not anchor, but lay a hull to trie our drift, which I found in ten houres to be three leagues, so running further in; and the fourth day morning, a-



bout seuen a clocke, I anchored in twelue fathome, some league or foure mile from the Towne of *Aden*.

A ship of Callicut.

The twelfth in the morning, a little after midnight, we set saile to crosse her, and at day-light, we descried her riding at an anchor some three mile Southward of vs, with whom presently we trimmed our sailes to stand withall, and shee presently was vnder saile, and stood in with *Aden*. Betweene nine and ten a clocke, by shooting off a Peece at them, they came roome, and stricke their top-sailes, and sent in their Boat to vs: they told vs they were of *Callicut*, and bound to *Aden*, and their ship belonged to the *Samorin*, or King of *Callicut*, from whence they had bene fortie dayes in comming, they came neare *Socatora*, and toucht at Mount *Felix*, where they saw the Generals letter left there for the *Darling*, where also they saw a ship of *Dabul*, which came from *Achin*. The *Nobuda* of this ship is called *Abraham Abba Zeinda*, their ships *Cargazon*, according to their information was as followeth: Tamerick three tunnes, Rice three and twentie hundred kintals, Iagara or bowne Sugar forty bahars, Cardaminus seuen bahars, Ginger drie foure kintals and an halfe, Pepper a tun and a halfe, Cotton one and thirtie packs, each pack containing five or six maunds; shee had in her threefore and fiftene persons, for the vses following: twentie to bale water, and other businesse below, eight for the Helme, foure for top and yard, and other businesse aloft; twentie Boyes for dressing seuerall mens victuals; the rest Merchants and Pilgrims: this ship was of burthen an hundred and fortie tunnes: thus hauing to the vtmost examined them, and they being of a place, whose Inhabitants neuer wronged our Nation; therefore without diminishing any part of their goods, but only, with their good wills, two tunnes of water for our need, and so I dismist them; though to the great disturbance of their mindes, when by no meanes I would permit them to goe into *Aden* to make sale of their commodities; which if they did once attempt, I threatned them I would sinke their ship, and leaue only their Boat to saue their liues; yet their vnwillingnesse to depart made mee adde many more threatnings, that if they hastened not away before I see any other saile to giue chase vnto, I must then be forced to sinke their ship, to be sure to keepe them from the *Turkes* our enemies; whereby they put themselves to saile, and stood somewhat off the land, but to lee-wards; so to our disturbance, wee all day and night kept off and on vnder saile, for feare lest in the night they should slippe into *Aden*.

Aprill.

Note that any ship wee heere saw, before wee could come to speake with them, there hath been aduise sent from the Gouvernor of the Towne to informe them of vs; and when we had the *Mallabar* vnder command, the Gouvernor sent a Boat aboard with diuers *Arabs*, and two *Turkes* souldiers of the Towne, which had formerly been instruments to *Abdrabman Aga*, to bind and torture our men then in their hands, which now seeing the men they vsed ill, brought them in no small doubt what their vsage now should be, as their guiltie conscience pricked them, whom I suppose came as spies to see what wee did, brought some fruit to sell: at the first sight of our men, whom they knew, they would faine haue put off their Boat and been gone, but I would not permit them; causing them to be put in mind of their behauiour formerly towards our people in their hand, and when without any euill speech giuen them, I thought them sufficiently by their own minds terrified, I caused to be told them, that they should see how far our Nation differeth from the rigour of iniurious *Turkes*, which most cruelly handled our men without offence, whom by all faire promises they betrayed; and that I yet knowing them to haue exercised their forces in abusing my men, yet notwithstanding I would without discourtesie or harme, dismisle or send them away; who presently departed, with many promises the next day to bring vs more refreshing: the next morning they sent vs a boat with good fish, and promising to come anon with better prouisions, which they were prouiding: but by reason of my setting saile, and standing off, to put the *Malabar* to lee-ward towards the Red-sea, I was too farre for them to row vnto me, which ship, if shee had stayed, might haue been occasion that the *Aga* might haue permitted them to performe their promises to vs.

A ship of Pormean.

Our men vnlade this ship.

The fourteenth in the morning, the wind at East, wee descried another ship of like burthen, bound also for *Aden*, which about ten a clocke we forced to anchor: I sent aboard to search her, and to bring away some of her men, while I caused my Boat to bee hoysed out; vnderstanding they were of *Pormean*, a Towne not farre from *Cutts-nagone*, being tributaries to the great *Mogoll*, who despised our King, and abused our Nation; the *Nobuda* being a *Bannian*, I with this ship being at an anchor some two miles from *Aden*, our enemies, and finding by the *Mallabars* working the day before, that if any other saile, of neuer so much importance, should approach this place, before I could finish my businesse with this, I must either leaue the one or the other to their owne will; for which respect I was more carefull to send to search what shee had in her, by my owne people, then to examine them belonging to her, what was in her. So with great labour in romaging before the darknesse of the night ouer-tooke vs, we had out of her fourtene packes of course Duttie, of sixe corges a packe; and sixe and thirtie Ballets, containing some six and thirtie corges of Dutties course; one small Ballet of Candekins mill (or small blew pieces of Callico) with some thirtie or more Bastas white, a little Butter and Lamp-oyle, which was all fit for vs, yet discovered the rest of her loading, being packes of Cotton-wooll, as we tearme it, which the next



next day we thought further to examine. This day *Maharim Aga* of *Aden*, sent me a present of Henne-egges, Limes and Plantans, which I would not looke at, as to receiue as a Present, but by the messenger I sent the *Aga* word, that the varitie of iniuries done vnto my friends and Nation heere the last yeere, hath constrained my present approach, to do my Nation and my selfe what right I may, to the disturbance of the *Turkes*. And as my comming hither was not to deserue any fauour from them; so my meaning was to forbear to receiue any of their dissembling turtlesies: for since they cut our throats when we came to them in friendship, what may we expect from them now, when we come in hate and dispight of the *Turkes* of all these parts: but in regard it was sent, my people should giue them for their owne vse, so much as the things were worth; also there came aboard a fisher-boat, bringing good store of fresh-fish, which I caused to be bought for our suppers, alwayes making the bringer to take part of what hee brought.

Fear of poisoning.

The sixe and twentieth in the morning, we discried a saile to the Southwards of *Aden*, plying to the Eastwards, to whom in the after-noon I sent my Pinnasse, which brought her in harte vnto vs, shee being a *Ielba* of *Shaher* bound home, laden with Graine and other commodities, as Opium and others, also diuers Pilgrims from *Mecca* were passengers in her bound home.

The seuen and twentieth in the morning, we saw a *Ielba* plying to the Eastwards betweene vs and the shoare, wherefore I sent my Pinnasse to fetch her off, whom I found to bee the same *Ielba* of *Shaher*, that had passed by vs the seenteenth and two and twentieth of this present, as aforesaid: of them for a triall we bought nine pound and a halfe of Opium, and so againe dismissed them.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we set saile, plying off and on to windwards of *Aden*, with the wind at East. The nine and twentieth, still vnder saile, as aforesaid in the after-noon, we discried two sailes standing towards *Aden*, vnto whom in the euening I sent off my Pinnasse well mand, to bring them in neare vnto the ship, which by foure a clocke the thirtieth day was effected; they both belonged to a place on the *Abaxin* Coast, called *Bander Zeada*, the one of them laden only with Mats; the other with some Mats, and threescore and eight sheepe with great rumpes, which we bought of them, and so dismissed them, who presently set saile and went in vnto *Aden*, the wind at East South-east, East and North-east.

*Bander Zeada* place on the *Abaxin* Coast.

The eighth, with an easie gale of wind at North-east by East, we continued, plying towards the *Bab*: At tenne a clocke, we discried the land on the *Abaxin* Coast side, which at first shewed like an Island, but approaching a little neerer, we plainly perceiued it to be the maine land: from thence we steered away North-west towards the *Bab*, which by estimation was some tenne leagues distant, which at neere foure in the afternoone we discried, where wee lay lingering off and on to spend the night. Day light appearing, we stood in towards the *Bab*, where in the entrance of the *Bab*, we discried a small saile a sterne of vs, comming into the straight; wherefore I stricke my top-sailes to stay for her, and sent off my Pinnasse to her, who comming vp with vs againe, brought the *Nobuds* and *Mulim* aboard, whom I examined, and found them to bee subiects to the great *Mogol*; they belonged to a place called *Larree*, situate at the mouth of the Riuer of *Zinde*: with them I lust vp into a bay on the East side, and anchored in seuen fathome; I

May.

40 sending my Merchants to search what she was laden with, who found diuers packs and fardels of cloath, packs and fardels of feedes of diuers sorts, leather, iarres of Butter, and oyle (whereof some they eate, and some they burne in lamps) a great quantitie: and since for want of water, she hauing many Passengers. I could not fitly keepe her with me, being vncertaine of wind I resolved to take out of her the likeliest packs of *Indian* Cloath to serue for our turnes, with some Butter and Oyle for our needfull vses, as by the Purfers and Factors notes appeare, and so dispatched them to *Mohs*. Into which busineis before we could well make an entrie, about three a clocke in the afternoone, I discried opening the East land of the straights, a ship of two hundred Tunnes; and immediately following her an huge saile, whose maine yard was fortie three yards long. At sight of which ship (they being very neere before the land permitted me to see them)

A ship of *Larree* standing at the mouth of the riuer of *Zinde*.

A ship of 200 Tunnes.

50 by what time I had gotten my people aboard, fue onely excepted, which I left armed to keepe the ship of *Larree*, had gotten vp my anchor, and was come to saile; but the great shippe though short of me, yet heeing in a good streame, and a fresh gale, and I in a Bay had a eddy and faint gale, she got an end, & had somewhat ouer-reacht me before I could come to crosse them, so that I was brought to a sterne chase, and being come neere her, by her masts and tops wee knew her to be the *Mahomedy* of *Dabul* our friend, which we could expect no good by; yet knowing the pride of the Captaine, I would very gladly haue commanded ouer him, for that he would neuer, neither formerly in the Road of *Moha*, nor yet at *Dabul* come to visit Sir *Henry Middleton*, but I found he reacht from me, wherefore I gaue them one shot and stood with the other ship, who seeing vs stand with the great shippe stricke a Hull thinking to lose vs by the darknesse of the night now approaching: I tooke her to be a ship of *Diu*, but when we came to them, they told vs they were of *Cuts-nagone*, a place not farre from the riuer of *Zinde*, her lading Cotton-wool, some few packs of *Indian* cloth, some Butter and Oyle: hauing gotten some of her principal men aboard me, I caused them to edge vp with me into shoale water on the *Arab* Coast, where by lights I endeauoured to find out my fue men in the *Larree* ship; and at midnight we anchored in

The *Mahomedy* of *Dabul*.

A ship of *Cuts-nagone*, a place not farre from *Zinde*.

twelue



twelve fathome, foure leagues within the *Bab*; where the next two dayes we tooke out of the *Larree* ship, sixtie sixe fardels of *Indian* Cloath (which for that we were otherwise furnished for all our *English* Commodities, and needed it not, was redeliuered to them againe, with part of the Butter and Oyle; onely eight Corges of Bastas, for which they had content.) These things beeing taken out, I put into them the Passengers and Pilgrims of the Cottonship, they vsing their best diligence as the wind would permit them to halten to *Moha*, I sending by them a letter to *Sir Henry Middleton*, if they should finde him in the Roade: but before they departed, we seeing a *Jelba* comming from the *Bab*, and for that the wind was not good, they sent away their Canoa, rowing before, and hastning to vs, who informed me, his *Jelba* belonged to *Bender Zeda*, a Towne on the *Abaxin* Coast, halfe a dayes iourney West-ward from *Bender Cassum*, who was bound to *Moha* with his Boat full of Mats, who going a land as he passed the *Bab*, was told by one that had a letter for me, that my Countrey-men whom I looked for were gone to *Assab*, with eight or nine *Indian* ships, but he that had the letter would not send it by him, expecting a reward, if by the wind I should be put backe to the *Bab*. I now knowing where my Generall was, this afternoone set saile; but the wind not fauouring me we anchored againe.

¶ V I.

*Their barter with the Indian ships, and departure to Sumatra.*

The *Rebemy* a  
ship of 1500.  
Tunnes.



He next day in the morning, *Sir Henry Middleton* sent *Giles Thorntons* his Master, to certifie me how glad he was of my comming; and to let me know that he had at command all the desired ships of *India*, as the *Rebemy* of burthen fifteene hundred tunnes, the *Hassany* of sixe hundred, the *Mahumady* of one hundred and fiftie tunnes of *Swat*, the *Sallamite* of foure hundred and fiftie tunnes, the *Cadree* of two hundred tunnes, the *Azum* Cany, the *Sabandar* of *Moha* his ship of two hundred tunnes all of *Diu*, besides three *Mallabar* ships; the *Cadree* of *Dabul* of foure hundred tunnes, and a great ship of *Cananor*. He further informed me, that before I could get into the Road, the Generall with all the pride of his people, and Captaine *Saris* with his people, would be gone on shoare to receiue the King of *Rabita*, who was come with his Nobilitie and Guard, to see and visit the Generall, and new come Generall. The day beeing neere spent, *Sir Henry Middleton* and Captaine *Saris* left the King in his Tent, and went aboard the *Tradef-increase* to supper, where I vnderstood of a contract made betweene them first at the *Bab*, wherein it was agreed, here to put off all our *English* goods, for such *Indian* wares, as by mutuall consent of certaine of the Merchants of both sides should be thought fit.

Captaine *Saris*

Neere about that time, as I was also informed, there came from the Gouvernour of *Moha* to *Sir Henry Middleton*, to capitulate of peace, *Mammy* Captaine of the Gallies, and others, who demanded what was the summe that in satisfaction he required: *Sir Henry Middleton* neere the proportion of the last yeares demand, required one hundred thousand Rialls of eight; which knowne, they desired respite to send to *Zenan*, to know the pleasure and resolution of *Ieffor Basha* therein; and then he should heare from them againe, and so tooke their leaue. By *Sir Henry Middletons* direction, the *Darling* was in preparing with a small Cargazon of *Indian* cloaths to be gone for *Tecoa*.

The nineteenth, the *Darling* departed towards *Tecoa*. Also Captaine *Saris* prepared the *Thomas* to follow the *Darling* to *Tecoa*; who also departed the three and twentieth day. This day also *Sir Henry Middleton* dismissed a ship of *Diu* (called the *Azumcany*) belonging to *Shermall Sabander* of *Moha*.

The thirtieth, a generall meeting was aboard the *Tradef-increase* at dinner, where Captaine *Saris* and Captaine *Towersson* were inuited, for the further conference of our present businell. At noone there came ouer from *Moha* the *Sabander* of *Moha*, *Mammy* Captaine of the Gallies, and an *Aga*, they all appointed by the *Basha*, to conferre with *Sir Henrie Middleton* about an agreement, for satisfaction of our former abuses, the summe whereof they demaunded of *Sir Henrie Middleton*, who as formerly required one hundred thousand Ryals of eight, and seeing nothing to be abated thereof, they desired leaue to haue conference with the *Nobudas*, or Captaines of the *Indian* ships, and other principall Merchants (which was graunted:) which as it seemed was to trie what customes they could augment vpon the *Indian* goods, towards payment of the said summe: so they departed on shoare, where they had prepared for them a faire Tent: but diuers of the *Nobudas*, in regard of former iniuries, either forbore conference, or withstood their augmentation, which seeing by no meanes to be accomplished, they tooke leaue of *Sir Henry Middleton*, promising so soone as they had answer from the *Basha*, they would giue him knowledge thereof, and what therein they may doe: and so againe the ninth of Iune they departed toward *Moha*. All this time our people were employed in romaging, opening, packing, and repacking of *Indian* cloaths fit for our turnes, giuing them of our *English* commodities in lieu thereof.

Iune.

Iuly.  
They depart  
from *Assab*  
road.

The eleuenth, *Sir Henry Middleton* with the *Tradef-increase*, and Captaine *Saris* with the *Cloue* and *Hector*, departed the road of *Assab*, carrying with them in company towards *Moha* all the *Indian*



Indian ships. But I with the *Pepper-corne* remained in the road, with a small shippe called the *Yengo*, into whom I re-delivered all the goods that I had formerly taken out of her, the ninth and tenth of May.

A small ship called the *Yengo*.

The twelfth, at three of the clocke in the morning, we both set saile, following our Admirall and the rest towards *Mocha*; but the wind being aduerse, together with a lee-tide, we were forced to anchor neere three leagues to the Lee-ward of the Road. The thirteenth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, the wind and tide somewhat fauourable, we all weighed and stood vp with the Roade, where about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we anchored.

The nineteenth, Sir *Henry Middleton* perceiving that the *Turkes* intended nothing but delays, further to abuse vs, who now in our owne view laboured in unlading of a ship of *Cuts-nagone*, laden with Cotton, which Sir *Henry Middleton* determined to hinder, till such time as the *Turkes* should haue made agreement with him for his wrongs sustained, and therefore came aboard the *Pepper-corne*, by whose direction I warped in neerer vnto them, discharging at them diuers peeces of Ordnance, till they ceased their labour. Also all this weeke following they kept vs in hand with delays, but made no agreement at all.

The sixe and twentieth, Sir *Henry Middleton*, and Captaine *Saris* appointed a meeting aboard the *Mahmudy* of *Dabul*, where all the *Nohudas* of the *Indian* ships being sent for, *S. Henry Middleton* (as often times before) related vnto them the wrongs and damages sustained from the *Turkes*, with whom (till he receiued satisfaction from them for the same) hee could in no wise permit them to trade. But notwithstanding he had already quited himselfe for the injuries sustained in *India*; yet must also now be forced to carrie out of this Sea with him, all the *Indian* ships, that this yeere by them the *Turkes* may receiue no benefit. But the *Indians* seeing that by reason of the *Turkes* abuses and delays, it was likely to prooue vnto them an vnprofitable Monson, though their departure would be much preiudicial to the *Turkes* without trading with them, by reason of the losse of their Customes; yet rather then to carry backe againe their *Indian* Commodities, they desired to make a composition with Sir *Henry Middleton* and Captaine *Saris*, euery ship seuerally to pay a certaine summe of money, and we to forbear to hinder their quiet trade. Vpon this proffer made by the *Indians*, Sir *Henry Middleton* after good consideration, hauing no meanes to force satisfaction from the *Turkes*, without further preiudicing of the *Indians*, and therefore at present determined to accept of their offer, till leauing the satisfaction due from the *Turkes*, till future time. And to begin withall, composition was this day made with *Meere Mahomet Tackey*, *Nohuda* of the *Rehemy*, for fifteene thousand Rials of eight, she being in value neere equall to the other foure ships.

The sixth of August, composition being made with all the *Indian* ships, and their seuerall summes in part receiued, Captaine *Saris* dispeeded away his Vice-Admirall, Captaine *Towerfon* in the *Hector*, who this day departed the Red Sea. The thirteenth, Captaine *Saris* hauing receiued all moneyes due to him by composition from the *Indians*, departed the Red Sea.

August.  
Captaine *Towerfon* departed from the Red Sea.  
Generall *Saris* departed from the Red Sea.  
They leaue the Red Sea, and coasting the East India, passe by Cape *Comorin*, *Zelan*, and so to *Sumatra*.

The sixteenth, at eight of the clocke in the morning, we set saile with the *Trade-increase*, and *Pepper-corne*, and about nine a clocke at night, we anchored eight leagues short of the *Bab*, in seuen fathome water. The seuenteenth, at five of the clocke in the morning, wee set saile with little wind; and at two of the clocke afternoone, we againe passed the streight of *Bab-mandel*; and from thence at sixe of the clocke, we were East South-east seuen leagues: from sixe a clocke to tenne a clocke the eighteenth day, we lay becalmed, so that her way was not to be regarded: from tenne a clocke to Sun-set, East-wards some three leagues, and before seuen a clocke, we anchored in one and twentie fathome, two miles from the Coast of *Arabia*, thwart of the East end of the great Mountaine, and seuentene leagues from the *Bab*.

The nineteenth, at sun-setting, the said Mountaine bore North-West by West, some eight leagues distant. All this night, and the twentieth after noone, the winds so variable, that wee were alwaies trimming of our sailes from tacke to tacke: so that betweene the disadvantage of the winds, and the Current together, we were set so farre backe west-wards, as brought the said Mountaine North North-west of vs againe. At eleuen a clocke, the wind came at West a fresh gale, and at Sun-set the high land of *Aden* bore North-east by East eight leagues off. All this night following, we had very little wind and variable, so that the one and twentieth at Sun-rising, we perceiued our selues lost, at least two leagues west-ward. From Sun-rising till noone, we had a small gale of wind, increasing stronger and stronger at South-west, and South-west by South: so that I esteemed to haue gone East South-east some nine leagues. At Sun-set, *Aden* bore North North-east seuen leagues off, by a meridian Compasse. All this night was in a manner calme, from foure a clocke in the morning to Sun-set, being foure and twentie houres, I estimate to haue gone some fifteene leagues, at which time *Aden* bore North-west halfe North distant fue leagues, being cleare weather.

The three and twentieth, we descried the *Abaxin* Coast being fifteene leagues distant, and cleare weather. The sixe and twentieth, we found such a Current, that though we lay vp North-east by East, North-east or North North-east, we made our way all Easterly, being caried to the South-ward by force of the Current. The nine and twentieth, we againe descried land, which

Force of a Current.

for



for the highnesse we at first esteemed to be the land of *Cape Guardafui*, but the clouds clearing vp from the tops of the hills, we plainly perceived it to be the same land scene yesterday, whereby we the better vnderstood how the Current had abused vs, which by my estimate setteth neere South-west.

From the thirtieth in the morning, to the one and thirtieth at noone, wee found that the Current had set vs to the North-ward of our course from the last day at noone, what time our latitude was twelue degrees and thirtie five minutes, to the first of September at noone, the wind at South East-wards, and not to haue runne about twelue leagues, and by our latitude being thirteene degrees thirty minutes, we find our selues almost a degree differing to the North-wards, and also to haue lost to the West-wards, as by the variation appeareth, being lesse by fiftie five 10 minutes, by reason whereof I estimate the Current there to set neere North-East.

September.

Snakes swimming on the top of the water, a signe of being neere the Coast of India.

The second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth dayes, wee had all for the most part close weather. The tenth and eleventh cloudy weather, with often showers of raine. The twelfth, we saw diuers snakes swimming on the toppe of the water, which in boysterous weather sildome appeare, yet an apparent signe of being neere the coast of *India*. The thirteenth we also saw more snakes. This day we had sounding from fiftie five to fortie fathome.

The foureteenth in the morning, at Sun-rising we discryed high land, bearing East by North some sixteene leagues, we stood in East by South till foure a clocke afternoone, till the neereft sea-coast land betweene vs and the high land, bore East eight leagues off, what time we directed our course South alongst the Coast of *India*, wee found the water for the most part muddy and 20 thicke, and some sudden spots of cleere: our depth while we stood in East and by South were from thirtie to twentie fathome; and in our South course edging into sixteene fathome, and so to five and twentie fathome.

The fifteenth, we still kept at the like depths, hauing a gentle gale at North North-west, and cleere water, but no snakes appeared. The sixteenth, running alongst the Coast of *India* or *Malabar*, betweene twentie and sixteene fathome; about one a clocke we were West from an high hill of especiall note, which stretcheth out like a point into the Sea, hauing all low land to Sea-wards; on the North-side, the land fell away to the East-wards, and on the South-side maketh a Bay; the highest of this Sea-coast Mountaine, standeth neereft in twelue degrees ten minutes, which should be the land of *Magician*.

The seuateenth, the wind came opposite to vs at South-west, at two a clocke in the morning, with thicke weather, and much raine, continuing till day-light, wee on a Lee-shoare, and an vnknowne Coast, what time the wind veered vp to the North-wards, and we edged off into deeper water. In this gustie time, we lost company of our Admirall, but at day-light the weather clearing vp, we came together, directing our course againe to the South-ward, being edged off from the land. 30

The eighteenth, the land being all foggie, was hardly to be discerned, the most part of our way this day, being by the helpe of the Current, our depths all this day were betweene five and twentie, and nine and twentie fathom, all Ozie ground. The nineteenth, we were some foureteene leagues distant from the Coast, the wind at South-west, faire weather, with some little 40 drilling raine, till nine a clocke at night, no ground at fortie fathome. From nine to eleuen a clocke at night, we had a very vehement showre of raine, and the wind very little Northerly, and after the raine East North-east, our depth at midnight was fortie foure fathome, being by estimation some tenne leagues off the land of *Mallabar*. The twentieth, we had faire weather, the wind very variable, our depths fortie foure and fortie five fathome all day, being Ozie ground. The one and twentieth, we had very little wind, variable till three a clocke afternoone, when fell abundance of raine, with the wind at North North-west, thicke weather, and fortie five fathome water. The two and twentieth in the morning at nine a clocke, we discried the Cape *Commerin*: and by my neereft estimation the Coast here lieth away South-east alongst vnto the Cape. 50

Cape Commerin.

Zeilan.

The three and twentieth, we had faire weather, and the wind at South-west by West, discrying the high land to the East-wards of the Cape *Commerin*, at neere five a clocke afternoone, bearing North North-west, distant eightene leagues. The foure and twentieth, we had a very stiffe gale of wind between the South South-west and West, and much raine, clouds and fogge, and our course East South-east, by a reformed Compasse, at five a clocke after noon, we had sight of *Zeilan* through the fogge, rising all full of Humocks, and bearing from the North-east by East, to the South-east by South, some sixe leagues distant. The five and twentieth, from breake of day till noone, we were pestered with varietie of gults and showers of raine, the wind being large, but the weather clearing vp about noone, we discried the Souther-most point of *Zeilan*, called the Cape de Gallo, bearing North North-east distant five leagues, finding the latitude thereof to bee 60 five degrees fortie minutes.

The sixe and twentieth, seven and twentieth, and eight and twentieth, wee had faire weather, with some fewe droppings of raine, and the wind between the South-west and West South-west. The nine and twentieth and thirtieth, we continued our course East South-east, the



the wind constant betweene the South-west and West South-west, with very much raine, and vehement sudden gults of short continuance, and followed with an easie steering gale. The thirtieth, in our bread roome we found much harme done to our wheat by wet; also al our course Duties or browne Callicoes of *Pormean* (for sailes) put there for most securitie, wee found twentie pieces rotten.

The nineteenth, at three a clocke after noone, we anchored in the road of *Tecoa*, where wee found the *Darling*, who had continued there from Iuly (vnto our comming in) in a great part of the raines, which are not yet ended, they hauing before our comming buried three Merchants, and three Sailors, to wit, *John Fowler*, *Francis Glasfield*, and *William Speed*. Also they had most of their men sicke, and had gotten but little Pepper, which remaineth on the Iland, and little more is here to be had, vntill the next season, which will be Aprill and May; but the ciull warres is a hinderance to our trade. Here also we found the *Thomas*, a ship of the eighth Voyage, beeing newly come from *Priaman*, where they had as slender successe as our *Darling* here. Here wee heard of the safe returne and prosperous successe of Captaine *Dauid Middleton* his Voyage; also of the foure ships of the ninth Voyage, whereof two were already arriued at *Bantam*; also of Captaine *Castleton* his man of warre, who hauing been here lately informed of fiftene saile of *Hollanders* already come, or neere hand; all laden with munition, and of two ships of *New-hauen* in *France* come also to trade, all which quell the life of the present hopes of our out-tired, croft, and decayed Voyage.

October.  
*Tecoa* in *Sumatra*.

Ciull warres  
an hindrance  
to our Trade.

Captaine *Castleton*.

The two and twentieth, Sir *Henry Middleton* finding so cold comfort at this place, departed the night following in the *Pepper-corne* towards *Bantam*, leauing me in the *Trade-increase* to remaine till the sixteenth of the next Moneth.

Sir *Henry Middleton* in the  
*Pepper-corne*  
hasteth to *Bantam*.

The second of Nouember, all the men of all sorts in *Tecoa*, went with *Raia Boonesoo* to the warres, till whose returne we can expect no businesse to be done on the maine. This day in taking vp the wine, by the rottenesse of the Caske, there prooued great leakage.

Nouember.  
*Raia Boonesoo*  
goeth to the  
warres.  
Great deceit  
of the Naturals

The twentieth, we fetcht the remaine of the Pepper weighed the day before, in which by the people we found much deceit; in some bags were small bags of Paddy, in some Rice, and in some great stones; also rotten & wet Pepper put into new drie sacks, to our farther abusing, yet knowing it, we haue no remedie. Hauing gotten all things in, and our men aboard, we fitted our things to hasten away, and neere midnight in the Moone-shine, the wind at North-east of the shoare, we set saile; we wrought not onely to avoid the two knowne Rockes, three leagues from the Iland of *Tecoa*, the one South by West, the other South by East, hauing sixe and twentie fathome between them, *Ozie* ground: But for the better securitie, we directed our course so neere as wee could, the same way we came in; yet as we stood off, the wind something shruke on vs; yet we lay first West, then West by South, and West South-west, and last of all South-west and by West, and the Current set vs somewhat South-ward, our depths proportional from foureteene to seuer and twentie fathome, all *Ozie* ground; the next cast foure fathome, and the ship fast on a rocke, a sterne foure fathome, and on the Star-boord mid-ship a quarter lesse then three fathomes, and vnder the head three fathomes, a ships length fise fathome, a ships length on the Lar-boord bow sixe foot, in the Lar-boord mid-ship sixteene foote, vnder the Lar-boord gallery twenty foote, and round about within a Cables length deepe water: she remained on the rocke from a little after three vntill fise a clocke: the mercifull God so provided, that the wind grew calme, and the sea smooth, and in our feeling, the set or motion of the ship, the place considered, was very easie; yet the water did so increase, that both our chaine Pumps with painefull labour, could not in long time free the same. But our generall endeaour, with most expedition possible, was to get out a sterne anchor, which was let fall in sixe and twentie fathome right afterne, and two thirds of a Cable out, to heaue her off right afterne: wherein the gracious Lord so blessed our endeaours, that before we could with the Capstaine heaue the Cable taught, the ship was of her own accord set into deepe water, which no sooner done, but we had a Westerly gust, which put vs off some mile from the rocke, where we anchored for our Boat, which brought our Cadger after vs, and it being cleare day, we could not discerne where the rocke stood: also a principall reason we anchored was, our exceeding desires and haste for *Bantam*, that without necessitie enforced, I wished not to put backe againe, and wast more time, hoping our leak would easily be ouer-come at an anchor. I past the day till two a clocke, consulting and aduising with such as with their best counsell are appointed to assist me, what was best to be done, our present estate considered, which we find diuers wayes to rest dangerous: First, in regard of the leakenesse of our ship, which continually employes many people at once to keepe downe the water. Secondly, in a manner no prouision of Iron-work for the chaines, but that the Pumps presently employed, which often break, or for weakenes slip to our great discomfort: for if they should be any long while in mending, and the water so increas, that we cannot reach vnder the Pumpe to ceue the chaines, our worke will soone draw neere an end. Thirdly, the desperate carelesnesse of many of our people, in the greatest neede considered, their taint weakenesse and inabilitie to hold out labour (by course diet as they pretend.) Fourthly, to remember what is certaine in the ship, which requires care to preferue it. Fiftly, Captaine *Sharpeighs* mis-fortunes, and the lewd demeanours of his people,

The ship fast  
on a rocke.

They get off  
th crocke.



They returne  
to Tecoa.

in like case of greatest need, too late to bee forgotten. The dangers in proceeding diuersly cast vp (notwithstanding, at the first, diuers of our men did vrge the same) by counsell reasonable for the safegard of all, I made choice to returne within the Iland of *Tecoa*, there by Gods helpe to endeauour the stopping of such a part of our leake, as we found to be in the fashioning pieces in the sterne. At Sun-set we anchored in the place, which for our turnes we desired. This day long time we kept both our chaine pumps going to free the water, which euer increased when the chaines happened to breake, which happened often; the two pumpes employes at once twelue men, which labour indeed is so extreame, that it can but little while, without shifting of spells be continued; but the water once brought low, and the chaine holding one pompe at once, hath euer discharged it, and yet it tires all our people by often shifting: in which businesse, I found it required more then ordinary meanes to appease their discontented clamours and murmurings, if the place might haue afforded.

December.

The two and twentieth, three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, we laboured to land Indico, Cinamom and other things, still making way to lighten the sterne of the ship, where we know the leake is, but we cannot come to it.

The high land  
of the Maine  
of Sumatra.

Vntill the eight of December, we were thus employed in the amending of our leakes: which done, we set saile from *Tecoa*, and with our Boats a head, we gate ouer the Barre, hauing foure fathome at a low water, and being without the Iland, by the helpe of a fine breach at North North-east, North North-west and North-west, as the Sunne grew high, both duller and shrunk vpon vs; so that wee lay but South South-west, and South by West, and by estimation came neare the rocke we had formerly sate vpon, we vsed great diligence with Boats a head, but could 20  
discerne no shew of it, the sea being smooth; we stood away to the Southwards, South by West and South, from Sun-set, to Sun-rising the ninth day, with a small gale, at North-west by West, we stood away South-west by South ten leagues, and the wind at West North-west and West, at which instant we discied some part of a great Iland bearing South Westerly, at which time we steered away South; this night we had much raine in gusts, with thunder and lightning, the wind very fickle, shrinking to the South-west, and South South-west, which stayed not long; then to the South-east, East South-east and East, and againe to the South-east; in which time to Sun-rising we had sailed about some eight leagues. Also that part of the Iland, the last night seene, now beareth South-east distant eight leagues, also Eastward wee see the high land of the maine of *Sumatra*, neare twentie leagues, at noone in two degrees and eleuen minutes South la- 30  
titude; and the Northermost part of these Ilands are from the sound we came through, between the Wester Iles South-east distant nine leagues: it was the twentieth day before they arriued at *Pulupanian*.

The Road of  
Saldania.  
Hector and  
Thomas  
Captaine  
Newport.

The *Pepper-corne* being fitted there, Sir *Henry Middleton* called a Councell to aduise, touching the late harmes which the *Trades-Increase*, had receiued vpon the rocke: by which Councell it was resolued, that shee must of necessitie bee new strengthened and careend, before shee could well returne home; which requiring long time, whereby shee could not goe home this yeere, it was concluded that the *Pepper-Corne* should immediatly be dispatched for *England*, to giue some satisfaction vnto the Aduenturers, vntill the *Trades-Increase* might follow. The *Pepper-Corne* being laden on the fourth of February, set saile from thence for *England*, leauing Sir 40  
*Henry Middleton* with the *Trades-Increase* behind. We arriued on the tenth of May in the Road of *Saldania*, where I hoped to haue found all the shippes formerly departed homewards: but comming into the Road, I only found the *Hector* and *Thomas*, two ships of the eight Voyage, and Captaine *Newport* in the *Expedition* of the twelfth Voyage. Heere we continued but foure dayes; where, with the helpe of Captaine *Newport* his men and Coopers, wee had taken in all our water, and the fourteenth day at night ended our labour therein.

June.

The fifteenth, hauing watered (but no whit refreshed our weak people yet, to keep company with the *Hector* and *Thomas* homewards) at nine a clocke in the morning we set saile with the wind all Southerly: but being out, we were much pestered with opposite wind, wherby we were driuen to the Southwards. This night we kept company with the *Hector* and *Thomas* (the *Ex- 50*  
*pedition* being gotten about the Cape *Bona Speranza*, determining their course towards the confines of *Persia*, to some place where they might in safetie land Sir *Robert Sherly* and his *Persian* Lady, and Sir *Thomas Powell* with his *English* Ladie, who were bound into *Persia*.) Also the next day we were all in company together; but toward euening the *Thomas* became farre a sterne, but the *Hector* with loftie saile bore away. This night, by what meanes I know not, they lost our company, which by all meanes we againe endeauoured to get: and for that by standing to the Southwards, we knew they could not run vs out of sight; yet we thought against all reason to stand in vpon a lee-shoare, stood into the land-wards to seek to discouer them, but not seeing them, we lingred in for them vntill the nineteenth day Sun-rising, in which time we were em- 60  
ployed in repairing our weake and decayed sailes. This day at Sun-rising, *Saldania* bore South-east halfe a degree East distant seuentene leagues, the weather being cloudie and darke. The twentieth, one and twentieth and two and twentieth daies, cloudie, dark, and ouercast weather.

The sixt of June, as we came about the North-east point, opening the Road, and being luffed in,



in hauing our anchors readie to let fall, we diſcried two Carricks in the Roade, whole neighbourhood was not to my content, neither durſt I truſt to anchor by them, in regard of their accustomed treachery: I ſtood off againe by a wind, a while to deliberate what to doe, and thinking to ſtand in againe, to trie whether they would be gone, which if they were readie, I ſuppoſed they would thinke we had more company neare-hand: but we found the Current ſet vs ſo faſt to the lee-ward, that we could hardly recouer the Road at two a clocke in the after-noone: ſeeing no other remedie, wee bore vp the helme, and ſtood on our courſe for *England*, our hopes being fruſtrated both of reſreſhing our weake ſicke people, and alſo of further ſtaying to regaine the company of the *Hector* and *Thomas*. The fifteenth and ſixteenth, we had diuers ſhowers of raine. The eighteenth, we croſt the Equinoctiall line.

Two Carricks.

They Croſſe the Equinoctiall.

The tenth of September, we had a very ſtrong gale of wind and an hollow ſea, and not able to get any part of the South-coaſt of *England*, wee ſtood on our courſe North-eaſt, in hope to fetch *Milford-Hauen* in *Wales*, the ſooner to ſend letters to the Company.

Septemb.

The eleuenth, at five a clocke in the after-noone, we diſcried the Coaſt of *Wales* to windward, and the Coaſt of *Ireland* lee-wards, being an high hill betweene *Waxford* and *Waterford*. This night we ſpent with our head to the Southwards; and in the morning we ſtood in towards the *Iriſh* Coaſt: reſolving now, the winds being conſtantly aduerſe, and impoſſible to fetch *Milford-Hauen*, and our meanes allowing no longer deliberation, I determined to goe into *Waterford* rather then into any other harbour.

20 The thirteenth in the morning, we diſcried the Tower of *Whooke*, the only marke for the riuer of *Waterford*, being ſome three leagues diſtaht from it: at eight a clocke we diſcried a ſmall Boat comming forth of the riuer of *Waterford*, vnto whom we made a waſt, which they perceiuing, preſently came vnto vs, being a *Frenchman* bound to *Waxford*, whom I hired to goe againe into the riuer, before to giue knowledge of our comming vnto the Lientenant of the Fort of *Don Canon*, to preuent our ſtopping there, for that by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of Channell, it might endanger the ſhip in winding vp at an anchor there; and at noone wee gate vp into the riuer ſo high as the paſſage. Heere we found Maſter *Stephen Bonner* of *Lime*, with his Barque, come hither a fiſhing, who putting apart his owne buſineſſe, with great diligence endeauoured the beſt for the eaſe and reliefe of our weake and ſicke people.

They arriue at Waterford in Ireland.

30 The eighteenth, I diſpeded away Maſter *Bonner* towards *London* with letters to the Company, to giue knowledge of our arriuall, and of our wants, wherein I deſired to be ſupplied.

The one and twentieth, Doct<sup>r</sup> *Laſtaſter*, Biſhop of *Waterford*, very kindly viſited me, bringing downe with him his good cheere, and made a Sermon aboard the ſhippe, and offered mee the Communion; but thereto being vnprepared I reſuſed; yet heartily thanking him for his good will.

The tenth, Captaine *John Burrell* came vnto me to viſite me, promiſing me money to ſupply my wants, if I would ſend ſome man with him to *Corcke* for it. The eleuenth day, I diſpeded away Maſter *Mullineux* with Captaine *Burrell* to *Corcke* for the money, which he promiſed to ſupply me withall.

40 The twelfth, *Anthony Stratford* Lientenant of the Fort of *Don Canon*, hauing hired a villanous fellow (whom for his mildemeanour I had cauſed to be kept in the priſon of *Waterford*) to ſay what might beſit his preſent praſtiſe, to bring vs within the compaſſe of Piracie, hauing obtained a warrant from the Earle of *Ormond*, came to the paſſage, where hee ſent to deſire mee to ſend my Boat well manned, to fetch himſelfe and diuers other Gentlemen aboard to ſee my ſhip: but my Boat, according to his deſire, being come to land, hee apprehended my men, and preſently came aboard, where he arreſted me and my ſhip for Piracie, and ſo committed mee to the Fort of *Don Canon* to priſon, giuing extraordinary ſtraite charge ouer me, that none ſhould come at me, but whom he liſt without warrant from him; and ſuch as by his permiſſion came to me, he would haue put to their oathes to declare what conference they had with me; my man ſworne to bring no letters from me to any one, neither from any to me: alſo diuers of my people they this night examined vpon their oathes, omitting no meanes to draw them to accuſe me, ſo I continued in priſon till the ſixteenth day morning what time the ſaid *Stratford* brought me a letter from Sir *Lawrence Eſmond* his Captaine, inuiting me to meet him at the paſſage, with whom when I came vp to the paſſage, I there met with Sir *Lawrence Eſmond*, accompanied with the Biſhop of *Waterford*, come from the Earle of *Ormond*, to replace mee in my charge againe, which by their great intreatie and perſwaſion I againe vndertooke.

The three and twentieth, Maſter *Mulleneux* hauing ſent my letters to the Company, to giue knowledge of the afore mentioned troubleſome buſineſſe, returned from *Corcke* with money to ſupply my wants.

60 The five and twentieth, Maſter *Beniamin Ioseph*, in a ſmall ſhip of *Briſtoll*, came vnto me, bringing with him both men, money, and prouiſions for my ſupply, which with all ſpeed wee tooke in, haſtning to be gone.

The ſixt of October, wee departed the Riuer of *Waterford* towards our long deſired home.

October.



The twelfth in the morning, we were thwart of *Beachy*, and at eight a clocke at night, wee anchored in *Douer Road*.

The thirteenth in the morning, we set saile out of *Douer Road*, and at ten a clocke wee anchored in the *Downes*, neare vnto the *Assurance* (the Kings ship) saluting her with fise peeces of Ordnance; immediatly came aboard of me, Master *Cocket*, the Master of her, who againe made stay of my ship, till further order from the Lord Admirall: vpon this I presently sent away Master *Mullineux* to *London*, with letters to certifie the Company hereof.

The seuenteenth, came downe from the Company, Master *Aderfly*, bringing me a letter from the Company, a release for the ship; and Master *Punniat* a Pilot, to bring her about. The eighteenth in the morning, wee set saile, and at fixe a clocke at night, wee anchored in the Road of *Gorend*. The nineteenth in the morning, at fixe a clocke we set saile, and at night we anchored at *Tilbury*. The twentieth in the morning, we set saile, and at ten a clocke wee anchored at *Black-wall*: where in the afternoone came downe Master *Deputy*, and diuers of the Committies, vnto whom I deliuered vp my charge. And so concluded this our tedious and out-tyring iourney.

### CHAP. XIII.

*The seuenth Voyage; made in the Globe into East-India, set out under the Command of Captaine ANTHONY HIPPO, obserued and written by NATHANIEL MARTEN, Masters Mate in the said Shippe.*



WEE weighed from the *Black-wall*, in the good shippe called the *Globe*, being bound for the *East-Indies*, the third of Ianuary 1610. and about fise of the clocke we anchored at *Graues-end*.

They arriued at *Soldania*, the one and twentieth of May 1611. and thence set saile the sixt of Iune following. They sailed not farre from *Mosambique*, and *Comoro*, and *Pemba*: and on the last of Iuly passed before *Punta de Galle*, vpon *Ceylon* (all which as being a meere maine relation, and the like course oft runne by others, is omitted.)

August 4.

The fourth of August in the morning, I obserued the variation, and made it to bee thirteene degrees, seuen minutes, and at noone we were in the latitude of nine degrees fiteene minutes, and the land was about fixe leagues off, and as much as wee could see it on the poope, the wind veered North by West, and the North North-west, and we stood in three houres, and then sounded, being about three leagues off the shoare, and had nine fathome, and the land then bore West North-west to the Northwards, and South the other way, and we iudged the land to lye North-west, or North-west by North. At three of the clocke wee cast about, and stood to the Northward, and the wind veered to the West, and West South-west, and we lay as neare as we could till fise of the clocke. The sixt, we kept our selues in eight and twentie and thirtie fathome, and then the wind scanted and veered to the West North-west, so the water deepned presently.

Negapatan.

The sixt in the morning, we perceined our selues to be in a great Current by the rippling, and we sent off our Pinnasse to come to an anchor, and we found the Current to set North by West, and we made our way from foure of the clocke in the after-noone, the fift till noone, the sixt North North-west, and ran seenteene leagues, and then we were in the latitude of ten degrees, and one and thirtie minutes, and from noone till two of the clocke wee steered away North-west; and then we saw diuers Fisher-men hard by, so we looked out at top-mast head, and saw land West North-west and North-west, and so we ran in, and then we were in twenty fathom about eight leagues off; and as we ranne in, the water shoalded easily, and at three of the clocke wee saw a Tower or Pagod, and a ship that bore North-west of vs, and then the great Pagod of *Negapatan* and the ship, were one in another, and then wee ran in, till we came into eight fathom North-west, and then we were about two leagues off the ship, and three leagues off the shoare.

Paleacate.

From fixe of the clocke at night the sixt, till seuen at noone, we steered away North by East, and so kept alwayes betweene twelue and fourteene fathom, and ran sixteene leagues, and were in the latitude of eleuen degrees, seuen and fiftie minutes.

From the seuenth till the eight at noone, wee steered away North by East, and ranne about twentie leagues by iudgement, and then we were thwart of the high land, vp in the Countrey, that rose in hammocks. This day we tooke the Boat of *S. Thome*. The ninth at noone, the Towne of *Maliapor* bore North North-west two leagues off, and the marke to know the Towne, is the high hill vp in the countrey. There is a shoale about two leagues to the Southward of *Paleacate*, which lyeth about a mile or more from the shoare, and the North-east end of it lyeth off about a league: we ran ouer the very end in three fathom, but if you keepe in ten or twelue fathome, you



you shall not need to feare any part of it. The ninth at foure a clocke, we anchored against the Towne, and it bore West by North off vs; there is a crosse to the Northward of the Town, which if you be betweene two or three miles of the shoare you see it, but you cannot see the Towne.

The tenth in the morning, we weighed and stood further to the Northward, and anchored in eight fathom (we not liking our former Road) and then the Crosse bore West by South of vs; when the Westermost point bore West by North, and the Northermost point bore North-west. The tenth at noone, Master Browne and Master Floris went ashore (there comming a Boat from the Gouverneur for them) but they went in our Skiffe, and as they were going ouer the Barre, the Skiffe was sunke, but neuer a man drowned, God be blessed: *Paleacate* standeth in thirteene degrees and thirtie minutes.

*Paleacate* standeth in thirteene degrees, thirty minutes.

The thirteenth, I obserued the variation, and made it to bee one degree and fiftene minutes; vpon the semicircle. The fiftenth, Master *Anthony Hippon*, our Captaine, went ashore to speake with the Gouverneffe. The sixteenth, the Captaine and all the Merchants came aboard, because they could get no trade.

The sixteenth at ten of the clocke, we set saile for *Petepoly*, and from ten till the seuateenth at noone, we ran about thirteene leagues, and were in the latitude of fourteene degrees and fiftene minutes, and made our way North by East. From the seuateenth to the eighteenth, we ran, by my iudgement, about three and twentie leagues, and made the way North, but it was sad weather, and we could not obserue. About seuen of the clocke in the morning the eighteenth, we spied a Galliot, riding in seuen fathom, some foure miles off the shoare, and shee road till wee were almost within Sacker shot of her, and then shee weighed and ran into shoale water into the shoare, but we stood not after her, because the water shoalded, and at that time we saw a breach, some two leagues off the shoare to my iudgement, and whereas we steered away, North North-east, wee steered away East North-east, and East by North, but had no deepe water till wee brought the breach, North North-west of vs, & when we saw it first, it bore North by East of vs.

*Petepoly*.

From the eighteenth at noone, till five of the clocke in the after-noone, wee steered away North-east by East, partly because wee would runne into deeper water, and partly because the land grew out more Easterly, and at five of the clocke we made a tuft of trees that is neare *Petepoly*, and it bore North-east by East of vs fixe leagues off, and then is the high land to the North-westward of the Towne, which did then beare North by West off vs, and at seuen of the clocke we anchored in nine fathom, the trees bearing North-east and by East of vs fixe leagues off, and the wind Westerly.

The nineteenth in the morning, by five of the clocke, we weighed and stood with the trees, and about nine of the clocke we anchored about two leagues short of them in five fathom, and the trees bore East North-east of vs, and then presently there came aboard two *Gingathas* or Boats: our Merchants sent them ashore with a letter; and about two of the clocke there came another, and a messenger from the *Sabandar*, who the twentieth day did send aboard two Boats for our Merchants, and brought a Present, and then went ashore Master *Floris*, Master *Lucas*, Master *Essington*, and *Adam Downton*, and the Purser's Mate, and *Lemon*.

They land at *Petepoly*.

The one and twentieth about eight of the clocke, there came a *Gingatha* from the shoare, and brought a letter from our Merchants, who did let vs vnderstand that they were kindly entertained, and presently we weighed with the wind at North North-west, and ran off and anchored almost thwart of the Riuer's mouth, and about three of the clocke in the after-noone, wee weighed and anchored in the Road, where the tuske of trees bore North-east by East Easterly; and we did anchor in nine fathom and a halfe: the marke to goe in ouer the barre, is a *Pal nito* tree, on the bancke, vpon the Northermost end of the high cliffe, it is but a little tree. I obserued the variation, and made it to be twelue degrees, seuen and twentie minutes.

The eight and twentieth, Master *Floris* came aboard, and *Simon Evans*, about twelue of the clocke: and about foure of the clocke, we weighed for *Masulipatan*, with the wind at South-west, and wee steered off into eight and nine fathom South South-east, and then wee bore vp South-east, and South-east by East, and kept our selues in nine and ten fathom till seuen of the clocke at night, and then the wind veered to the East, and East South-east; so wee anchored in nine fathom, till five of the clocke in the morning.

The nine and twentieth in the morning, about five of the clocke, we weighed with the wind at South South-west, and steered away East South-east, and East North-east, and North-east; and at noone the vttermost part of the land bore North of vs: so by my iudgement, the land Eastward from *Petepoly* lyeth East and by South, and West by North: and at noone wee came into white water of the point, and it shoalded a litle before wee came into it halfe a fathom, but when we were in it, we had the same depth fixe fathom three leagues off: about two of the clocke in the after-noone, the wind veered Northerly, so wee came to an anchor in seuen fathom: about five of the clocke, we weighed, and stood in North North-west, and North-west by North, till seuen of the clocke, and being calme, wee anchored in five fathom, the Westermost land bore West North-west Westerly, and we saw two ships which bore North Westerly and North-west, and the Norcher-most land bore North.



*Masulipatan.*

The thirtieth, about one of the clocke wee weighed, and stood in for the Road *Masulipatan*, which bore North of vs, and we neuer had aboue fve, and foure and a halfe all the way: so about fve of the clocke, we anchored in three fathom and a foote; and the great tree which is the marke for the Road, bore West by North Westerly of vs, and the Southermost land bore South and by West Southerly of vs, and the Northermost bore North-east Easterly of vs.

The one and thirtieth, Master *Floris*, Master *Hessington*, *Simon Euans*, *Cuthbert Whitfield*, and *Arthur Smith*, went a shoare to stay there in our Skiffe.

Decemb. 28.

The eight and twentieth of December, I obserued the variation, and made it to be twelue degrees, two and twentie minutes.

The point of  
*Masulipatan* is  
in 15. degrees,  
57. minutes  
North.

The thirtieth, we weighed from *Masulipatan* about seuen of the clocke in the morning, with the wind at North-east by East, and we halde it off South-east and South-east by South, till we came into eightene fathom. At noone the point that bore South by West Southerly off vs, was West and by North, by the Compasse, and then I obserued, and made it to be in fiftene degrees seuen and fiftie minutes, and at eight of the clocke at night wee anchored in fixe fathome and an halfe.

January 4.

The fourth of January, I obserued at noone, and made the Roade to be in fiftene degrees, fixe and thirtie minutes:

The fve and twentieth and the fixe and twentieth, wee obserued the Sunne and certaine Starres, by the Sunne we made the Towne of *Petepoli* to be in fiftene degrees, nine and fortie minutes: the Starre called the *Ships-sterne*, we had in one and twenty degrees, nine and twenty minutes; the foot of the *Croscars* twelue degrees, foure and fiftie minutes, and the flanke of the *Centaur*, in fiftene degrees, two and thirty minutes, the foot in fourteene degrees, one and fortie minutes, the wind at South-east, and South South-east.

February 7.

The seuenth of February, the Merchants came aboard and carryed all the luggage quite away, the wind at South South-east night and day.

They depart  
out of the road  
of *Petepoli*.

The eleuenth of February, we weighed out of *Petepoly* Roade, hauing the wind at North North-west about fixe of the clocke in the morning, and stood off South South-east, but verie little wind, and the current set to the North-east, and we anchored in fve fathom and an halfe, it being calme, we hauing runne off about a mile and an halfe, and the wind came off the Sea all Southerly.

They strike  
ouer from *Pete-  
poli* to *Bantam*  
in *Iaua*.

The twelfth, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South-east, and South-east and by East, and we haled off South South-west, and South by West, and South-west as the wind would giue vs leaue, till three of the clocke in the after-noone, and then we anchord in nine fathome water, with the wind at South and South and by East, and made our way South-west and by South, fixe leagues out of the Road by my iudgement, and the high land bore West halfe a point Southerly: in the Road it bore West halfe a point Northerly.

The fourteenth, about foure of the clock in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South South-west, and stood away South-east, and South-east and by South, as the wind would giue vs leaue: At noone the Palmito Trees bore North halfe a point Easterly, about fixe leagues off, or seuen, and we ranne in ten fathome.

March 12.

From the twentieth of March, at noone till the one and twentieth, we had very little wind Easterly and calme: we made our way South South-west by my iudgement, and ranne seuen leagues, and at noone were in the latitude of two degrees, fixe and twentie minutes, at night we obserued the variation, and had it in thirteene degrees, fiftie seuen minutes on the Semicircle, and the amplitude was foure degrees, twentie seuen minutes, which being subtracted to thirteene degrees, fiftie seuen minutes, makes the variation to be nine degrees, twentie fve minutes.

From the one and twentieth at noone, till the two and twentieth at noone we had the wind all Northerly, we steered away South and ran fiftene leagues by the logge, and then wee were in the latitude of one degree, thirtie foure minutes: at night, I obserued the variation and made it to be ten degrees ten minutes, which did proue a great current to the West-ward.

A grear cur-  
rent to the  
West-ward.

From the two and twentieth, to the three and twentieth at noone, wee had the wind variable betweene the North and the West, we had little wind and gustie weather, we steered South by East, and ran eight leagues: and at noone we obserued the latitude of fiftie seuen minutes, at night I obserued the variation, and made it to be ten degrees. The Magneticall Azimuth is fiftene degrees fiftene minutes; the Amplitude is fve degrees, thirteene minutes. From the three and twentieth at noone till the foure and twentieth at noone, we had the wind betweene the West and South-west, we steered away South by East, and ranne three and twentie leagues by the logge, and then we were vnder the Line by our obseruation.

The Equino-  
ctiall.

From the foure and twentieth at noone, till the fve and twentieth at noone we had the wind betweene the North North-west, and the South South-west, and we steered away South South-east, we ran by the logge one and twentie leagues, and then we were in the latitude of fiftie seuen minutes to the Southward of the Line. At night I obserued the variation, and made the Magneticall Azimuth to be fiftene degrees, fortie minutes. The Amplitude fixe degrees, no minutes, which made the variation to be nine degrees fortie minutes.

From



From the five and twentieth at noone, till the sixe and twentieth at noone wee had the wind variable betweene the North North-west, and the West South-west; wee steered South South-east, we ranne fifteene leagues by the logge, and then wee were in the latitude of one degree, thirtie minutes at night. I obserued the variation, and the Magneticall Azimuth, was fifteene degrees five minutes. The Amplitude was sixe degrees, one and twentie minutes, which made the variation eight degrees, fiftie foure minutes.

1612.

From the one and thirtieth at noone, till the first of Aprill at noone we had the wind Southerly and very little, and made our way East South-east twelue leagues, and at noone we were in the latitude of foure degrees, one minute. From the first at noone to the second at noone, wee had the wind betweene the West North-west, and South South-west, variable and gustie, wee steered away South-east by East, halfe a point Easterly: wee ranne by the logge one and twentie leagues and two thirds, and then we were in the latitude of foure degrees, twentie foure minutes, we made our way twelue leagues East South-east, and ten leagues South and by East by iudgement: which did agree with my Obseruation. In the morning they obserued the variation, and had the Almicanter and Magneticall Azimuth, one degree thirtie minutes, the Amplitude eight degrees, fortie seuen minutes, which made the variation to be seuen degrees, twentie seuen minutes. About two of the clocke in the morning, *Adam Duglas* departed this life. From the second at noone till the third, we had the wind betweene the North-west, and the West South-west, we steered away betweene the East South-east, and the South-east by East, but because of our latches to the South-ward, I iudge that she made her way East South-east, we ranne thirtie two leagues by the logge, and then was I iust with the Wester most part of the Ile of *Eugano*, by my reckoning.

Aprill 1612.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the after-noone, through the Almightyes good assistance, we came to an Anchor in *Bantam* Road, in three and a halie, where *Puloponian* bore North the bodie, and *Pulotundo* bore North-west by North, and *Puloduo* East South-east, and the Wester-most point thwart of *Pulorange*, bore North-west by North Northerly: the vttermost point bore East by North Northerly, and the Eastermost Iland *Pulo Lima*, was euen ioyning to the Westermost point of *Jana*, and presently after we were at an Anchor, came aboard Master *Spalding* with two others, and two of them lay aboard.

The Ile of  
*Eugano*.  
They arrive in  
the Road of  
*Bantam*.

The one and thirtieth of May, in the after-noone about foure of the clocke, our Merchants came aboard, and about nine of the clocke we set saile: wee steered away North North-east, with the wind at South.

*August Spalding*.  
They depart  
from *Bantam*  
for *Palane* and  
*Siam*.  
Iune.

The first of Iune in the morning, the wind veered to the East-ward and so to the North-ward, very foule and gustie weather. Wee bore vp and anchored vnder *Pulotundo* in nineteene fathomes, halfe a league from the shoare.

About five and sixe of the clocke in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South-east, and within a heauie or two we had but five fathome, and so shoalded till wee had but foure fathome, steering away North North-west, the neereft land beeing South-west sixe leagues off, which was a long woodie Iland, some foure miles long, of which we looked for a ledge of rockes or sand. From sixe till noone, we made our way North by West seuen leagues. About eight of the clocke in the morning, I espyed *Lucapara* at top-mast head, about eight leagues off.

A long wood-  
die Iland.

*Lucapara*.

The seuenth in the morning, about sixe of the clocke, we weighed the wind South-west, and betweene sixe and noone we made our way North-west seuen leagues, and about tenne of the clocke, we raised *Mompyne* North-east eight leagues off at least; and after we raised this hill, we had neuer lesse then ten fathome, keeping the shoalding of *Sumatra*.

*Mompyne*.

The ninth in the morning, about five of the clocke, we weighed with the wind at South-east by South, and steered away North-west by North, & so Northerly as the Coast did lye: but we neuer came neerer the point of *Mompyne*, then three leagues and an halfe, or foure leagues, because of a ledge of rockes that lyeth two leagues of the Eastermost point of *Sumatra*, beeing the seuenth point of the Straights: and these ledge of rockes beare East and West one of another. We had no sooner weighed, but the water deepened to eight, nine, tenne, and so to foureteene fathomes. When you haue *Mompyne* South-east of you, then are you cleere of the rockes. At noone I obserued with my quadrant, and made her to be in one degree, thirtie nine minutes, and then *Mompyne* bore South-east Easterly of vs.

The tenth, about three of the clocke in the morning, we espyed an Iland that bore North North-west three leagues.

From noone till sixe of the clocke at night, we made our way North halfe a point Easterly sixe leagues: and from sixe till noone the eleuenth, wee made our way North eightene leagues, and wee were in the latitude of one degree to the Northward, hauing two Ilands, the Southermost bore South-west by West of vs seuen leagues off, and the Northermost bore West-ward South-west seuen leagues off, and then wee had five and twentie fathomes: all the night long, we had from twentie to five and twentie fathomes. I espyed land at top-mast head, West by North twelue leagues off, which was the high land of *Bintan*.

This Ile of  
*Bintan*.

From noone till sixe of the clocke at night, we made our way West by North seuen leagues,



we had five and twentie fathome water, and then the high-land of *Bintam* bore West South-west fixe leagues off, and there are three little Ilands at the South-east end of *Bintam*.

The twelfth, we made our way North by East Easterly five leagues, and then we were in the latitude of one degree thirtie five minutes, hauing twentie fixe fathome, and the Northermost part of *Bintam*, West North-west tenne leagues: when foure glasses were running after noone, I espied at top-mast head an Iland that bore North-west Northerly nine leagues off.

From fixe of the clocke at night the thirteenth, till the foureteenth at noone, we to my iudgement, made our way North-west by North, in regard of the Current nine leagues: tenne glasses in the night we had it calme, and droue North North-west, and we should haue it deeper, and shoald a fathome at a cast, till we had but eleuen fathome, and then deeper till it came to fifteene<sup>10</sup> or sixteene fathome. From fixe at night, till the fifteenth at noone, we made our way by iudgement North North-east, Northerly tenne leagues; but at noone we made her to bee in foure degrees fortie eight minutes, and then we had thirtie fathome: at eight of the clocke we had an Iland bore North by West of vs, five leagues off the maine, being foure miles off, and then wee had twentie fixe fathome.

Latitude 4. degrees 35. min.

This great Iland, and the Rocks, beare North by West, and South by East one of another, and are foure miles in length, we perceiued in the night, being calme, to haue a great Current setting to the North-wards, and I iudged this Iland to stand in foure degrees thirtie five minutes. From noone til the sixth at night, we made our way North North-west halfe Northerly eight leagues, our sounding was thirtie and twentie five fathome, and then we had an other Iland bore West<sup>20</sup> by North of vs, not vnlike the former: we had five and twentie fathome at fixe of the clocke, five or fixe leagues off the maine: the Iland lieth about one league from the maine.

A sunken rock.

From the sixteenth at noone, till the seuenteenth at noone, we made our way North North-west twelue leagues; but as we were almost in the narrowest, we spied a sunken rocke in the faire way; so we fearing the worst, hauing eleuen fathome & one league of the maine, we haled it off North-East, and North-east by East, to get cleere of two little Ilands that are to the Eastward, and so we went to the East-ward of all. At noone we obserued, and made the ship to bee in five degrees fiftie foure minutes.

A little rocke.

From the seuenteenth at noone, till the eighteenth at noone, we made our way North-west, Westerly eight leagues. From the nineteenth at noone till the twentieth, wee made our way<sup>30</sup> North-west Northerly eight leagues: in the morning about seuen of the clocke, I saw a little Rocke, about three leagues off at the top-mast head, and as we came vp with it about noone, I went with the Skiffe to sound about it, and we had twelue fathome a stones throw off it: and when our Skiffs head was a shoare we had fixe fathomes and an halfe, vp and downe by the rock: it lieth betweene three or foure leagues of the Westermost point of the land, and beareth South-East Southerly a little; and about two leagues and a halfe from the Southermost land, or three, we had little wind Westerly, and variable, but for the most part Northerly.

From noone the twentieth, till the one and twentieth at noone, wee made our way North-west Northerly fixe leagues, with the wind Westerly and Northerly; we were faint to anchor twice in the night, because it was calme, and the Current setting to the South-ward, wee had<sup>40</sup> very faire shoaldings off, into foureteeen and into seuen or eight. From the one and twentieth at noone, till the two and twentieth at noone, we turned it alongst the shoare, with the wind Westerly, and then we had the low sandie point South of vs two leagues off.

August. 4.  
They depart  
from Patane  
for Syam.

The fourth of August at night, we weighed out of *Patane* road, about nine of the clocke, with the wind at South South-west, and we steered away North-west, and North-west by West, North-west by North: but by my iudgement, from nine till noone wee made our way North-west, halfe a point Northerly tenne leagues, and then the high land bore South-west of vs in the Roade. Our depths from three, to seuen, eight and, tenne fathome. From noone till fixe a clocke at night, we had tenne leagues, little wind at North-west and North and North-east, but we made our way North North-east one league: and from fixe till fixe in the morning, we made<sup>50</sup> our way North North-west halfe a point Northerly eight leagues, with the wind variable and Westerly; and then we espied land, that bore West North-west of vs tenne leagues off.

Latitude 8 degrees 7. min.

From fixe of the clocke in the morning, till noone the sixt day, wee made our way North North-west five leagues to our iudgement, and we obserued, and made the ship to be in eight degrees seuen minutes, and then the high land bore West and North tenne leagues off, and then we had seuenteeen fathome. From the sixt at noone till the seuenth at noone, wee had little wind and calme, we made our way North North-west, to my iudgement wee could not runne about fixe leagues, but we made it to be in eight degrees three minutes. From the seuenth at noone, till the eight, we had little wind, and variable round about, wee made our way North North-west eight leagues or tenne, our depths eighteeen and nineteene fathome. From the eighth, to<sup>60</sup> the ninth at noone, wee had little wind, and variable round about, and then we made the shippe to be in nine degrees fortie minutes; and then the Northermost great Iland bore West South-west, and the Southermost bore South-west. In the morning we saw two Ilands.

Latitude 9. degrees 40. min.

From the ninth to the tenth at noone, we had it calme, and went little or nothing the wind North.



Northerly, our depth one and twentie and two and twentie fathome. From the tenth to the eleuenth at noone, we had little or no wind, and went two leagues North North-west, we had it Northerly and Westerly, and our depths twenty and twentie one fathomes. From the eleuenth at noone to the twelfth, we had the wind variable and gusty round about, and we ran about eight leagues North by West, and the depth twenty sixe and twenty five fathome. From the twelfth at noone till the thirteenth, we made our way North by East twentie foure leagues, with the wind at South, and South South-west, and South-west, our depth twentie sixe and twentie eight fathom, seven or eight leagues off the shoare.

From the thirteenth to the foureteenth, we made our way North by West sixteene leagues, the wind South-west, our depths two and twentie, and five and twentie fathomes, five or sixe leagues from the shoare. From the foureteenth to the fifteenth, we made our way sixteene leagues North by West, with the wind Westerly, our depth nineteene, & twentie fathomes, sixe leagues off. From the fifteenth to the sixteenth at noone, we made our way North and by West tenne leagues, we had eight, nine, and tenne fathome, alongst the low land foure leagues off, then we bore vp to the East, and East South-east till midnight, and for an houre wee steered away East North-east, till we came into foure fathome, and then tooke in our sailes as fast as wee could, but presently we had but three fathome and a foote, before we could get in our sailes, so we anchored in three and a foot till the next day, and the water fell thirteene foot, and more, so that we had but sixe fathome and an halfe at low water, and then we laid out a warpe, and when she flected we warped into deepe water. The eighteenth we set saile, and haled it off into five fathome, where we anchored, hauing the Souther-most Iland South by East of vs, and the Eastermost East and by South, and the Riuer's mouth North of vs Westerly.

They arriue at  
Syam.

Nouemb. 1612.  
They depart  
from Syam.

The third of Nouember, about one of the clocke in the afternoone we weighed out of the bay, where we left our men, and graued our ship, and haled it off from the West to the South South-East, to goe cleare of the Iland, and so steered away.

The fourth at noone I made the ship to be in twelue degrees thirtie three minutes, hauing run in these three and twentie houres, but five and twenty leagues, and to my iudgement had made her way, one thing with an other counted, South by West, the wind Northerly.

On the eleuenth, we arriued at *Patane*. He was after this at *Syam* againe, and againe at *Patane*: and made a second Voyage from *Masulipatan* to *Bantam*, 1614. and thence to *England*, 1615. But his Iournall is so large, that I dare not expresse it. Note that he saith, that the Ile of *S. Helena* is an hundred leagues more to the West-ward, then is laid downe in Plats.

The twentieth of August 1615. they came before the *Lizard*. They spent in this whole Voyage foure yeares and about eight Moneths. Their actions and exploits in this Voyage are deliuered more fully by M. *Floris*, out of whose Iournall I haue taken the most remarkeable. For I thinke, these meere marine relations, are (though to some profitable) to the most tedious. For which cause I haue abridged this, to make way to the next, written by a Merchaut of long *Indian* experience, and full of pleasant varietie.

## CHAP. XIII.

Extraits of PETER WILLIAMSON FLORIS his Iournall, for the seuenth Voyage, (in which he went Cape Merchant) translated out of Dutch. He arriued in England 1615. and died two Moneths after in London.

## §. I.

The Voyage to Paleacatte, Petapoli, Masulipatan, Bantam, Patania, and Siam.



Auing couenanted and agreed with the Right Worshipfull the Gouvernour and Deputy of the *East-Indian* Societie, we embarked our selues in the *Globe*, the fift of Ianuary 1610. *Stylo Anglia*, and set saile for *Grauesend*: the fift of February we set saile from the *Downes*. The one and twentieth of May 1611. wee came into *Saldania* Bay, where wee found three ships, and two boates came aboard vs, one from *Isaac le Maire*, and the other from *Henrike Brouwer*. Much

*Saldania* Bay.

refreshing was not here to be had at this time of the yeare, by reason of great store of raine, being now their winter, the mountaines also couered with snow. Wee vsed great diligence in seeking of the roote *Ningim*, for which purpose the said two *Holland* ships had come thither, one being of *Japan* that first discovered the secret. But at this time the newe lease began only to peepe forth, that had we not receiued instructions, wee could not haue knowne it; the right and ripe time there.

Root *Ningim*.



thereof beeing December, January and February. It is called of these Inhabitants *Cama*.

Barter at the  
bay for hides.

We having filled our water, and refreshed our selves with eight Sheepe and twentie Near. Set saile out of the Bay, leauing behind vs the boat of *Isaac le Maire* with his sonne *Jacob*, who lay there to barter for hides and skinnies, and to make traine oyle; which was to continue there till December. To him we gaue letters for *England*. Neere *Tena de Natar*. Iune the tenth, wee were in great danger: a storme of thunder, lightning, wind and raine, almost violently thrust vs on shoare; but God mercifully and powerfully gaue vs vnexpected deliuerance.

August 1.  
Zelon.  
Negapatan.  
No falsehood  
of Maps.

The first of August, we saw the land of *Ceylon* falling with *Punta de Galle*, and running along the coast. On the sixt we fell before *Negapatan*, beeing twentie eight miles (leagues) from our guesing, the Map in that place beeing very false. The like hath also happened to the *Hollanders*, which in the night might be very dangerous. Neither found we the Iland so broad as it is there laid. *M. Mullineux* layeth *Punta de Galle* in foure degrees, which lyeth in fixe. Towards euening we passed before the Road, and might see the Towne and houses very plainly.

Lanagapatan.  
S. Thome.  
Paleacatie.

The seuenth, wee passed *Lanagapatan*, where the *Hollanders* hauing a Factorie, are wearie because of little doings. On the eight, we came before Saint *Thome*, and on the ninth before *Paleacatie*, passing ouer the shallow being in length aboue a Musket shot, hauing but three fathome water. Here came two Boates aboard vs, one from the *Sabander*, another from the *Hollanders*. The tenth, the *Sabanders* men brought vs a *Caul* or conduct to come safely ashore. Whereupon I and Master *Browne* went ashore, but by the roughnesse of the Sea were turned ouer, yet (God be thanked) no man was drowned. The *Sabander* met vs, compassionating our mischance and appointed vs a house, promising vs to procure a Letter from the King to the Gouvernesse of *Conda Maa*.

Hollanders  
triumphing in  
our way.

On the eleuenth, *Iohn Van Wersicke* the Dutch President on the Coast of *Choromandell*, shewed vs a *Caul* from the King of *Narsinga*, *Wencapati*, *Raia*, wherein was granted, that it should not be lawfull for any that came out of *Europe* to trade there, but such as brought Prince *Maurice* his Patent, and therefore desired our departure. We answered we had Commission from his Maiestie of *England*, and would therefore doe what we could. Hence arose high words, which the *Sabander* calmed, telling of the Gouvernesse her comming thither within three dayes.

On the seuenteenth, came *Conda Maa*, and Captaine *Hippon*, comming on shoare, wee were readie to goe to her, when we receiued word to the contrarie, and that the next day shee would send for vs. We suspected the *Hollanders* close dealing, and the next day sent to the *Sabander* (no man comming for vs) who answered the King, had made grant to the *Hollanders*, and wee must goe to him (the dispatching of which businesse would haue cost vs two monethes space, and hazarded the Monson for *Patane*) if we would procure libertie. The *Hollanders* also had made readie two Elephants to send to the King. Wherefore we resolved to prosecute our Voyage for *Petapoli* and *Masulipatan*.

Petapoli.

Masulipatan.

New King.

The twentieth, we arriued before *Petapoli*, and the Gouverneur sent vs a *Caul*. Wee agreed with him for three thirds *per Centum*, Custome and sent goods on shoare, resolving that Master *Lucas* and Master *Browne* should stay there: and that I should goe to *Masulipatan*, where was a better Road for the ship. Thither we came on the last of August, and *Zaladar Chan* brought vs a *Caul*. We agreed to send a present to *Mir Sumela* (a great Officer vnder the King, which farmeth out his Reuenues) to *Condapoli*, in regard of the shifts of the vnder Officers. On the twentieth of January, deceased *Cotubara* King of *Badaya*, or *Lolongana*, and of *Masulipatan*, and great tumults were feared. But the wisdom of *Mir Masunim* preuented the same, presently electing *Mahumad Unim Cotubara*, sonne to the Brother of the deceased (who had left no children behind him) a yong-man of great hope. His Vncle had put all in the hands of the *Persians*, but this sheweth him selfe contrarie, and an Enemy to *Mir Sumela* the fountaine of Tyrannie.

Gouernours  
perfidie.

Golconda.

Bantam.

The Gouverneur dealt treacherously with mee, in a bargaine of Cloth and Lead for Launces; saying, he had agreed with me for foure thousand *Pagodes*, (intending by that coozenage to raise the Custome agreed at foure *per Centum* to twelue) alleaging for reason, that hee was a *Mir*, and that he was borne of *Mahomets* Posteritie, whose words must bee beleeued before a Christians. I not knowing how to deale with this Knaue, the time not suffering to send to the new King at *Golconda*, seeing no meanes to end with friendship, resolved to practise enmitie: but at last by intercession of other *Morres*, we ended in a kind of agreement. Hauing also cleared at *Petapoli*, we hauing a good Monson departed for *Bantam*, and arriued there the fixe and twentieth of Aprill 1612. We found the Dutch readie to depart thence for *Iacatra*, by reason of the Gouvernours new exactions. But we hauing no house there, after some contesting, agreed with him for three *per Centum* Custome.

Factory at Succadania in Borneo.

Patane.

By order of *David Middleton*, a Factorie was settled at *Succadania*, and continued by Master *Spalding*, but it seemeth (as things are carryed) rather to priuate then publike benefit. The first of Iune, we set saile from *Bantam*, and on the two and twentieth came into the Road of *Patane*, where we found the *Bantam* a ship of *Enkhusen*, of whom wee learned the manners of the Countrey. On the fixe and twentieth, we went on shoare in great state, taking with vs a pre-



present of about sixe hundred Rials of eight, to accompanie the Kings Letter. Wee were well receiued according to the manner of the Countrey, the Letter being laid in a Bason of Gold, and carried vpon an Elephant with Minstrels, many Lances and little Flagges.

The Kings  
Letter.  
Queene of  
Patane.

The Queenes Court was sumptuously prepared, the Letter read, and free Trade granted vs, paying such duties as the *Hollanders* did. Wee departed from the Court without sight of the Queene, and were brought to *Dato Laxmann* the *Sabander* and Officer appointed for Strangers, where a Banquet of Fruits was set before vs: and thence to the *Oran-caya Sirnona*, and there also did eate something. The next day the Queene sent vs meate and fruits aboard.

10 The third of Iuly, departed hence a *Dutch* Pinnasse called the *Grey-hound* for *Iapon*, the Masters Mate thereof was the same man which had brought the Letter from *William Adams* to the *English* at *Bantam*: by whom we sent the Companies Letters to Master *Adams*, which he promised to deliuer with his owne hands. This otherwise wee could not haue done; for those of *Iapon* are at enmitie with this place, and haue burned *Patane* twice within these five or sixe yeares.

Iuly 3.  
W. Adams in  
Iapon.

Iapanites burne  
Patane.

20 Much adoe we had to get leaue to build a Ware-house here, fire-free, which we did hard by the *Dutch* house in a place assigned vs thirtie fathome in length, twentie in breadth: the House eight fathome long, and foure broad. But their demands seemed very vnreasonable, amounting, besides former charges, to foure thousand Rials of eight, whereunto yet in hope of future benefit we yeelded. Sicknesse also much afflicted vs, as if the plague had beene in our ship: and Captaine *Hippon* dyed the ninth of Iuly. Whose Successor was nominated in the Boxe N. 1. Master *Browne*; but he being dead before, the Boxe N. 2. was opened, wherein *Thomas Essington* was named, and did succeed. Hereunto was added losse by Theeues, which like resolute Dissolutes came into the house, a Lampe burning, and stole money out of my Chest, two hundred eightie three Rials of eight, and other goods; fiftene persons sleeping in the house, and a great blacke Dogge, and Watch kept in the yard, which made suspition of some of our owne, but we could neuer learne any certaintie.

Death of Cap-  
taine Hippon.  
Capt Essington.

30 I and *John Persons*, and sixe more were left here in Factorie; and the ship departed the first of August for *Syam*. I would haue written to *Syam*, of my ill Market of Lawnes, but could not send by water, and by land no lesse then foure together would trauell for feare of Tygres, and many Riuers they must passe, which made their demands to passe so farre, that I was forced to waite better oportunitie. In September the King of *Ior ouer-ranne* the Suburbes of *Pahan*, burning all before him, and likewise *Campon Sina*, which caused great dearth in *Pahan*. The cause of our want of vent here (where foure yeares before I had seene such quicknesse, as if the World would not haue prouided sufficient) is the *Portugalls* bringing to *Malacca* the wonted quantitie, and the *Hollanders* filling *Bantam* and the *Moluccas*, as also the Trade of *Moore*s at *Tanasserin* and *Syam*, besides *Tarangh* a Hauen new found out by *Keda*; the *Guzerates*, and another from *Negapatan* and we, helping to cloy the Market; so that the rumour is sufficient to keepe downe the price for ten yeares. I cannot at this present make five per Cento, which haue made foure of one. Thus is mans wilddome disappointed. I resolved to send a *Cargason* for *Macassar*, sending *John Persons* as Chiefe, in a Iuncke of *Empan*, October the eight.

The Globe at  
Syam.  
Tigres.

Pan or  
Pahan and  
Campon Sina.

Macassar in  
Celebes.

40 On the ninth, arriued two Iunckes from *Siam*, in one of which was sent mee a Letter from Master *Essington* and Master *Lucas* of their trouble and small likelihood of sale, besides the former causes, the Countrey being filled with warres; those of *Cambois*, *Laniam*, and *Iagoman*, preparing against *Syam*.

Cambois, Lani-  
am, & Iagoman.

50 The five and twentieth, departed hence the Iunckes for *Borneo*, *Iambi*, *Iaua*, *Macassar*, *Iortan* and other places, among whom was the Iuncke of *Orancaya Raya Indramouda* for *Bantam*, and thence to *Iortan*, *Amboyna*, and *Banda*, and backe to *Macassar*. I cannot imagine what the *Hollanders* meane to suffer these *Maleysians*, *Chinesians*, and *Moore*s of those Countries, and to assist them in their free Trade thorow all the *Indies*, and forbid it their owne Seruants, Countrymen and Brethren, vpon paine of death and losse of goods. Surely a token of great ignorance or enuie, suffering *Turkes* and Heathens to grow rich, rather then their owne Countrymen should get their liuing. Surely a great ingratitude, and a token that Gods punishment is comming vpon them.

A Dutch-mans  
testimony of  
Dutch iniquitie  
in his owne  
words, as they  
are in the tran-  
slated Copie.  
November 11.

60 The eleuenth of Nouember, the *Globe* arriued from *Syam*, hauing beene eight dayes in the way. They had arriued in the Road of *Syam* the fiftenth of August, and cast Anchor at three fathome high water: but the next day the water ebbing thirteene houres together they had but seuen foot muddie ground, and therefore not very hurtfull. They remoued further off, where they had three fathome at a low water, being foure miles (leagues) from the Barre. The Townelyeth some thirtie leagues vp along the Riuer, whether they sent newes of their arriuall. The *Sabander* and the *Gouernour* of *Mancock* (a place scituated by the Riuer) came backe with the Messengers to receiue his Maiesties Letters, but chiefly for the presents expected. Captaine *Essington* and Master *Lucas* went with them to the Towne, where the seuententh of September they came before the King, who promised free Trade, and gaue euery one a little golden Cup, and a little piece of clothing. The *Mandorins* (Officious Officers) would haue interuerted the Kings

Customers  
Customes.

com-



command for their owne couetousnesse, taking at their owne prices what they please, and paying when they are pleased with Bribes, with worse demeanure then in any other parts of the *Indies* (though the rest bad enough) till complaint being made to the King, they were charged not to molest them; and the goods were carried to the house which the King had assigned, being of bricke, the best in *Siam*, neare to that of the *Hollanders*. Now was the time of raines, and the countrey couered with water.

Tempest.

Road of *Siam* a safe harbour, but in a South South-west wind.

*Bantam* *Patane* and *Siam*, three principall places of Trade

The fixe and twentieth of October, arose such stormes, that old folkes had not there seene the like, renting vp trees by the roots, and blowing downe the Kings monument, which hee had erected to his Father. The ship hardly escaped by the diligence of Master *Skinner* and *Samuel Huys*, casting out a third anchor, being driuen, notwithstanding her two anchors, from sixe fathome to foure, and not passing an *English* mile from the land. Master *Skinner* was beaten from the anchor-stocke, but very strangely recovered. Fiue men were drowned; one after the rest, whom they supposed deuoured of a Whale, which they saw soone after they had seene him. This storme lasted foure or five houres, and then followed a smooth sea, as if there had beene no tempest. A tempest yet continued aboard the ship, by reason, as was reported, of the reasonlesse malterly Master, who was therefore apprehended, and *Skinner* placed in his roome, whereby that weather also calmed. As for their Trade, they were too much becalmed, this being the third place of Trade in all the *Indies*, and so farre distant from *Bantam* and *Patane*. The cause whereof is this.

20

## ¶ II.

### Relations of strange Occurrents in Pegu, Siam, Ioor, Patane, and the Kingdomes adiacent.

See his Pegu story in my Pilgrimage.

Kings of *Tangu* and *Arracan* sharers of *Pegu*.

*Siriangh*.

*Iockommaway* a Traytor.

*Iayaders* insolence.

**S**IAM hath been a mightie Kingdome and ancient, since subdued and tributary to *Pegu*, which yet continued not long. For the King of *Siam* dying, left two sonnes, which were brought vp in the Kings Court of *Pegu*. But flying from thence to *Siam*, the eldest called in the *Maleyan* language, *Ra'api*, or the *Fiery King*, and by the *Portugals* the *Blacke King*, let vp himselfe as King: against whom the King of *Pegu* sent his son the Prince, who was slaine in these warres, and hath beene occasion of the destruction of the whole Kingdome, and many millions of *Peguan* liues. For the King sore griued for the death of his sonne, caused his chiefe *Peguan* Lords and Souldiers (himselfe being of the kindred of the *Brama's*) to bee slaine. This caused great perturbation, diuers tributary Kings (whereof hee had twentie) falling daily from him: which at the last encouraged this *Blacke King* to make warre against him, going to the Citie of *Vnxa* or *Pegu*, before which he lay some two moneths, without doing any thing; he brake vp his siege and returned to *Siam*. But the King of *Pegu* not long after, because of the great dearth and death, gaue ouer himselfe, and all his treasure, into the hands of the King of *Tangu*; to preuent also falling into the hands of the King of *Arracan*, comming against him with a mightie power. This King of *Arracan* easily made himselfe Master of the Towne and Countrey, almost emptie and famished. Thinking to goe into *Tangu*: That King sent Embassadors, offering to deliuer vnto him certaine portions of the treasures of *Pegu*, the *White Elephant*, and the Kings daughter (both which I haue seene in *Arracan*, Anno 1608.) as also the King of *Pegu*, or else to kill him (as afterwards it happened that the King of *Tangu* slew him with a Pilon, wherewith they stampe their Rice, as being free against any flauing.) In this manner came this mightie Empire to ruine, so that at this day there is no remembrance of it. The King of *Arracan* gaue the Towne or Fort of *Siriangh*, lying vpon the same Riuier of *Pegu*, in keeping to the *Portugals*, especially to *Philip de Britto de Nicote*, to whom hee gaue the name of *Xenga*, that is, Honor, which honor *Xenga* did after requite, taking his sonne prisoner some three or foure yeeres after, and ransomed him at eleuen hundred thousand Tangans, and ten Galeas of Rice; who yet also domineereth and careth for no bodie.

Thus by *Pegu's* destruction was *Siam* receiued, and hath since brought in subiection the Kingdomes of *Cambaya*, *Laniah*, *Iagomai*, *Lugor*, *Patane*, *Teneserim* and diuers others. Anno 1605. the *Blacke King* deceased without issue, and left his Kingdome to his brother, called the *White King*, a couetous man, but enioying his kingdomes in peace: he dyed Anno 1610. leaving diuers children behind him. Hence much alteration: For lying in his death-bed, hee caused his eldest sonne to be slaine, being a yong man of great hope, at the instigation of one *Iockommaway*, one of the principall Lords of *Siam*, who hauing many slaues, thought to make himselfe King.

This present King was the second sonne of the *White King*, who not long after dispatched that Traytor, which had amongst other slaues, two hundred and eightie *Iapanders*. These thinking to reuenge their Masters death, and to atchieue some memorable exploit, ran together to the Court of this new King, possessed themselues of King and Court (being without suspition) and compelled

60



10 pelled him to deliuer foure of the principall Nobles to be slaine, as causes of their Masters death. And hauing sometime vsed him at their pleasure, they compelled him to subscribe with his owne blood, and to giue some of the chiefe *Palapos* or Priests for hostages, to such agreement as they propounded, and so departed with great treasure after much violence, the *Siamites* not being able to right themselves. Vpon this occasion, the kingdomes of *Cambaya* and *Laniangh* rebelled, as  
 10 also one *Banga de Laa* a *Peguan*. And the King of *Laniangh* came the last yeere into *Siam*, within three dayes iourney of the Towne of *Odiya*, hoping to find the Countrey still entangled with these illuish *Iaponian* broyles. But they being departed, the King of *Siam* came forth to meete him, which the other durst not abide. The two other Kings are said to haue ioyned league to  
 10 come together in Aprill, to dispossesse this yong King, being about two and twentie yeeres of age, which yet without treason of his owne, they are not likely to effect. Once, it was our hard happe to hit vpon these bad times so vnfitting for Trade.

Rebellion.

Oudiya.

We resolu'd that the ship should winter here in *Patanie*, forced thereto by diuers causes. The one and thirtieth of December, the Queene accompanied with aboue fixe hundred Prawes, went to sport her selfe: shee lay first at *Sabrangh*, where we went to salute her, hauing both sight and speech with her, in company of the *Hollanders*: Shee was a comely old woman, threescore yeeres of age, tall and full of Maieftie; in all the *Indies* we had seene few like her. Shee had in company her Sister (which was next heire) and her yonger sisters little daughter, which hath been married to *Raia Siack*, brother to the King of *Ioor*. This her sister, commonly called the yong Queene, was yet an vnmarried Virgin, about fixe and fortie yeeres of age. After we had had some conference with her, shee let fall the curten, intimating thereby, that wee should depart, signifying that next day we should come againe; which wee did, and were well entertained. There were  
 20 twelue women and children to dance, which I haue not seene better performed in the *Indies*. Then were all the Gentilitie commanded to dance, or at least make shew thereof: which caused no small laughter. We and the *Hollanders* must doe likewise, and the Queene thereat reioyc'd. She had not been out of her house in seuen yeeres before, till this going to hunt wilde Buffes and Bulles, whereof there is great abundance. As shee passed along with her traine betwixt our house and the ship, we saluted her with some Peeces from the ship, and Musket shot on shoare.

Queene of Patanie goeth a hunting.

They had speech with her.

In this winter of Nouember and December, the water, by continuall raine, was higher then  
 30 had been in the memery of man, so that many beasts died, many houses were driuen away, and much harme done. The five and twentieth of Ianuary, we had newes by a *Dutch* ship from *Siam*, that Master *Lucas* had sold more then halfe his goods, and that the King had bought a great parcell thereof: neither would he suffer the Officers to carry away the goods, with a pretext of the Kings name, without a testimoniall from the King. We had also newes from *Keda*, that the *Portugals* had come with fiftene hundred men from *Saint Thome*, and taken the *Hollanders* house in *Paleacate*, slaine their men, and carried away the goods. In March I sent the ship for *Siam* with more goods.

Great waters.

Ianuary.

Hollanders house in Paleacate taken.

The King of *Pahan* married the yonger sister of the Queene of *Patane*, whom shee hauing not seene in twentie eight yeeres, hauing requested the same by often solemne Embassies, and not obtaining; hath made stay of all the Iunkes that came from *Siam*, *Cambaya*, *Bordelongh*, *Lugor*, or any other places laden with Rice for *Pahan*, and sent forth all her power by water, consisting of about seuentie sailes, with some foure thousand men, vnder the command of *Maha Raia*, *Datoe Bessar*, and *Orancayo Sirmora*, with order to bring her sister hither, either in friendship or by force, so that *Pahan* shall haue much to doe by reason of the great dearth, the burning of his house, Rice and barnes; as also the warres of *Ioor*, who as is said, maketh great preparation to goe in his owne person for *Pahan*; and the King of *Borneo* prepareth on the other side to their succour.

In Aprill 1613. here arriued diuers Iunkes from *Cambaya* and *China*. In May I receiued letters from *Siam*, and good newes of sale, and of the *Globes* arriuall. He was busie to send a *Cargason* of goods for *Japan*. Seeing good to be done with *China* Commodities, I tooke vp three thousand  
 50 Rials of eight of the Queene at interest, for three or foure Moneths, allowing fixe per Centum to the Queene, and one per Centum to the Treasurer. We receiued ill newes from *Bantam*, that *Campochina* had twice been burnt, the great *English* house also full of cloath, and that of the *Hollanders* with great loile: of a great *English* ship at *Pulo Panian* much distressed, and great mortalitie. There came newes also, that the *Acheners* had besieged *Ioor*.

Fires at Bantam.

The Trades-Increase.

Iuly the twelfth, here arriued the King of *Pahan*, with his Wife the Queenes sister, and two  
 60 Sonnes, much against his will, leauing his countrey in great pouertie, famine, fire, and warre, hauing ioyned conspiracie. He brought newes that the *Acheners* had taken *Ioor*, and carried all the Ordnance, Slaues, and other things away with them; *Raia Bounson* with his children were taken prisoners, and the King of *Ioor* fled to *Bintam*. It was besieged nine and twentie dayes. Some *Hollanders* also, whose ship was then at *Ioor*, were there taken and slaine. None of the *Grandes* went to entertaine this King of *Pahan*, onely all the dogs were killed for his sake, because he can endure none. He tooke our shooting as he passed by vs in his honour very kindly, desiring vs to visit him, and to trade in his Countrey.

Iuly.

Ioor or Iohor taken.

Dogges killed.

Iuly the sixteenth, we had newes of Captaine *Saris* his being at *Mackian*, in the way to *Japan*: also



Death of Sir  
Hen. Middleton.

Solor taken by  
the Dutch.

King of Paban  
departed.  
Witely con-  
fancie.  
Macassar in  
Celebes.

Hollanders in  
Banda.  
R. Welden En-  
glishman.

Banda not com-  
manded by the  
Dutch.

Iagomai, Awa or  
Awa, and Lani-  
angh.

Vproare by Ja-  
uan slaues in  
Patania.

Factories left  
at Patania and  
Siam.

also of the death of Sir *Henry Middleton* on the foure and twentieth of May, as was thought by griefe for the most part, the *Trade-increase* lying there on ground without Mast, with three and thirtie men the greatest part sicke: the ship being sheathed on the one side, and not on the other. In her had decaled an hundred *English*, and more *Chineses* which wrought for wages, and eight *Dutch*, by some strange sickenesse. Captaine *Schor* had taken the Castle and Iland of *Solor*, with great quantitie of Sandalwood. In the *Moluccos* also they had done much on the *Spanyard*, and a hot warre was likely to ensue. Iuly the one and thirtieth, came the King of *Paban* to our house with great state, making great promises of kind entertainment in his Countrey.

August the first, the Queene sent for vs to the Court, where was made a great feast in honour of the King of *Paban*. There was also plaid a Comedie by women after the *Iauan* manner, appa-<sup>10</sup> relled antike like, very pleasant to behold. On the ninth, the King of *Paban* departed, hauing been here a mocking stocke to the *Patanees*: but the Queenes Sister would not leaue him, but returned backe with him; in lieu of getting great presents, hauing spent almost all shee had. On the sixteenth, I receiued a letter from *Thomas Bret* at *Macassar* of a bad Market, and that *John Persons* was fallen frantike: and that they had bought a Iunke with purpose to haue come away, but that in the meane time the *Darling* came thither, beeing full of cloathing to settle a Facto-<sup>10</sup> rie there.

September the eighteenth, arriued here *Raia Indra Monda*, which had gone from hence, O-<sup>20</sup> ctober the twentieth: he had been at *Macassar*, and thence to *Banda*, where hee made a good Market. He brought about two hundred stockes Mace, and a great parcell of Nutmegs. Hee brought me a letter from *Richard Welden*. By him I learned the State of *Banda*; the Generall *Pe-<sup>20</sup> ter de Bor*, had ministred seuerer iustice, hanging some for sleeping in the watch, on a Gallows hard by the Castle: which caused diuers to runne to the *Bandesians*, and ten were turned *Moorees*; neither could they of the Castle by any meanes recouer them. Nor haue they of the Castle any command at all ouer the *Bandesians*: onely they make the Iunkes to ride vnder the Castle, as also the ships, so commanding the Sea, but not daring to giue a bad word on land to the *Bandesians*. The three and twentieth, the *Globe* arriued from *Siam*, and I receiued a letter from *M. Lucas*, that he had no newes from the *Cargason* sent to *Iagomai*, because the passages were stopped by reason of the warres betweene the people of *Awa* and of *Laniangh*. The King of *Awa* is said to haue taken *Siriangh*, and to haue caused the *Xenga* to be slaue. The King of *Siam* expects<sup>30</sup> him with great forces, keeping good watches on his borders. I payd the Queene her debt in gold.

October the fourth, beeing the *Moorees* first day of Lent, about eight of the clocke in the mor-<sup>40</sup> ning, arose a mightie fire in the Towne, or rather the Fort and Court of *Patania*, the cause was this: *Datoe Besar* and *Datoe Laxmannah* dwelling neere to each other, and beeing (except *Raia Shey*) the richest in Slaues of *Iauonians*: it chanced, this *Datoe Besar* had been threatned by his *Iauonian* slaues, that they would kill him, *Laxmannah*, *Raia Suterbangh*, and others, which at last came to their eares. Whereupon *Datoe Besar* calling in his slaues, examined the busines, which by them was denied. Notwithstanding he caused two which were most suspected to be bound, which the *Pongonla* of the slaues would not suffer, who was thereupon by the said *Besar* thrust<sup>40</sup> through with his Cryse or Dagger. The *Iauonian* slaues enraged hereat, had laid hold on their Lord, but that his other slaues freed him. Their furie neuerthelesse slew all which came in their way, and set fire on their houses. The *Iauan* slaues of *Laxmannah*, seeing their Countrey men in trouble, in sight of their Master, and in spight of his threats, came to them, set all on fire: and be-<sup>50</sup> ing in all about an hundred persons, ranne to the great gate called *Punta Gorbangh*, setting all on fire on both sides as they went, so that the whole Towne, except some fewe, as the Queenes Court, *Orancaio Sirmora*, *Datoe Bandara*, and the *Meskita*, was burned. And the *Iauans* going a-<sup>60</sup> longst the streete, tooke the best bond-women that they found, along with them, and stayed till one of the clocke after dinner, domineering, none daring to come at them. Wee meane while were not without feare in our quarter, they threatning to fall on our house: wherefore (with the *Hollanders* together) we kept strong watch, sending aboard for as many armed as might be, which came in very fit time. For they beeing landed, and things set in order, we resolved to go to visit them, and to stoppe their way; which happened euen iust as they were comming down-<sup>60</sup> wards. But vnderstanding by their spies of our strength and comming towards them, they retired thwart to the fields, and fled to *Quale bouca*, and so forwards to *Bordolough*, *Sangora*, and into the Countrey. Thus we, without harme receiued, got the name of *Defenders of strangers*. The *Iauans* were followed afterwards to little purpose, three or foure sicke men beeing taken prisoners: what became of the rest was not knowne at our departure. This is the third time that *Patania* hath been burned, twice by the *Iapanders*, and once by the *Iauans*, a thing strange and almost incredible.

On the one and twentieth, we tooke our leaue of the Queene, which gaue to mee, and to Ma-<sup>60</sup> ster *Effington* a golden Cryse. We left *William Ebert* in the house with *Robert Litlemord* and *Ralph Cooper*, with letters also for *M. Lucas* at *Siam*. The same day arriued the viuhoped for *Hope* from *Iohor*, where arriuing and going on shoare, before they could returne aboard, the Armada<sup>of</sup>



of *Achen* was before the Towne to besiege it. Wherefore they sent a letter aboard for thirtie armed men to be sent by land, and to come as high as they could in the Riuer with the shippe to fight against the *Acheners*, which by reason of the shoalds they could not do high enough to hinder them, but that after twentie nine dayes the Towne was rendred by composition. Thus remained twenty three *Hollanders* prisoners, and twelue came aboard, where none of command were left, but the Masters mate, and one Assistant. These resolved for *Patania*, but encountered with a storme, were driuen on the Corall ground of *Borneo*, and were by a larger wind put thence vpon *Pulo Condor*. It being now impossible to recouer *Patania*, they sought refreshing in the *Warellas*, where they had a good Bay, but an ill Kitchen, the people being their enemies. They came to *Patania* with eightene men, the most lying in pitifull plight in their Cabbins. Shee brought seuentie thousand Rials of eight, and twentie nine packs with *Indie* cloth.

Hardships of the *Honea* Dutch ship, before mentioned.

## §. III.

*Their Voyage to Masulipatan; accidents during their long stay there, and their returne.*

20 **T**He next morning we set saile. The five and twentieth we were with the Southerliest Islands of *Ridangh* (which are about eightene or twentie, lying in fixe degrees) and in the Euening by the Isles of *Capas*, which are three little Isles, lying some thirteene leagues from the former, and two from the Continent. The fixe and twentieth, we saw *Pulo Tyaman*, South and South by East from *Capas* twentie eight league. The nine and twentieth, being calme, we came to *Pulo Tingi*. If you keepe at eightene fathome, you neede feare nothing but what you may see.

The first of Nouember, we saw the point of *Iantana* or *Iohor*, and the Mount vpon the Island of *Bintam*, and the next Morning came in sight of *Pedra Branca*: and about ten of the clocke came to the dangerousriffe which falls off from the point of *Iohor* foure leagues into the Sea. *John Huggens* describes this shoald very well, which we passed not without danger, hauing the point with the three little Islands West South-west from vs. It is good to keepe towards the Sea, till you bring the little Isles shut in with the point of *Iohor*, and *Pedra Branca* open with the Ile of *Bintam*. *Pedra Branca* is a rocke full of fowle, and be-dunged, which causeth the toppe thereof to be white, and giues it that name. Till the seuenth, we were euery day busie, turning vp with the flood till we were past the Riuer of *Iohor*, and came about two leagues from *Sinca pura*. On the eighth, diuers *Prawes* came aboard vs hard by the straight, being of the *Salettes* vnder the King of *Iohor*, which for the most part keep in their *Prawes*, with their Wiues and Children, and liue on fishing. By these we vnderstood, that the King of *Achen* had sent *Raia Bonny Soe*, younger brother of the King of *Iohor*, backe againe with great honour, attended with thirtie *Prawes* and two thousand *Acheners*, to rebuild the Fort and Citie of *Iohor*, with good store of Ordnance, and other necessities, hauing married him to his Sister, and that he should bee set vp in the old Kings place. Here we tooke a Pilot to carry vs through the Straights.

The nineteenth of December, we arriued at *Masulipatan*, where we found an *English* shippe, and two *Hollanders*. We vnderstood that *Mirsidardi* was out of place, and that *Atmachan* and *Busebuleran* did gouerne. The *English* ship was the *James*, and was sent expressely to second vs in our Voyage. *M. Marlow*, *M. Davis*, *M. Gurney*, and *M. Cob* came aboard vs, and deliuered vs Letters. The one and twentieth I went on shoare, where we were met by *Wentacadra*, sonne to *Busebuleran*, with the *Sabandar* and other *Moores*, and were well receiued. They gaue vs diuers tesseriffes, and to the Director *Warner* and me, to each a faire horse, which I refused, suspecting their treachery, but was compelled to accept it. I took a *Caul* at foure per Centum, & landed goods.

30 The twentie fift of Ianuary, the *James* departed for *Petapoli*: and on the seuenth of February, from thence for *Bantam*. On the eighteenth of February, I went to *Narsapur Peca*, and the nineteenth, the ship was brought into the Riuer drawing nine foot three quarters, and hauing ten and an halfe, contrary to the reports of some, which wished no good to vs. The three and twentieth, I arriued againe at *Masulipatan*, and dispatched the *Peon* for *Surat*, writing to *M. Aldworth*. That day arriued a *Nauette* from *Pegu*, wherein came *Cornelius Franke*, by whom we vnderstood, that it was certaine that the King of *Awa* had taken the Fort of *Siriangh*, and slaine all the *Portugals*, and that *Xenga* or *Philip de Britto*, was either spitted or scalded. This was done in March last. The King had giuen order for rebuilding the old Towne, calling all the *Peguers* together, and making many faire promises. Himselfe went forward toward *Tenesserin*, where *Banga de la* came to him with fiftie thousand *Peguers*, who before had been vnder the King of *Siam*. The *Moores* in *Masulipatan* reioice greatly at this conquest, hoping to get the trade of *Pegu* into their hands againe, and prepare two ships to send thither in September. In March came newes of eleven ships arriued at *Goa*, eight from *China*, and three from *Malacca*, which brought downe the price of the Market, in a good houre for me, which had almost dispatched before.

Newes from Pegu.



In Aprill 1614. *Atmachan* departed for *Golanda* to giue vp his accounts, the yeare come to an end. It was well for him, the King hauing depoled the great Treasurer, and giuen his office to *Malick Tusar*, *Atmachans* friend: and well for vs, theie Gouvernours Debts beeing whiles they continue their place; otherwise doubtfull.

*Tho. Effingtons*  
sudden death.

The eighteenth of May, at five in the euening dyed Captaine *Effington* of a sudden heat, he had eaten his Dinner at the Table. He had some Biles about him, which at that time of the are very common: one great one on his shoulder, which would not breake, supposed the of that heate. I went and set the ship in the best order I could, they all refusing other but me, which thought it an abasement to tread in the steps of my vnder Merchant. I come it for that time to Master *Skinner*, holding all in hope that they might doe their best endea and returned to *Masulipatan*, where I found three persons which said that they were sent Letters from *Obyama* Queene of *Paleacatte*, *Iaga Raia* Gouvernour thereabout, and of *Sau mee*, *Apa Condaia* Secretarie of the Great King *Wencatadraia*, wherein they sent me word if I would come thither, they would grant me a place right ouer against the Fort of *Paleacatte* with all such Priuiledges as we should desire, and other great promises besides. But I considered how I and the *Iames* had beene entertayned there, could beleue but little: yet at last we thought that one of them should stay with me, and the rest should depart with one of my folkes should carrie the Letters to the aforesaid persons; as also to the King; wherein I repeated entertainment which we had at *Paleacatte*. And if now it pleased him that we should come to his Countrey, then to send vs his *Caul* or safe Conduet, to which we might trust.

*Obyama* Queene  
of *Paleacatte*.

*Wencatadraia* K.  
of *Narsinga* his  
Caul and *Abe-*  
stiam to the  
English.

His offers.

The nine and twentieth of Iuly, arriued foure persons as Embassadors, with my man from the Great King of *Narsinga* or *Velur*, bringing me a *Caul* with his *Abestiam*, (with a white Cloth where his owne hand is printed in *Sandall* or *Saffron*) as also one from the Queene of *Paleacatte*, and diuers Letters from *Iaga Raia*, *Tima Raia*, *Apacondaia* and others. The Letter was written vpon a leafe of Gold, wherein hee excused the former fault done at *Paleacatte*, desiring that now we would come into his Countrey, and chuse a place to our liking, and that there we should build a house or Castle according to our owne liking, with priuiledges. He gaue me a Towne of about foure hundred pound of yearly reuenue, with promise to doe more at my coming thither. The *Hollanders* had wrought much against their words were not now in such force; the Inhabitants grieuing to see euery yeare ships passe by without any profit to them, and therefore filling the King with complaint procuring these friendly offers. I kept them with mee, allowing their daily charges till they should be come into the Road, then to consider further. My man *Wengali* had beene in person to the King and spoken with him, the King laying his hand on his head, and presenting him to the Tellerisse.

Ouer-flowings

In August, was in *Narsapur Peta* and thereabouts, a greater ouer-flowing then ha beene in nine and twentie yeares; that whole Salt hills, Townes, and Rice draue away, many thousands of men and cattell were drowned, the water being three yards above the high-way. In *Golconda* (which hath a branch running into this great Riuer, dry in the Summer) were about foure thousand houses washed away. Two stone Bridges, one of nineteene; the other of fifteene arches (as artificially made as the like may scarcely bee seene in *Europe*, in my opinion, at least three fathome high above water) were three foot vnder water, and sixe arches of that of nineteene washed away, beeing a Bridge which might well bee compared with *Rocheſter*.

King of *Nar-*  
*singa*s death: &  
his wiues bur-  
ning with him.

The fourth of October, the ship being sheathed came ouer the Barre without hurt, before by the foule weather. And now I called freshly for my Debts, and writ thereof to the Court, telling them that I would be payd the interest also; whereupon they sent *Mir Mahumad Raza* and the *Sabander*, to looke that I be contented. The three and twentieth of the ship came into the Roade of *Masulipatan*, and I tooke order for shipping the goods. The five and twentieth came newes of the death of *Wencatadrappa* King of *Velur*, after many yeares raigne, and that his three Wiues (of whom *Obyama* Queene of *Paleacatte* was one) burned themselves quicke with the Corps. Great troubles are feared; the *Hollanders* are afraid of their Cattle new built in *Paleacatte*. Soone after came sixtie sixe Souldiers to strengthen the *Lion*.

*Iames* for *Pa-*  
*tania*.

The first of Nouember, arriued the *Lion* from *Bantam*, which brought newes of the death of the *Bantam* in the *Tessell*, and of the *White Lion* at *Saint Helena*; of the *Iames* at *Bantam* and going thence for *Patania*. I seeing the Gouvernours trifling delayes for his returne and being in danger thereby not to returne this yeare, resolved to carrie him or his sonne in the Custom house aboard the ship, how dangerous soeuer the attempt seemed, the whole Company promising therein to liue and dye with me. Whereupon I gaue order for the Boat to go and to bring sixe Muskets wrapped vp in the Sailes, and so to lye in the Custom House should see our oportunitie. Moreouer, seeing we may not bring any weapons on shore, I gaue order that all our folkes should stay within the House, and come to mee in the Custom House as I should send for them five, to take hold of the Souldiers Pikes, that were of the *G*



or his sonnes Guard, and so presently to enter the Custome House, which standeth hard by the Riuer side, and then to shut the doore. So might we be able to carry them into the Boat, before the alarme be knowne in the Towne: wee hauing them in the Boate, wee needed not to feare. We kept it secretly, yet had the *Hollanders* intelligence, who esteemed it a bragge, and so reuealed it not.

The one and twentieth of Nouember, the *Gentiles* had a Feast, which Solemnitie happens thrice a yeare, when the New Moone commeth on a Monday: in which both Men and Women come to wash themselues in the Sea, esteeming thereby to haue great indulgence. The *Bramenes* also and *Cometis* doe the same. Gentile Feast.

10 On the foure and twentieth, I demanded my money of the Gouvernour very angrily, hauing stayed seuen monethes longer then bargaine, asking also *Mir Mabumad Rasa*, why he did not helpe me according to the Letters of the Court: who laughingly answered, they would talke with me at the Custome House when my anger was ouer. I replied, I would no longer bee made a Foole, I would shew my selfe a Captaine of the King of *England*, who are not accustomed to such Knauish dealing. Thus went I to the Custome House, where I found the Gouvernours Sonne with a small Guard, his Souldiers hauing set their Launces ouer against the Custome House, it now being also high-water, as if God had offered Occasions fore-looke. Wherefore I sent home (as was before agreed) for Master *Skinner* and the rest, (leauing only three to looke to the house) who presently came & laid hold on the Pikes, and entring the Custome house, shut the  
20 doore. In the mean time I held *Wencatadra* arrested by the armes, til two or three came to me, who taking him in their armes carried him into the Boat, into which I presently leaped, and beeing followed of the rest, put off from shoare, rowing away: so that before his Father and *Mir Mabumad Rasa* could come to the Custome House, wee were in full rowing. But in regard that it blew hard, and that we were forced to row vnder land, within the length of two Cables to keep the depth of the Channell; they came with might and mayne to pursue vs: some comming hard by the Boate, but were out-rowed. Some met vs in front which had indangered vs, but discharging three Muskets we frightened them, and carryed away our prey in sight of three thousand people, being much past the Barre before they could come to it, and came safe aboard. I had giuen order to *George Chancey*, to stay alshoare with three men more to giue a reason of this Hostilitie, & to get in the Debts: but he, contrary hereto, going forth of the house to see this Enterprize, was by some vnruely fellowes set vpon and thorowly beaten: which comming to the Gouvernours eare, hee tooke him into his protection, fearing his sonne might pay for it.

Valorous and  
strange at-  
tempt of the  
English.  
The Gouvernours  
sonne carried  
Prisoner a-  
board.

In the after-noon came from shoare *Werner Van Berchem* the *Hollander*, with the Kings Interpreter, to demand the cause of this action, whom I answered that they knew it well enough, and I had also left my vn-er Merchant on shere to tell them: of whose hard vsage vnderstanding, I made as though I would be reuenged on *Wencatadra*, but by *Van Berchems* intercession remitted it, conditionally to execute the same, hanging him at the yard (which he writ to his Father) if any of my men should be wronged. I prohibited also any Boat to come aboard without a Letter from *George Chancey*, else would I set them all before the Matt. The *Hollanders Van Berchem*  
40 with the Secretarie came aboard againe on the seuen and twentieth, offering the Gouvernours owne Debt: I demanded no more but his and *Callopas* whose Suretie hee was, and for the rest, that he as Governor should send such as refused to pay aboard; & I would hold my selfe satisfied. *Berchem* also protested against me of all dammages, which they had bound, or might beare, because of my hostilitie; to which protest I answered by writing, shewing the nullitie thereof, and their ship the same night departed for *Patane*. In the meane-while, *Wencatadra* remayned aboard without eating or drinking. For he being a *Bramene*, may neither eate nor drinke in any mans  
house but what he hath dressed himselfe; which made mee so to pittie him, that I offered if any two *Moores* of qualitie would come aboard in his place, I would let him goe on shoare. But none would vndertake it, and he must continue his fast. The Gouvernour therefore payd his and  
50 *Callopas* Debt, and made all the rest to pay except *Miriapenk* and *Datapa* which were in *Golconda*, and I sent backe my Prisoner, the thirtieth of Nouember.

Superstition of  
Bramenes.

After this agreement diuers *Moores* and others came aboard to visit mee, promising to write to the King the truth of these proceedings, desiring me not to hurt any *Moores* ships. I answered I was for this time satisfied: but let them hereafter take heed of giuing like cause, and haue better eares for *Englishmens* complaints. I also sent Letters to the King at *Golconda* to the same purpose for quicker iustice. I dispatched likewise the Embassadors of *Velur*, in respect of the troubles there, and my short stay denying fit oportunitie: yet I left Letters with them for the first *English* ships, with my best aduice.

The seuenth of December, Master *Chancey* came aboard with the rest, and next night I put to  
60 Sea, hauing offered to come and take a friendly fare-well on shoare: but the Gouvernour fearing I would write of his dealing by those *Moores*, refused, pretending hee was ashamed to see my face, whom of a good friend he had made his Enemy. The third of Ianuarie, we arriued at *Barratam*, where we found the *James* come from *Patane*, the *Hoflander*, and *Concord*. I went on



The feuerall  
Stockes vnited.

shoare and receiued of Master Iohn Iordaine, (principall Factour at Bantam) Letters, from Sir Thomas Smith, testifying that the Companie was ioyned in one, &c. From Master Cockin at Macassar, that he had receiued the Cargaton sent by William Ebert, with other circumstances: from Adam Denton and Master Gourney, complayning of the dead Market because of the Warres: from Master Lucas also, of his feares in the same regard, but the Darling being gone thither, I hope, will comfort him.

Letters from  
Iapan.

This is sup-  
plied out of  
M. Martins  
Iournall.

Here we agreed that the *Hosianders* goods should be discharged into the *Globe*, and Edward Christian (made Captaine thereof in that Countrey by Generall Beest) should bee Captaine of the *Globe*, and Nathaniel Salmon Master; and Matter Skinner should goe Master in the *Hosiander*: 10 and that in the *Globe* should goe fiftie men, in the *Iames* fwe and fiftie, twentie in the *Hosiander* which was to stay here; and three or foure to keepe the *Concord*. On the thirtieth, the *Iames* departed to goe on a moneth before and to stay at the Cape, or at Saint Helena, that we might go together. Seeing the *Hosiander* could not so quickly bee made readie, it was thought fit to send the *Concord* for Amboyna, George Bale going in her; and George Chancey was to stay in Macassar. The ship *Zelandia* arriued from Iapan, and brought Letters from Master Cockes, that Master Pen-cocke with the *Hollanders* was slaine in Cochin China, and that Master Adams and foure other English were gone thence for Syam.

The fourteenth of Februarie, arriued Captaine David Middleton with the *Samaritan*, Thomas, and Thomasin, the men being well and in good disposition. Captaine Middleton vnderstanding 20 of his Brothers death, and the losse of his ship the *Trades Increase*, was perplexed and resolved to goe home, wherefore he called a Court to see the disposing of the ships, and the manning againe of the *Hosiander*. It was then thought fit to send home the *Samaritan* with the very first, the Thomas to Sumatra, and the Thomasin for Amboyna, to succour the *Concord* and the *Hosiander* for Petania and Iapan, to visit those Factories, which was put in execution. They set sayle out of Bantam Road, the two and twentieth of February. Aprill the thirtieth, they entred the Road of Soldania, where they found the *Iames* which arriued the day before, the *Aduise* & *Attendat* outward bound. The seauenteenth of May, they weighed, and the first of Iune came to Saint Helena.

## CHAP. XV.

\* For the fur-  
thering of Ma-  
rine know-  
ledge, I haue  
though good  
to adde this  
Voyage, how  
euer holding  
Societie with  
the East-India  
Societie,  
*Lancrota*.

A Iournall of a Voyage made by the Pearle \* to the East-India, wherein went as  
Captaine Master SAMVEL CASTLETON of London, and Captaine  
GEORGE BATHURST as Lieutenant: written by  
JOHN TATTON, Master.



He two and twentieth of August 1612. we departed from Black-wall for Graues- 40  
end, and being much hindered by contrary windes, it was the fift of Nouember,  
before we could attayne to the Lands end of England.

The seuen and twentieth of Nouember, we fell with *Lancrota*, one of the Ca-  
narie Iles.

Decemb. 1611.  
*Teneriffa*.

A small ship of  
London taken  
by an Holland  
man of Warre.

The third of December, we towed into *Lauratani* Road. The fifth wee were  
put out of the Roade by foule weather, and spent the whole moneth about this Ile, and *Tene-  
riffa*, and tooke in sixteene Pipes of Wine.

The last of this moneth, we met with a small ship of London, a little in the Offing, which had  
formerly beene in the Road with vs, which an Holland ship of Warre had taken, whose men be-  
ing all drunke in the night, she stole away hauing but three men in her: into whom we put two 50  
men, and a Merchant, whom we should haue set on shoare at the Grand Canarie, but the weather  
not permitting vs, he agreed to goe for the Ile of *Palma*, we thinking there to better our proui-  
sion. The small ship this day did beare vs companie.

The fifteenth day, we anchored in the Roade of Cape Verde where we watered, and got some  
Oxen.

*Rosisco* Road.

The one and twentieth, we weighed and went ouer to *Rosisco* for Beeues, and at fwe of the  
clocke anchored in *Rosisco* Roade in fwe fathomes. Note that there is but eleuen fathomes ouer  
the Bay in an East and by North course: for so lyeth *Rosisco* from the Ile which maketh the  
Roade at Cape Verde. The two and twentieth, we got seuen Beeues.

The first Ter-  
nado.  
February 20.  
They crosse  
the Line.

The three and twentieth, in the morning wee departed from *Rosisco*. The eight and twen- 60  
tieth, being in latitude fixe degrees, thirtie two minutes, we met with the first Tornado, lasting  
some two houres.

The twentieth of Februarie, wee crossed the Equinoctiall Line, and made our way South  
South-east.

The



The fifteenth of April 1602. the latitude thirtie two degrees, thirtie nine minutes, the wind South-west, we steered in East South-east, and met with many great weeds, called *Trombas* by the *Portugals*, and the water was much changed: we steered away East South-east till five of the clocke; then wee saw the land betweene the East South-east, and East North-east: wee steered away East till seven in the morning: then we were thwart *Punta de Santa Lucia*, some foure leagues off; we founded, and had forty three fathomes, Rockes: then it fell aland.

The sixteenth at noone, latitude thirtie three degrees, no minutes. At five of the clocke at night, we were shot so farre into the Bay, that we brought a ledge of rockes South South-west off vs: then we steered off.

10 The seventeenth in the morning, we were some seven leagues off the shoare, having got some three leagues to the Southward. This day our latitude was thirtie three degrees, no minutes, we stood in for the shoare, and at three of the clocke came in faire by the point in fifteene, fourteene, and thirteene fathoms, and had sometimes hard ground, sometimes soft Ozie: and when wee were shot within the point two miles off the shoare, we had nine fathoms for the most part soft Ozie: Then we anchored in the South-east side of the Bay in seven fathoms soft ground, the one point North North-east some seven leagues off; the other which we came in by, North-west.

20 The eighteenth in the morning, we sent our Boat and Skiffe on shoare; the Skiffe presently returning, brought newes of people, whereof some twentie came to them. Wee sent the Skiffe on shoare againe with an iron hoope cut in pieces, and some hatchets: and for a small piece of this iron hoope we had a Calte, and for an hatchet an excellent good sheepe. Then we sent our Boat to seeke for water, but ranging the Bay could find none: a little puddle we saw, of which the people dranke, making signes that there was none other. This Countrey seemed to bee a very barren place. Our Boat went into a Riuer in the bottome of the Bay, hauing fixe foote water vpon the Barre at an high water, and went a mile vp a very fine Riuer, but all salt water, and a barren Countrey.

30 The nineteenth in the morning, at two of the clocke, the wind came vp at North North-west, and blowing right in, we weighed, and made a boord ouer the bottome of the Bay in ten, nine, eight and seven fathoms. Then the wind came to the West South-west, and West by South, and so we plyed it out, all night becalmed some three leagues without the point of the road. The 30 two and twentieth at noone, latitude thirtie three degrees, fiftie three minutes, we were some eight leagues off the shoare. The three and twentieth in the morning, the Table bare South-east some five leagues off. All night was calme. The foure and twentieth, we came into the Road of *Saldanha*: The people desire nothing so much as Copper: Brasse they regarded not.

The foure and twentieth of August, we departed from *Priaman* for *Tecoa*: *Priaman* standeth in thirtie eight minutes of South latitude, and the variation there is foure degrees, fiftie minutes North-west. *Tecoa* standeth in five and twentie minutes of South latitude, hauing three or foure shoalds betweene them: but keepe some foure leagues off the shoare, and there is no feare.

40 The one and thirtieth, we ran into a Bay, and there (being a wilderness) wee brought on a false keele on our Pinnasse. This Bay is called by the name of a Towne, a little to the Southward of it, called *Airebangye*. The latitude of this Bay is some eight minutes North latitude. Round about the shoald going in, is nine fathome and a quarter lesse: but betweene the maine and it, is the best channell with a Northerly wind, because the point of the Isle lyeth shoald a good cables length off to the Northward: some two miles off the shore thwart the wester point, which is to the Northward of *Airebangye*, lyeth a shoald, whereon is but eight or nine fathomes water, being rockes: but all ouer betweene that land and the long Isle in the offing, which lyeth some seven leagues off, is but eight and twentie and thirtie fathoms. The tenth of September, we got vp with the wind off the shoare, within two miles of *Pattaban*.

50 The eleuenth in the morning, we anchored at the South-west end of the Isle of *Pattaban* in fourteene fathoms Ozie: and at two in the after-noone we anchored thwart the Riuer of *Pattaban*, in five fathoms Ozie. All this Coast is Ozie neare the shoare, without it be the shoalds. This Riuer is very good water, and you may goe into it six or seven foot vpon the Barre, it standeth in no degree, twentie eight minutes of North latitude.

The fourteenth, we went from *Pattaban* with two *Gouernours* for our Pilots, for *Barons* and *Achen*, with three Boyes.

60 The sixteenth, we were a little short of a bigge Island, which lyeth some two miles off the maine, with two other small Isles on the South-side of it: and betweene the maine and it lyeth an high round homocke being an Isle: This is some twentie five or twentie fixe leagues to the Northward of *Pattaban*. This bigge Isle standeth in one degree, fortie minutes. And on the North-west side is a fresh running downe a steepe cliffe, like a little Riuer, all in a breach, and sheweth white a great way off, seven or eight leagues you may very well see it. On the North-side of this Isle is a fine Bay: going faire by it, we had thirty fathoms Ozie. South-west or West South-west some foure leagues from this Island lyeth a shoald: within this Isle your depth is two and twentie fathoms, and so close into the maine twentie fathoms, all Ozie, your anchor ouer both flockes.

April 15.  
Weeds called  
*Trombas*, signes  
of being neare  
the Cape of  
*Buona Espe-*  
*ranza*.  
*Punta de Santa*  
*Luzia*.  
The Bay.

They goe on  
shoare, and  
finde people.  
A Calte for a  
piece of an  
iron hoope,  
and a good  
sheepe for an  
hatchet.

The Table,  
The Road of  
*Saldanha*.  
Copper in  
chiefe request.  
August.  
*Priaman* in  
thirtie eight  
minutes of  
South latitude.  
Variation foure  
degrees fiftie  
minutes.  
*Tecoa*.  
*Airebangye*, a  
Towne eight  
minutes North  
latitude.  
A shoald.

The Riuer of  
*Pattaban*.  
Latitude no  
degrees, twen-  
tie eight mi-  
nutes.

A bigge Island  
in one degree  
fortie minutes.

A shoald.







refreshing, for the Ile of  
in five degrees, thir-  
her Southerly, then I  
locke in the morning,  
es off, being the high  
ffe to sound, but found

variation thirteene de-  
wind, but very much  
s East North-east. The  
er point of *Ceylon*, cal-

we weighed and went  
water, and anchored in  
other point which wee  
a mile from the shoare.  
went not on shoare, the

there were houses built  
d one of them came into  
ne of the Country peo-  
wee could haue nothing  
ing, and we should haue  
perceiued an ambush of

making that for their two  
our long Boat not to goe  
people on shoare keeping  
ey would giue them mo-  
ery well content to giue  
nd for *Maticalo*, a Citie  
be afraid, and told them  
aking answere they had  
comming neare, hee tal-  
retiring from the Skiffe,  
e scene, I thinke not lesse  
at none deadly, thanked  
ne wash of the shoare. At  
them running vp to the  
etter hearts then the rest,  
and her small shot, made  
again.

the Souther point of the  
e, and at noone anchored  
ack Ozie sand, yet shewed  
t the mouth of it, thought  
ing high they could doe

wart a shoald in the offing  
our fore-courfe, and stood  
to get vp our new fore-  
e miles off the shoare, we  
Then we laid it about to  
ne sand, some three miles

h another shoald without  
The depth some five or sixe  
which was another shoald,  
steene fathoms: and stan-  
ing a fine Riuer, we ancho-  
the point bearing South-  
the Rocke of thirty small  
shot.

shot. Here some people came to vs with feare, making shewes of great friendship. They haue for the most part of them very great holes in their eares: and some of them haue their haire vpon their heads, like the *Chinises*, long, and made vp with a knot vpon their Crownes. They are all naked, they weare onely a piece of cloth about their middles, hanging downe to their knees. Here two came aboard vs at seuerall times, which spake good *Portuguese*. They promised all things, but performed nothing. But finding the first to play the villaine with vs, yet as farre as we perceiued, not by his owne meanes, we tooke occasion to detaine the one aboard, sending the other with threatnings and promises on shoare to procure vs victualls: who staying somewhat long, put his fellow which we had detained in great feare; who fained himselfe sicke, and would faine haue gone on shore. But the next day his confort came with two Calues.

The fourth of December in the morning, we stood to the East-ward till the brise came, which was about two of the clock, & fetcht not the place by sixe leagues: we anchored in ten fathomes two miles from the shoare, fine blacke sand: latitude sixe degrees fortie minutes. Variation twelue degrees fortie sixe minutes North-westing. Here we rode till the eighth: then we stood to the West-ward, and anchored all night thwart a great Hamocke. The ninth, we anchored all night a little to the West-ward of the Westermost Shoald. The eleuenth in the morning, we stood faire in by the riuer *Wallaway*; but the sea going high, we went along to the West-ward, and at night were thwart the point some five leagues to the East-ward of *Diundra*. Here wee rode till the sixteenth, at which time the Current setting strongly to the East-ward, which was very seldome, we weighed and plyed to the Eastward.

The seuenteenth, we stood it in, and fetcht in a little to the West-ward of *Diundra*, thwart the two red Clifses, and anchored in twentie five fathomes, the point East a little Northerly. The eighteenth, we broke vp our Pinnasse, being so worne-eaten, that she wearied our men with freeing her of water. Here we rode the wind Easterly all this Moneth out.

Ianuarie the seuenth, Easterly winds began to blow, then we bare vp for the riuer of *Wallaway*, where we staid, and laid vp new throwds vpon our maine Mast, hauing very much wind Easterly. We rode here tenne dayes together in tenne fathoms, three quarters of a mile from the shoare, the point lying East Southerly off vs. The nineteenth at midnight we espied a sayle. The twentieth in the morning in lesse then three leagues chafe we tooke her. And the same day we stood it away to the North-west out of sight of land; then we stood in againe. The foure and twentieth, we anchored some seuen leagues to the North-ward of *Punta de Galle*. The five and twentieth, we began to discharge her, riding in thirtie fathomes some three miles from the shoare.

The second of February, we had done with the ship, leauing in her neere an hundred tunnes of Pepper and Sanders. The third day, we set saile home-wards. At sixe of the clocke at night we were in foureteene fathomes, some five or sixe miles from the shoare, thwart an Iland, which is some sixe leagues to the South-ward of the *Portugals* fort vpon *Ceylon* called *Colombo*.

The twentieth of March, Latitude thirteene degrees seuen minutes: Variation twentie foure degrees twentie sixe minutes, being the greatest that we found. We steered away South-west, and felt no current. Note, that we met with Currents, and many rippings from South latitude foure degrees thirtie minutes, till we came into thirteene degrees no minutes. Sometimes the Rippings making a noyse like ouer-fals, especially being in the parallels of *Pedras Brancas* to the West-ward of it.

The foure and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees fiftie minutes, variation twenty three degrees tenne minutes: we steered South-west. The twentie seuenth, latitude twentie one degrees, then we saw an Iland West South-west, and South-west and by West some five leagues from vs, being very high land. At sixe of the clocke at night, we anchored on the Easter side of it in tenne fathomes fine blacke sand a mile from the shoare. From fortie fathomes to foure fathomes close into the shoare, you haue fine black sand. Here we sent our Boat on shoare, and found infinite numbers of great land Tortoises, as big as a man might well carrie, which were very good meate.

The North-east point of this Ile is very high and steepe; and a little to the South-east of the point is low land, where is a fine running water like a riuer: and though a Boat cannot goe in, yet it is a very good place to water in, somewhat distant from the shoare. The Ile is like a Forrest, and therefore I called it *Englands Forrest*; but others call it *Pearle Iland*, by the name of our ship. There is store of land fowle both small and great, plentie of Doves, great Parrats, and such like: And a great fowle of the bignesse of a Turkie, very fat, and so short winged, that they cannot flie, beeing white, and in a manner tame: and so are all other fowles, as hauing not been troubled nor feared with shot. Our men did beate them downe with sticks and stones. Ten men may take fowle enough to serue fortie men a day. Our men traueilling into the land, found another riuer and a Pond with great store of Mallards in it, and wild geese. Moreouer, they found infinite store of great Eeles, as good, I thinke, as any in the world. Strike them with a Pike, and they will flie from you not past two or three yards, and there will lie still againe: you may wade after them at your pleasure. I weighed one of them, because they were bigger then euer I saw, and it weighed five and twentie pounds, and they are the sweetest fish that can be eaten. I thinke it is so good a place as the world can afford for refreshing, beeing also without people.

The descripti-  
on of the peo-  
ple.

December:

Latitude 6. de-  
grees 40. min.  
Variation 12.  
degr. 46. min.

Two redde  
Clifses.

Ianuary.

They take a  
shippe.

February.

They returne  
homewards.  
*Colombo*.

The greatest  
variation 24.  
degr. 26. min.

Variation 23.  
degr. 10. min.  
A new Iland  
discouered in  
21. degrees.

Infinite num-  
bers of great  
Tortoises.  
A good water-  
ring place.  
*Pearle Ile*.

An excellent  
place for re-  
freshing.

The



Aprill 1613.

Variati. 22. deg.  
48. minutes.38. degrees, 47.  
minutes, the  
great: st lati-  
tude South-  
ward.They are to  
the West of  
Cape de Buona  
Esperanza.  
Iune 1613.The third of  
Iune.  
The fight be-  
tweene the  
three Hollan-  
ders and two  
Carackes.The Lion: of  
Holland blowne  
vp and sunke.  
Forty nine  
Hollanders  
blowne vp and  
drowned.July 18. 1613.  
The Sea of  
Grasse, or Sara-  
gasso.  
They crosse  
the Tropicke  
of Cancer.

The first of Aprill 1613. we went away, and bearing about the North-east point, all the North side of the Ile was fine low land, and full of trees, more pleasant in sight then the South-side. The second, latitude twentie degrees fiftie eight minutes. The Ile bare South-east by East some five leagues off: Note that we saw no dangers about the Ile, but the shore it selfe. At sixe of the clocke at night, the South-west point was off vs South-east by East, variation twenty two degrees fortie eight minutes.

The first of May, latitude thirtie eight degrees fortie seven minutes, which was the greatest latitude that wee euer raised to the South-ward, wee steered away West North-west. The eleuenth at noone, latitude thirty three degrees fiftie eight minutes, by which obseruation I found a Northerly Current, and found my selfe to the West-ward of Cape de Buona Esperanza.

The first of Iune, all these ships, the *Salomon* and foure great *Hollanders* departed from the Road of Saint *Helena*. But within foure houres after they were gone, there came about the point two great Carackes, the other ships being still in sight; we hauing most part of our Companie ashore sicke, I sent the Boat on shoare, hauing not aboue ten men aboard: so there came as many as were able, some of our soundest men being vp in the Mountaines. When the Boat was come aboard, we cut our Cables in the hause and droue away, setting sayle as fast as we were able, being in all but sixe and twentie men; hauing left behind vs sicke and sound five and twentie men of our owne Companie, and one *Indian*, with all our water Caske, and diuers other things for the vse of our sicke men were left on shoare. So hastening toward the *Hollanders*, and making signes for their stay, and within night comming vp with the Admirall of the *Hollanders*, and telling him of this newes, hee was very glad, and desired to make saile for the Road againe, and made signes to his Fleet to follow, and so stood for the Road as wind would serue. But in the morning his biggest ship both of force and burthen was missing, with the *Salomon* of London. Yet his three ships and we pleyed it vp for the Roade, and gat in the third day at noone. The Admirall of the *Hollanders* went first in, and anchored on the Broad-side of the Admirall Caracke. He veered so much Cable before hee brought vp his ship, that his sterne hung by the galleries of the Caracke: but with his two sterne peeces lying very low, and his quarter Peeces hee so galled the Caracke, that he put her from two peeces of Ordnance, and might haue sunke her, if they had not been too couetous, hauing desire to carrie both. The next came the *Bantam*, and anchored in such sort, that she had her Broad-side vpon the Bow of the same Caracke, and so racked her afore and baft, that it much cooled the *Portugals* courage. Then came the white *Lion*, whereof one *Simons* was Captaine, and laid her thwart the haule, and so tare her that a man might see all the Sea wash into her betweene wind and water, and withall cut her Cables, and so she droue off from the white *Lion*, and had driuen on shoare, but that the Vice-Admirall Caracke had a Cable fast on shoare: and so the Caracke lying in the byte of this Cable, in time got another Cable and Anchor readie, and so brought her vp againe, though long first. Then the white *Lion* making way to veere aboard againe, with a generall consent that all three ships should lay her aboard: the white *Lion* falling with her Broad-side along the Vice-Admirall Carack, let flye her whole Broad-side, and likewise the Carack at her. But still vering to get aboard the Admirall Caracke, his men still plying his lower Ordnance vpon the Vice-Admirall, one of his Peeces brake ouer his Powder Roome, as some thought, and the shippe blew vp all to pieces, the after part of her; and so sunke presently. In the time of this fight eleuen of our men came out of the Mountaines: whom wee espying fetched from the shoare, out of the Bay to the East-ward of the chappell, leauing on shore fiftene of our Companie, one being an *Indian*. In the white *Lion* were *Henric Bacon*, and *Henric Teddman* blowne vp, & nine and fortie of the *Hollanders*. Then the Admirall, whereof *Iohn Derickson Lambe* was Captaine, seeing his forces so much weakened, himselfe hauing two of his Peeces dismounted, with many of his men killed and hurt, and we being of small force, thought it best to leaue them, for want of helpe, promising to turnish vs with water.

The third of Iune, loosing one after another, and changing a few shot with the Carackes, we stood away for England.

The eighteenth of Iuly in the morning, we met with many weeds, and a small long leafe with white Berries of the bignesse of a corne of Pepper. The Master of the Carauell aboard the *Hollanders* reported, that farther Westerly the Sea is so thicke with these kind of weeds, that they hinder a ships way. They call it *The Sea of Grasse*. Hee affirmed that in former Voyages he had beene in it. The nineteenth, we crossed the Tropicke of Cancer.





<sup>10</sup> ENGLISH VOYAGES BE-  
YOND THE EAST-INDIES, TO  
THE ILANDS OF IAPAN, CHINA, CAVCHIN-  
CHINA, THE PHILIPPINÆ WITH OTHERS,  
AND THE INDIAN NAVIGATIONS  
FVRTHER PROSECVTED:

<sup>20</sup> Their iust Commerce, nobly vindicated against *Turkish*  
*Treachery*; victoriously defended against *Portugall Hostility*,  
gloriously aduanced against *Moorish* and *Ethnike* Perfidie;  
hopefully recouering from *Dutch* Malignitie;  
iustly maintayned against ignorant and ma-  
licious Calumnie.

<sup>30</sup> THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

<sup>40</sup> H Auing brought to light (rather as a Midwife, the fruit of Others Trauels then  
mine owne as a Parent) the imperfect untimely Births of Other Englishmen, and  
that more mature, well complexioned, strong limmed, and (if Genethliacall coniectures  
faile not) hopefully promising Riches, Honour, Happie Successe and Long-life, of the  
East-Indian Societie; which we haue also in a Scenicall Historie, or an Historicall Scene,  
(the Actors being the Authors, and the Authours themselves the Actors of their owne  
Parts, Artes, Acts, Designes) brought from the Cradle to the Saddle, from weaker  
Infancie of first beginnings to the happie Progresse and growth of youthfull vigour and  
courage: I made a stand, and, in the mids of our Indian Course, finished the former  
Booke; that as after a long ascent of some steeper Hill, Men take breath, and reuiue  
with delight, that which with irkesome labour and wearie steps they haue passed;  
or like the Land-traueller resting in his Inne, or the Weather-beaten Mariner refreshing  
himselfe in some mid-way Harbour (which heere you see our Indian Nauigators doe  
<sup>50</sup> in Soldania, or at Saint Helena.) You might also after that stay beginne a fresh Carcer,  
with reuiued spirits, and renewed alacrtie, resume this Booke-Voyage, and Reading  
Nauigation. So may your Mindes in few houres and a safe course, without feare of  
Rockes, Sands, Winds, Stormes of vnseasonable Monsons, vnreasonable Men (Fu-  
gitives, Traytors, Pyrates, false Friends, open Foes) of an ill Market, hard Customes,  
or harsh accounts to be giuen at last; communicate in that, which These with so long la-  
bours, and so perillous dangers, haue done and suffered.

<sup>60</sup> And here first we present vnto you, the East-Indies made Westerly by the Illustrious Voy-  
age of Captaine IOHN SARRIS, who hauing spent some yeares before in the Indies, by Ob-  
seruations to rectifie Experience, and by Experience to prepare for higher Attempts, hath  
heere left the knowne Coasts of Europe, compassed those more vknowne of Afrike from  
the Atlantike to the Erythraean Sea, and after Commerce there (tam Marte, quam Mer-  
curio) compasseth the Shoares, and pierceth the Seas, to and beyond all iustnames of Indian  
and



and Asia, penetrating by a long iourney the Islands, Cities, Court of the Iap  
there settleth an English Factorie, and after safe returne, is readie to rende  
sure of his paine, and (why stay I thee any longer?) by a more pleasant Disc  
discover to thee the Rarities of that Discouerie; and by hand, by the Eyes to  
with him all the way: and then leaue thee to those that shall tell thee after  
later Occurents in the Iaponian, Indian and Asian Affaires.

## CHAP. I.

The eighth Voyage set forth by the East-Indian Societie, wherein  
three Ships, the Cloue, the Hector, and the Thomas, vnder t  
of Captaine IOHN SARIS: His Course and Acts to and  
Sea, Iaua, Molucca's, and Iapan (by the Inhabitants  
Neffoon, where also he first began and settled an Eng  
Trade and Factorie) with other remarkable Rari-  
ties, collected out of his owne  
Iournall.

## §. I.

Their sayling about Africa, visiting diuers Ilands thereof,  
comming to Socatora.

Aprill 18. 1611



He eighteenth of Aprill 1611. wee set saile o  
The sixth of Iune following, we passed the l  
The first of August 1611. we arriued in the  
where hauing well refreshed our selues the spa  
the ninth of August in the morning we wei  
about foure in the after-noon were five leag  
Buona Esperanza.

The second of September, of latitude twen  
twentie one minutes, way East by North  
leagues. Nota, That since our comming to  
Esperanza, We found no Monsons of West  
beene reported) but to the contrarie, did find

South Easterly and Easterly winds with extreame Stormes, Raine, Thunder  
yet at that present very faire and so hot that calmes were to bee doubted.

The third, latitude twentie three degrees, fiftie minutes, way South by W  
leagues wind at South.

The Bay of S.  
Augustine in  
the Ile of Saint  
Laurence.

About five at night we made land being the Iland of *Madagascar*, otherwise  
rence, the Bay of Saint *Augustine* bearing East by North about fixe leagues off  
away North North-east, variation at Sun-setting fifteene degrees, eleuen minu  
founded, but had no ground at one hundred fathome. The land not very high,  
then we passed the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, to the North-ward.

A strong cur-  
rent.

The tenth of September, latitude seuentene degrees, three minutes, v  
twelue leagues, wind at North-east: we steered North North-west, variation a  
teene degrees, fiftie foure minutes Westerly. Heere wee found a strong Cur  
South-west; for these last foure and twentie houres, shee could not haue run  
and twentie leagues, hauing a stiffe gale: but for the reason aforesaid, in the  
the Iland *Primeiras* bearing West by North about foure leagues off.

Note.

The eleventh, latitude seuentene degrees, thirty three minutes way Sou  
point Easterly fourteene leagues, the wind at North-east, and North-east by E  
vs thirtie minutes to the Southwards of the latitude we were in, by the last ob  
stood in for the land North North-west, hoping of a better wind neare the sho  
rent, an suddenly the water changed, but we could find no ground at an hun  
the euening we made the land bearing North, and North by West about fixe l



it to be the Islands *Primeiras*, but being to the Northward of it, it shewed somewhat longer then before, for it did beare from the North-west to the North of vs; wee sounded and had twentie fathom small glistering sand; and sounding againe, had twentie fathom blacke Ozie, with black shels. Then we stood off to the Eastward, the storme continuing with more wind in the night, then in the day; and hauing stood off one glasse, we sounded and had two and twenty fathome, gray sand and shels.

The twelfth, latitude eightene degrees seuentene minutes, way South-east by East eight and twentie leagues, wind at North-east, a storme: so that these last twenty foure houres we were carried by the force of the Current forty foure minutes to the Southward of the former obseruation, variation fourteene degrees, one and forty minutes Westerly. About night the wind veered to East North-east, so that we lay North with the sterne.

The thirteenth, latitude nineteene degrees, sixtene minutes, way South-east by South, two and twentie leagues, wind North-east by East little wind, the Current very strong against vs.

The fifteenth, latitude sixtene degrees, six and forty minutes, way North North-east, halfe a point Easterly thirty leagues, wind South-west, wee steered North-east by North. Note heere we found not the Current so forcible, for we haue deprest the Pole one degree, seuen and twenty minutes these foure and twentie houres. The reason wee supposed to be that the Island *Iuan de Noua*, was betweene vs and the Current, for we made account it did beare East by North eightene leagues off, variation at Sun-setting twelue degrees, eight minutes Westerly.

The sixteenth, latitude sixtene degrees not nine minutes, way North North-east eightene leagues, we steered North-east by North, wind South-west by South, little wind, but a strong Current, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, not three minutes Westerly.

The seuenteenth, the ships way North by West eight leagues, variation twelue degrees one minute Westerly: in the morning we made the land to the Southward of *Mosambique*, making it to be the Islands *de Angoxa*, bearing West South-west seuen leagues. The Westermost part of the said Islands seeming whitish. The maine to the Northward bearing North by East, smooth champion ground: we steered North-east by East, and towards euening we saw the land treading to the Northward, seeming to the Seaward to be full of trees; here we found the Current to set North North-west, for we could perceiue by the land that we ran very fast to the Northward, and hauing little wind, wee sounded often, but could not find ground at an hundred fathome.

The nineteenth, latitude fifteene degrees, twentie nine minutes, way South by East foure leagues, wind at East South-east, we steered North-east, but by extremitie of the Current, wee were carried to the Southward. So that wee were heere ten dayes, and could not get to the Northward; notwithstanding we had a faire and reasonable stiffe gale.

The one and twentieth, latitude sixtene degrees, twentie minutes, way South by West foure leagues, wind North-east, and North-east by East, little wind: in the morning wee were neare the Northermost of the Islands *de Angoxas*, bearing West by North about three leagues off. And to windward of vs, we espied a very dangerous shoale, lying East off the North part of the main, at the least three points into the sea, hauing a drie splot of white sand betweene it and the maine: We sounded and had ground at thirtie fathom, red stones like Corall, with gray sand and shels, we stood off, it being a lee-choare and Westerly Current. And finding by our skiffe, which was sent off, that the Current did set exceeding strongly to the South-west by West, and such vncertaine shoaling, we stood off for Saint *Laurence*. Note that these Islands *de Angoxas* (which are many) doe stand in the plat in fifteene degrees, fortie minutes, and we find them in sixtene degrees, twentie minutes to the Southward of the Equinoctiall, variation thirteene degrees, no minutes Westerly.

The two and twentieth, latitude seuentene degrees five minutes, way South South-east eightene leagues, wind North-east, and in foure and twentie houres that we parted from the land, we lost no degrees, fortie five minutes. But towards euening the wind came to the South-east, and South-east by South; we steered North-east, and North-east by east, and East North-east for the Island Saint *Laurence*, looking out for *Iuan de noua*, which *Hugen van Linschoten*, willeth to beware of, and not to come neare it in a small Moone; notwithstanding wee were inforced to put our selues in hazard to get out of this Current and dangerous place, variation at Sun-setting twelue degrees, fortie foure minutes Westerly.

The three and twentieth, latitude sixtene degrees, foure and twentie minutes, way North-east, two and twentie leagues, wind at South South-west, we steered East North-east, to rid vs of the Current, hauing deprest the Pole these last foure and twentie houres, no degrees, one and fortie minutes, variation at Sun-setting thirteene degrees, sixtene minutes Westerly.

The foure and twentieth, latitude sixtene degrees, sixtene minutes, way East North-east ten leagues, wind at South-west, and South South-east, till eight in the morning, it came then to the North, and North by East, little wind. In the morning at breake of day (to our great admiration) wee saw land to the Westward, bearing North by West five leagues off, not once looking

*Ilhas Primeiras.*

*The Islands de Angoxa.*

An extreame Current to the Southward.

A very dangerous shoald.

*The Isles de Angoxa in sixteene degrees, twentie minutes.*

Land vncexpected neare *Iuan de Noua.*



and Asia, penetrating by a long iourney the Ilands, Cities, Court of the Iaponian Empire; there settleth an English Factorie, and after safe returne, is readie to render thee the pleasure of his paine, and (why stay I thee any longer?) by a more pleasant Discourse way, to discover to thee the Rarities of that Discoverie; and by hand, by the Eyes to lead thee alongst with him all the way: and then leaue thee to those that shall tell thee after Accidents and later Occurents in the Iaponian, Indian and Asian Affaires.

## CHAP. I.

10

The eighth Voyage set forth by the East-Indian Societie, wherein were employed three Ships, the Cloue, the Hector, and the Thomas, vnder the Command of Captaine IOHN SARIS: His Course and Acts to and in the Red Sea, Iaua, Molucca's, and Iapan (by the Inhabitants called Neffoon, where also he first began and settled an English Trade and Factorie) with other remarkable Rarities, collected out of his owne Iournall.

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## §. I.

Their sayling about Africa, visiting diuers Ilands thereof, and comming to Socatora.

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Aprill 18. 1611



He eighteenth of Aprill 1611. wee set saile out of the Downes.

The sixth of Iune following, we passed the Equinoctiall Line.

The first of August 1611. we arriued in the Bay of Soldania, where hauing well refreshed our selues the space of eight dayes, the ninth of August in the morning we weighed Anchor, and about foure in the after-noone were five leagues off the Cape Buona Esperanza.

The second of September, of latitude twentie foure degrees, twentie one minutes, way East by North Northerly sixe leagues. *Nota*, That since our comming from Cape Buona Esperanza, We found no Monsons of West-winds, (as hath beene reported) but to the contrarie, did find North Easterly,

South Easterly and Easterly winds with extreame Stormes, Raine, Thunder and Lightening: yet at that present very faire and so hot that calmes were to bee doubted.

The third, latitude twentie three degrees, fiftie minutes, way South by West twentie three leagues wind at South.

The Bay of S. Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.

About five at night we made land being the Iland of Madagascar, otherwise called Saint Laurence, the Bay of Saint Augustine bearing East by North about fixe leagues off. And then steered away North North-east, variation at Sun-setting fiftene degrees, eleuen minutes Westerly. We founded, but had no ground at one hundred fathome. The land not very high, but Sandie. And then we passed the Tropicke of Capricorne, to the North-ward.

A strong current.

The tenth of September, latitude seuentene degrees, three minutes, way North-west twelue leagues, wind at North-east: we steered North North-west, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, fiftie foure minutes Westerly. Heere wee found a strong Current setting South South-west: for these last foure and twentie houres, shee could not haue runne lesse then foure and twentie leagues, hauing a stiffe gale: but for the reason aforesaid, in the euening we made the Iland Primeiras bearing West by North about foure leagues off.

Note.

The eleventh, latitude seuentene degrees, thirty three minutes way South by East halfe a point Easterly fourteene leagues, the wind at North-east, and North-east by East, a storme.

Note that hauing stood but one watch and an halfe to the East-wards, the Current did carry vs thirtie minutes to the Southwards of the latitude we were in, by the last obseruation: then we stood in for the land North North-west, hoping of a better wind neare the shoare with lesse current, and suddenly the water changed, but we could find no ground at an hundred fathom. In the euening we made the land bearing North, and North by West about fixe leagues off, finding

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it to be the Islands *Primeiras*, but being to the Northward of it, it shewed somewhat longer then before, for it did beare from the North-west to the North of vs; wee sounded and had twentie fathom small glistering sand; and sounding againe, had twentie fathom blacke Ozie, with black shels. Then we stood off to the Eastward, the storme continuing with more wind in the night, then in the day; and hauing stood off one glasse, we sounded and had two and twenty fathome, gray sand and shels.

The twelfth, latitude eightene degrees seuteene minutes, way South-east by East eight and twentie leagues, wind at North-east, a storme: so that these last twenty foure houres we were carried by the force of the Current forty foure minutes to the Southward of the former obseruation, variation fourteene degrees, one and forty minutes Westerly. About night the wind veered to East North-east, so that we lay North with the sterne.

The thirteenth, latitude nineteene degrees, sixteene minutes, way South-east by South, two and twentie leagues, wind North-east by East little wind, the Current very strong against vs.

The fifteenth, latitude sixteene degrees, six and forty minutes, way North North-east, halfe a point Easterly thirty leagues, wind South-west, wee steered North-east by North. Note heere we found not the Current so forcible, for we haue deprest the Pole one degree, seuen and twenty minutes these foure and twentie houres. The reason wee supposed to bee that the Island *Iuan de Noua*, was betweene vs and the Current, for we made account it did beare East by North eighteene leagues off, variation at Sun-setting twelue degrees, eight minutes Westerly.

The sixteenth, latitude sixteene degrees not nine minutes, way North North-east eighteene leagues, we steered North-east by North, wind South-west by South, little wind, but a strong Current, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, not three minutes Westerly.

The seuteenth, the ships way North by West eight leagues, variation twelue degrees one minute Westerly: in the morning we made the land to the Southward of *Mosambique*, making it to be the Islands *de Angoxa*, bearing West South-west seuen leagues. The Westermost part of the said Islands seeming whitish. The maine to the Northward bearing North by East, imooth champion ground: we steered North-east by East, and towards euening we saw the land tending to the Northward, seeming to the Seaward to be full of trees; here we found the Current to set North North-west, for we could perceiue by the land that we ran very fast to the Northward, and hauing little wind, wee sounded often, but could not find ground at an hundred fathome.

The Islands *de Angoxa*.

The nineteenth, latitude fifteene degrees, twentie nine minutes, way South by East foure leagues, wind at East South-east, we steered North-east, but by extremitie of the Current, wee were carried to the Southward. So that wee were heere ten dayes, and could not get to the Northward; notwithstanding we had a faire and reasonable stiffe gale.

An extreame Current to the Southward.

The one and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees, twentie minutes, way South by West foure leagues, wind North-east, and North-east by East, little wind: in the morning wee were neare the Northermost of the Islands *de Angoxas*, bearing West by North about three leagues off. And to windward of vs, we espied a very dangerous shoale, lying East off the North part of the main, at the least three points into the sea, hauing a drie splat of white sand betweene it and the maine: We sounded and had ground at thirtie fathom, red stones like Corall, with gray sand and shels, we stood off, it being a lee-shoale and Westerly Current. And finding by our skiffe, which was sent off, that the Current did set exceeding strongly to the South-west by West, and such vncertaine shoaling, we stood off for Saint *Laurence*. Note that these Islands *de Angoxas* (which are many) doe stand in the plat in fifteene degrees, fortie minutes, and we find them in sixteene degrees, twentie minutes to the Southward of the Equinoctiall, variation thirteene degrees, no minutes Westerly.

A very dangerous shoald.

The Isles *de Angoxa* in sixteene degrees, twentie minutes.

The two and twentieth, latitude seuteene degrees five minutes, way South South-east eighteene leagues, wind North-east, and in foure and twentie houres that we parted from the land, we lost no degrees, fortie five minutes. But towards euening the wind came to the South-east, and South-east by South; we steered North-east, and North-east by east, and East North-east for the Island Saint *Laurence*, looking out for *Iuan de noua*, which *Hugen van Linschoten*, willetth to beware of, and not to come neare it in a small Moone; notwithstanding wee were inforced to put our selues in hazard to get out of this Current and dangerous place, variation at Sun-setting twelue degrees, fortie foure minutes Westerly.

The three and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees, foure and twentie minutes, way North-east, two and twentie leagues, wind at South South-west, we steered East North-east, to rid vs of the Current, hauing deprest the Pole these last foure and twentie houres, no degrees, one and fortie minutes, variation at Sun-setting thirteene degrees, sixteene minutes Westerly.

The foure and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees, sixteene minutes, way East North-east ten leagues, wind at South-west, and South South-east, till eight in the morning, it came, then to the North, and North by East, little wind. In the morning at breake of day (to our great admiration) wee saw land to the Westward, bearing North by West five leagues off, not once looking

Land vnexpected neare *Iuan de Noua*.



Land vnex-  
pected neere *I. de*  
*Nova.*

The Ile *Ango-*  
*xas.*

Note of *I. de*  
*Nova.*

A falshood of  
the *Portugals.*

October.

The Ile *Moyella*  
where they  
had refreshing.

Mahometan  
manner of Fa-  
sting till Sun-  
set.

king for any that way, but to the Eastward for *Iuan de noua*, which we made account could not be about six leagues South from vs, and being be-calmed, did doubt least the Current would set vs vpon it in the night: but the day clearing, we found it to be the Northermost Iland of the *Angoxas*, whence we departed the one and twentieth, ditto in the afternoone, which so amazed our Marriners, as that they were discouraged of getting our Voyage this way. The reason of this difference was (as we supposed) by a Counter current, which certainly in the small of the Moone doth set East North-east, and West South-West, from the *Plasbella* or point of the shoare, which lieth North-east by East off the Northermost part of *Iuan de noua*, which meeting with our auncient enemy the North North-east Current, hath thus violently put vs ouer to the West-wards, notwithstanding we haue had a fresh gale and faire wind, vntill this morning that it fell 10 calme. Note, that if there be any such Iland as *Iuan de noua*, it lies not so farre to the West-ward, as *Daniels* plots make mention, but stands neerer the maine Iland, otherwise we must of necessity haue seene it. They of the fourth Voyage in the *Ascension*, made accompt that they passed to the East-wards of it, and *S. Laurence*, which thing the *Portugals* hold impossible, saying, that it stands so neere the maine Iland, as that there is no passage but a little channell, which once one of their ships was inforced to put through, and since nor afore they haue not heard of any to haue done the like. Wherefore it was held amongst vs to be but a cunning of the *Portugals*, to place such an Iland so farre to the West-ward, to the end that such as shall saile this way, being not so well experienced as themselves, might (giuing it a birth) fall into this extreame Current which we certainly found to set more Westerly then North-East, and South-west. Wherefore 20 it is necessary for all such as shall be bound this way, to be vpon the Coast of *S. Laurence* by the first of Iune, and from the Cape *S. Augustine*, vntill they come into twelue degrees no minutes, to keepe vp to the East-ward, and not to make their way to the West of the North, or North by West, for feare of the South-west Current, which with calmes, and foureteene degrees two minutes variation Westerly, will perforce set them ouer vpon the Coast of *Soffala*. And most certaine it is, that in August and September, you shall find very violent North-west winds, so that if yee would stand it ouer for *S. Laurence*, you shall not fetch it without great danger of the shoalds of *India*, (the Current taking you on the broad side:) I meane, if you bee to the North of the said shoalds, neither can you stop vpon the maine to keepe your Latitude, for it is broken ground, and very deepe water.

The third of October we came to an anchor (after much trouble by Currents) betweene *Soffala* and *Mosambique*, in thirteene and foureteene fathome: Latitude sixteene degrees thirty two minutes: Longitude seuentie sixe degrees tenne minutes: Variation eleuen degrees fiftie minutes Westerly. We anchored vnder an Iland neere vnto the maine, vpon which wee neither found people nor fresh water, though we digged very deepe in the land. The tenth, wee weighed, the wind at South South-west, and stood ouer East by North for *S. Laurence*, hoping thereby to get out of these Currents. Thus were we tossed to and fro with variable winds, and still troubled with the Current comming out of the North-east, vntill the twentieth sixth, wee came to an anchor vnder *Moyella*, which is one of the Ilands of *Comora*, Latitude twelue degrees thirteene minutes, to the Southward of the *Aequinoctiall*, where we refreshed our selues eight dayes, procuring Bullocks, Goates, Hennes, Limons, Cocos, Pines, Papanes, Plantans, Pomgranates, Sugar canes, Tammarin hennes, Rice, Milke, Rootes, Egges and Fish, in exchange of small Haberdashery wares, and some money, and had here kind vsage and great store of fresh water, the rather for that we stood still vpon our guard. I inuited the King of *Moyella* beeing a *Mahometan* aboard the *Cloue*, and entertained him with a noyse of Trumpets, and a consort of Musique, with a Banket, which he refused to eate of, because it was then his Lent, which amongst them is called *Rammadam*, but hee tooke away with him the best of the Banket to carrie to the Queene his Mother, saying, they would eate it when the Sinne was downe. The Queenes name was *Sultana Mammangalla*. The Kings name was *Sariffoo Boobocarree*. He requested the Generall to leaue him a letter in his commendations to those that should happen hereafter to come thither, where- 50 by they might vnderstand of his honest dealing with vs. The like letter he had procured from *Stephen Verbaghen*, Admirall of twelue *Holland* ships, who arrived there in the yeare 1604. which he deliuered vnto our Generall, who gaue him the like, with this caution in the end thereof, that they should not giue too great credit to them, but stand vpon their guard, for that oftentimes weapons continue peace.

The Inhabitants here are *Negroes*, with short curled haire, and *Pintados* about their middles, some wearing white caps, others turbants, by which we knew they were *Mahometans*. The King himselfe was apparrelled in a white Cotten coate, a Turbant vpon his head, and a *Guzerate* Pintado about his middle: he was little whiter then the ordinary people, who are blacke: hee was leane, he had a round thinne blacke beard, great eyes, of a low stature, and of very few words; he could speake a little *Arabique*, which he had learned in his Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, from whence he had the name of *Sheriffe*. Here they desire money (whereby we vnderstand *Spanish* Rialls of eight) rather then commoditie. But for Crimson broad Cloath, Red sculd Caps, *Cambaya* cloaths, and 60



and Sword blades, you may haue any thing the Iland affoord, which serueth onely for refresh-  
ing, and no way for merchandizing. He gaue the Generall a note vnder his hand of friendship,  
which beeing not long, I haue here inserted.

أَيُّهَا سَيِّدُ بَكْرٍ ابْنُ سَيِّدٍ شَرِيفٍ حُسَيْنٍ  
بَاقِيَهُ جَفَنَةُ اللَّهِ أَهْلُ بَكْرٍ

Shareson Boobac-  
kar King of the  
Iland called  
Moyela, his note  
vnder his hand  
for further  
friendship.  
1611.  
written in A-  
rabique.

بَكْرٍ شَرِيفٍ

The fourth of Nouember, we set saile from this Iland *Moyella*. The seuenteenth in the mor-  
ning, we made the land being the maine of *Melinde*, the Bay or Gulfe called *Formosa*, bearing  
North-west about foure leagues off. The land trending North-east South-west, wee had thirtie  
fathome, small gray sand and shels, wind at East North-east, we stood off South-East a stiffe gale,  
and a very great sea, which sheweth to be shoale water, and a Current which we found to set a-  
longst the shoare, North-east. Latitude two degrees tenne minutes, variation at Sunne-setting  
twelue degrees thirtie one minuts Westerly. Note, this land lieth more Easterly then in our plats,  
otherwise we should not haue fallen therewith so soone: for by our reckonings we were at least  
fortie eight leagues off.

The nine and twentieth, latitude foure degrees fortie foure minutes, variation seuentene de-  
grees thirtie foure minutes Westerly, beeing as we supposed twelue leagues off the shoales, called  
*Baxos de Malhina* East by South, we had a great Rippling, and ouer-fall of water, as if it had  
beene shoal-water; but sounding found no ground at an hundred fathome, the wind came about  
here to South Southeast, our course North-east.

The first of December, Latitude three degrees fortie minutes, our way North North-east eight  
leagues, wind at North North-east, East, East South-east, and North East by North, little wind  
for the most part calme, and had a very fearefull rippling of the water, much like vnto the fall at  
*London* Bridge, beeing out of sight of land, and finding no ground at an hundred fathome: when  
we stood into the land it left vs, but bearing off, (beeing fiftie leagues from land) we found very  
terrible. Variation sixteene degrees fiftene minutes Westerly. The second, Latitude two degrees  
fiftie five minutes, way North-east by North eightene leagues, wind variable, the Rippling  
continuing, variation fiftene degrees fiftie seven minutes Westerly, which mooued vs to thinke  
that wee had a Current setting to the West, the variation decreasing so suddenly. The third,  
Latitude foure degrees foure minutes, way South twentie three leagues, wind variable, most  
part calme, with great Rippling of the water, and a very strong Current Southerly, so that these  
last twentie foure houres, we are carried backe to the South-wards of our former latitude, one de-  
gree nine minutes. The fourth, latitude foure degrees thirtie three minutes, way South tenne  
leagues, little wind and variable betwixt the North-east, and East by South, very strange Rip-  
pling of the water, and strong Current Southerly, variation eightene degrees fortie foure mi-  
nutes Westerly. The fifth, latitude foure degrees fiftie foure minutes, way South by East seauen  
leagues, wind variable, betwixt North-east by North, & East by South, the Rippling continuing  
and Current Southerly, variation eightene degrees eleuen minutes Westerly at Sun-setting. The  
sixth, latitude five degrees five minntes, way South-east by East eightene leagues, wind variable  
betwixt North-east by North, & North-east by East a gale, and at sometimes more fearefull Rip-  
plings of the water then before, yet could haue no ground at an hundred fathome. These Rippings  
shew like shelses, and are not at all times alike, but sometimes more, sometimes lesse; but met with  
many times in a day, and make a noise by the ships side, as if she did runne five leagues a Watch,  
when she doth scarce goe a head. We were much terrified there-with, the rather because wee  
could not imagine from whence it should proceed, seeing no land; but supposed our selues to bee  
amongst the Easter-most Islands, which lie off the Northermost point of *S. Laurence*. Here wee  
had raine, thunder, lightning, and sudden gusts which continued not long. The seuenth, way  
East by South eightene leagues, wind betwixt the North and North-east, the Rippling still  
continued. The eighth, way North-east twenty two leagues, wind at South-west, and Southwest  
by West, with Rippling, but no ground at an hundred fathome: variation twenty degrees seven  
minutes Westerly. The ninth, latitude foure degrees eighteen minutes, way North-east eighteen  
leagues, wind variable, little Current and no Rippling: variation twentie degrees fortie seauen  
minutes,



minutes Westerly; heere we found it extreame hot. The tenth, latitude foure degrees, way East North-east seven leagues, wind from North-west by North-east by East, many times calme, with no rippling, nor Current Southerly. Note we continuall calmes, euer since we came off the Maine, and the further off, the lesse wind on twentie degrees, fittie seven minutes Westerly.

They had passed the Line a moneth and five dayes before.

Note.

January 1.  
Magadoxa.  
Cape Das  
Baxas.

The Maine  
land called  
Doara.

A notable  
thing concern-  
ing the Varia-  
tion.

February 1.

Cape Dorsey.

Island de Guay.

Island del Curio.

The five and twentieth: Note, it is a moneth and five dayes since we were in latitude three degrees, one minute to the Northward, close by the shoare: since which time we came backe into five degrees, five and twentieth minutes to the Southward: wherefore the variation at this time of the yeere, must hold to the Eastward of *Pemba* two hundred leagues East by North, the variation there encreasing Westerly, which will bring you the maine: and so keeping the Island *Socatora* open of you, betweene the North by East, and North-east, you shall be in the greatest possibility to make the best vse of these winds neare to the maine we found to keepe betweene the East by North, and East by South all gale: but off at Sea, about the Islands *Mascharenas* at North-east North, and North-west West, and West by South, with calmes, riplings of the water very fowle and lightning. And albeit the North-east and Northerly winds are but bare to the Northwards: yet this benefit you shall haue, that by how much easterly you come, much the more you shall recouer to the Northward of the Line, before you reach the Maine, which if you can auoid, see not in this time of the Easterly Monson, vntill the latitude of ten degrees, to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall. But in the time of the Easterly Monson, keepe the shoare aboard, for it is very bold, but lyeth much more in our Plats.

The first of January, latitude three degrees, fittie eight minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, heere we made land, being the Maine of *Magadoxa*, Cape *Das Baxas* North-east eight leagues off; the land low, sandie and barren, all alongst; the wind North-east and East by North, a stiffe gale, we stood off to the Eastward, way North by East eight leagues.

The second day, latitude two degrees, one and thirtie minutes, way South-east and thirtie leagues, much wind and Current Southerly, hauing deprest the Pole in and twentie houres, one degree, seven and twentieth minutes, whereof sixe and twentieth minutes shee had runne by dead reckoning, and nine leagues shee was carried by the Current expectation. The eighteenth, latitude sixe degrees, seven and twenty minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, way North-west by North foure and twentieth leagues, East, and North-east by East. About two of the clocke we made the land, being the *Doara*, the South-part bearing West, and the North-part, North-west by North eight leagues off, seeming not very high, but sandie and barren, we stood off with much Current setting North-west, as we supposed; otherwise wee should haue gotten to the Northward.

Note, that although the variation holdeth little proportion, yet did we find that in running to the Eastward wee haue variation Westerly increasing: and when we ran North-west, our variation was Westerly decreasing: so that by reckoning our plats, we found our selues much further off the land, then by iust prooffe by variation truly is a most certaine thing to bee credited; obseruation being taken by one with an exact instrument, our so often falling with this maine, hath gained vs a variation at Sun-rising seuentene degrees, thirty sixe minutes Westerly, and at Sun-setting twenteene degrees, twentieth minutes Westerly.

The first of February, we made the land bearing North-east by North, about foure leagues, we sounded, and had ground at twenty seven and twenty eight fathom, soft sand called Cape *Dorsey*, being very high and barren by the Sea-side; many gusts.

The ninth, latitude ten degrees, thirtie seven minutes, way West by North five leagues, wind North-east by East: we had now sight againe of Cape *Dorsey*, from where we first day, contrary to our expectation, bearing North-west, about nine leagues off, found a strong Current in the offing, setting West North-west; which vntill we saw the land againe, we dreamed not of, but rather thought we had been fortie five or sixty leagues off: not once looking for the land, we sounded and had fifty fathom fine small sand, all the way: this land is high and full of mountaines.

The tenth, latitude eleuen degrees, twentieth minutes, way North-east by East seven leagues, wind from East by North, to North-east, we sounded and had ground of fortie fathom, small blacke sand, about eight leagues off the high land of Cape *Dorsey*, made triall of the Current with our Pinnasse, and found it to set North by East. The eleventh, latitude eleuen degrees, twentieth minutes, way North-east by East, we had sight of the Island *Abba del Curia*, bearing East North-east about ten leagues off, a very high land, rising in two parts like two Islands.

The fourteenth, latitude eleuen degrees, two and thirty minutes, wind North-east by East, North-east calme: heere we had sight of the Eastermost *Irmana*, seeming to the land, about sixe leagues off.



four degrees, twelue  
by North, to North-  
Note wee haue found  
the lesse wind. Variati-

we were in latitude no de-  
gree wee haue been put  
therefore those bound to  
two hundred leagues,  
you the more Norther-  
ly by East, and the North  
of these winds, which  
East by South a continu-  
ous, and sometimes at  
er very fearefull, thun-  
der but bare helps, plying  
easterly you are, by so  
fore you meete with the  
son, vntill you be full in  
in the time of the We-  
st more Easterly, then

the North-ward of the E-  
Das Baxas bearing North  
East; the wind at North-  
ward North by West twelue

South-east by South five  
the Pole in these last foure  
of fixe and twentie leagues  
by the Current contrary to  
ty minutes to the North-  
ie leagues, wind at North-  
and, being the maine, called  
West by North about eight  
off with much wind, and a  
haue gotten further to the

did we find by experience,  
ing: and standing into the  
by reckoning according to  
prooffe by variation: which  
ken by one of experience,  
gained vs this knowledge,  
sterly, and at setting seuen-

orth, about seuen leagues off:  
om, soft sand: this Land is  
any gusts.

by North sixteene leagues,  
y, from whence we departed  
out nine leagues off, hauing  
ich vntill meeting with this  
rtie five or fiftie leagues off,  
small sand, about five leagues

h-east by East, Easterly six-  
d and had ground at five and  
and of Cape Guardafui, wee  
rth by East. Towards euening  
ft about ten leagues off, being

s, wind North-east, and East  
seeming to the Eastward low  
The

The fiftenth, latitude eleuen degrees, seuen and twenty minutes, way East South-east sixe leagues, wind East, East North-east, East South-east, and North-east calme for the most part, making account to be eight leagues off the Eastermost *Irmana*: But wee were mistaken; for it was *Abba del Curia*, and the *Duas Irmanas* did beare North-east of vs twelue leagues off, variation at Sun-setting seuentene degrees, three and twenty minutes Westerly, and in the night the wind came faire to the South South-east, we lay East with the stemme, with helpe of a Current Easterly; contrary to the report of former Nauigants, and by breake of day, wee were fixe leagues off the Westmost *Irmana*, bearing East South-east, and had sight of *Socatora* ten leagues off.

The sixteenth, latitude twelue degrees, nineteene minutes, variation at Sun-rising seuentene degrees, two and twentie minutes Westerly, wee bare vp and went about the Wester point of *Socatora*: towards euening we had sight of the white Rock, which lyeth about foure leagues off the Westmost point of *Socatora*, the point and the Rocke, bearing one off the other North-west by North, and South-east by South, the said Rock looming like a saile, standing to the Eastward, larboord tacke aboard; and was so made for, by them of former Voyages. The Current still helping vs to the East-ward.

The seuenteenth, latitude twelue degrees, seuen and fortie minutes, variation at Sun-setting seuentene degrees, two and twentie minutes Westerly, wind variable, at South-east, and South-east by South calme, but a strong Current setting alongt the land, after we were about the Wester point. This night wee came to an anchor, one league and an halfe to the Westward of the Kings Towne, called *Tammarin*, in twentie fathom water, distant from the shoare two miles; our shoal ding in, after we had ground, vvas two and twentie, twenty, nineteene, twenty, twentie, twentie, small vvhite sand, the vwind East South-east, and South-east calme.

The eighteenth, we came to an anchor in the Road of *Tammarin*, right before the Kings house, in nine fathom water, a league from the shoare, fine sandie ground.

The Road of  
*Tammarin*.

## §. II.

### Occurrents at Socatora and in the Red-sea.

The Generall sent Master *Richard Cokes*, Cape Merchant, with the Skiffe vvell appointed vnto the King, to acquaint him vvhath vvee were, and the cause of our coming, and to prouide cattell and fresh victuall. Master *Cokes* returned, hauing bene friendly entertained and feasted by the King, and the rest that went with him. They brought a Present of fresh victuall from the King to the Generall, together with a Letter left there by Sir *Henry Middleton*, dated the first of September 1611. aboard the *Trades-Increase* in *Delisba* Road, in the Island of *Socatora*: the originall our Generall kept, and returned the copie

*Socatora*.  
This Letter  
was a briebe  
summe of Sir  
*Henry Middle-*  
*ton* his disad-  
uentures in the  
Red-Sea by  
*Turkish* perfid-  
ie, as in his  
owne Iournall  
you haue read,  
with caueat to  
all *English*, and  
notice of the  
Road *Assab*.  
Or *Caxem*.

verbatim, for the future ships. The nineteenth, They went in solemnest manner on shoare, where the King bid vs welcome, and feasted all the Company in his Royal maner, himself being richly vested in crimson Veluet, laid rich with gold-lace. His house was built of free-stone, Castle-like: he had about an hundred attendants, wherof about fifty were wel appparelled, according to the *Moors* fashion, the rest were naturalls of the Island. After many complements and curtesies, at night we took our leaue of him. His name was *Sultan Amur Bensaid*, sonne to the King of *Cushin* vpon the *Arab* side. We paid heere for kine twelue Ryalls of eight the piece, sheepe three shillings the piece, and for Goats one Ryall of eight a piece, which though it be deare, yet are the most of them not mans meate, being so vildely, and more then beastly bugged and abused by the people, as that it was most lothsome to see, when they were opened. We paid for Rice three pence a pound, Dates three pence a pound, Hens twelue pence a piece, Tobacco seuen hundred leaues a Ryall of eight, Egges pence a piece. The King vwill take no *English* money, but all Ryalls of eight.

The twenty seuenth, our General caused a meeting of his merchandizing Councel, vnto whom he read the Companies Remembrance, and the Letter receiued by the hands of the King of *Socatora*, from Sir *Henry Middleton*: and shewed them, That whereas he had been put in good hope by the Companies Remembrance, to haue obtained good store of Aloes heere at *Socatora*, which now he found frustrate, the King being wholly vnprouided, and not able to furnish vs therewith vntill August: And whereas we were appointed to goe from hence to *Aden* and *Moha* in the Red-sea, (the Monson not seruing for *Swat*) we were now vnterly dissuaded from the view of those parts, by the treachery and wrong done to Sir *Henry* and his Fleet. And lastly, whereas if we did not goe for the Red-sea, if we should remaine heere in *Delisba* Road sixe monethes attending the Monson, wee should find it very chargeable, and be able to effect nothing, (for vntill the end of September, there is no coming vpon the Coast of *Cambaya*) his opinion was, that notwithstanding these bad tydings receiued from Sir *Henry*, yet that we should go for *Moha*, we



hauing with vs the *Grand Segnors* Passe, which the former ships neuer had. He should be able to certifie the Company what stead the Passe might stand them in to stand vpon our guard, and not to aduenture any one man without good plect might ride securely, and obtaine trade aboard, though none on shoare, our force fend and offend vpon occasion, the greatest power that Port could raise. And since Commerce, then he intended to make vse of his Maiesties Commission, in respect offered vnto Sir Henry and his Company, and so enforce the putting off of our duties, or to make spoile of their Skales and Cuttome, by not permitting the *Indies* were expected in the fift of March to enter there, which would be a matter of rance vnto them: but vntill then hee would be very vnwilling to deale with And this course he did the rather approue of, because heere needed no parting of the Fleet might keepe together, and as soone as the Monien should permit, goe for *Surat*, according to the Companies order, their force vnited the better to resist the enimie should attempt. The Counsell generall assented to what he propounded to keepe company together, and goe for the Red-sea.

March 1.  
Note.

The first of March, we weighed anchor, & set saile for the Red-sea, the wind at sometimes little wind. The winds since we came to an anchor heere, were in the to till night for the most part at North-east by East, and East North-east, and land between the South and South-east, faire and temperat weather: vntil you come thom, where we might haue rid a musket shot off the shore, & further in, is three and an halfe, it is hold all the Bay alongst, keeping two Cables length off the land some stons amongst: a demie-culuering will reach the Castle, which is of no in *Tammarin* Bay twelue degrees, five and thirtie minutes to the North, variation grees, two and fortie minutes Westerly. The King of *Socatora* gaue counsaile, to the Red-sea, we should ply to the Southward of *Abba del Curia*, for that keeping side wee should bee put over to the *Arabian* shoare, and should not without great *Cape Guardafui*, so that by prooffe we found it best to keepe the *Abasb* shoare about

*Tammarin* Bay.

The fourth in the morning, wee saw *Cape Guardafui* bearing West eight or nine we steered in West North-west latitude twelue degrees one minute, the Cape foure leagues off, no ground at an hundred fathom, the land high and smooth, v rising, seuentene degrees, foure and thirtie minutes Westerly. In the euening v standing in alongst the land, to find the Bay of *Feluke*, our depth was twentie and eightene fathome. Heere we resolved to go for *Moha*, and not for *Aden*, be Towne of Garrison, and of little Trade, with other inconueniences, as exaction as appeared by the fixt Voyage. Here we took good store of Mulletts with our Sa excellent fish with lines and hookes. Heere are Gummes of seuerall sorts very sw alld fine Mats well requested at *Aden* and *Moha*, and the *Indies*: For ordinarily touch heere, both inward and outward, to buy thereof, and of the Gummes: all and Butter; which is farre better cheape then at *Moha*, for daily Boats goe ouer Et all, to sell at *Aden* and *Moha*; but they will not barter for any thing but linn

Mount *Feluke*.

Seuerall sorts  
of sweet gums.

The benefit of  
the Towne of  
*Feluke*.

Note that at *Feluke* Towne, there is wood and water to be had plentie, but no of the Bay, the passage vp to the Towne is so large, as that three ships may passe danger. The going in is betweene the high Homock and the low sandie point. They willd to steere from hence West by North, alongst the South-shoare to *Dem* shape their course ouer to *Aden*.

The ninth, latitude eleuen degrees, fiftie eight minutes, way West five and wind at East and East by South, a stiffe Breeze all day, but at night little wind, the shoare about eight leagues off, we steered West by North, variation at Sun-r grees, ten minutes Westerly.

Two small  
Islands.

The tenth in the morning, steering West by North, the wind Easterly, wee h small Islands, lying off the high land of *Demety* about a league off the maine, d the other foure leagues, the Eastermost bearing South by West seuen leagues off, most South-west, the same distance; we stood ouer for the high land of *Aden* North, and North-west, the wind at East, and East by North, a stiffe breeze; Ea variation fiftene degrees, no minutes, Westerly, latitude eleuen degrees, fiftie eig

The eleuenth we had sight of the high land of *Arabia* making it to be the high na, bearing North by East, by the compasse eight leagues of latitude at noone the eleuen minutes, of variation at Sunne-rising, fiftene degrees two minutes West a strong Easterly current comming ouer, for wee steered betweene the North North-west, and were so carryed to the East-ward that shee made but a North contrarie to expectation, for had wee had no current, wee should by course North-west way Westerly. But after we were shot in about some twelue leagues we found no current, the point or head-land of *Aden* breaking it off, as we supposed. I sent certaine instructions in writing to Captaine *Towersson* and Master *Davis*







bale fellow, from Christian to turne *Moore*, but willed him to acquaint the Gouvernour therewith, and that we were appointed in honour of the said Passe to shoote off fiftie one Peeces of Ordnance at our arriual heere in this Road, which he intended presently to doe. The *Italian* intreated that he might first giue his Master to vnderstand thereof, which was granted, and the Purser willed to giue him five Rials of eight, and his Boate one, his name was *Mustafa Trudgeman*. The Ordnance shot out of each shippe was, The *Cloue* nineteene, *Hector* seuentee, *Thomas* fiftene Peeces. The Towne answered with five Peeces of excellent Ordnance, and two Gallies three a-piece. These Gallies were stout Gallies, of five and twentie Oares on a side, and well fitted, yards vp. The Captaines name whereof was *Mamy*, and the Captaines name of the Towne *Mahumet-bey*.

The seuenteenth, the Generall receiued a present from the Gouvernour *Ider Aga*, that is to say, three Bullockes, twentie Hens, two baskets of Plantens, and two of Limons, with many complements, desiring him to come ashore. He returned him a faire fowling Peece, and willed the Messenger to tell him that hee desired to haue a sufficient pledge from him for his safe returne, (when he should come) for reasons not vnkowne to the Gouvernour.

The Gouvernour sent his Secretarie vnto the Generall with a Letter to know what answer he had formerly returned him by *Mustafa Trudgeman*: for he hauing giuen him at much intreatie a Bottle of Wine was so drunke therewith before he got to the Gouvernour, as that he could not speake: which being certified by the Secretarie, on the eighteenth Master *Cokes*, and *Bolton* our Linguist were sent ashore, to acquaint the Gouvernour that the Generalls comming was to intreate Trade, and that whensoever it pleased him to lend a man of equall worth to remayne with the ships, as a pledge for his safe returne, hee would in person come and visit him: and also to let him vnderstand that our Generall was not ignorant of the wrongs done by *Regib Aga* vnto Sir *Henry Middleton* his Countrey-man and his Companie. But if we might now haue quiet Trade, all matters passed should be forgotten, and we would treat with him of such our business as the *G. and Signior* had giuen vs leaue, which we hoped should bee for all our goods. The Secretarie remayned aboard, pledge for Master *Cokes* and *Bolton*; he did eate of our victuals, but had it dressed by his owne people. At night they returned hauing bene well vsed, feasted, vested in cloth of S. luer, and carryed vp and downe the Towne with Musicke before them, to giue the people to vnderstand how welcome they were, as Master *Cokes* vnderstood it. But at their comming away, they were brought into a house, and dis-robed of their Vests. The Generall asked the Secretarie whether it were ordinary and vsuall with them to doe so, he answered; Yes: he replied that in no other part of *Turkie* the like was done, that euer he heard of. In the end the Secretarie was dismissed, and halfe a Violet Kerse giuen him: hee was very importunate to know whether the Generall were not of kinne vnto Sir *Henrie Middleton*. The like was demanded of Master *Cokes* by them ashore, fearing that hee was come to take reuenge of them.

### The Letter written from his mouth is this.

**R**ight worthy and my esteemed good Friend, I haue had conference with them you sent ashore, and haue vsed them in the best sort our Countrey fashion doth affoord, inuesting them with Robes, and conducting them backe with Musicke, that the Countrey people might take notice how you come and are receiued in Amitie. And if it be your pleasure to come ashore to me to morrow, I will giue you the best entertaynement the place will affoord, with a true and vpright heart, without guile or deceit, & will send you my Secretarie or any other pledge you shall esteeme fitting, if it please you to send me word thereof by my Interpreter, which is now aboard your ship, the time you will haue me send my pledge, and haue you meane to come ashore. I haue written yesternight to letter Balha, and it will bee some fourteene or fiftene dayes before I haue answer from him. Yet in the meane-time if you please to send any of your people ashore to buy either fresh victuals, or any thing else the Countrey will affoord, they shall be welcome. As also to sell any thing they please without any molestation at all. And so expecting your answer, I cease from Moha, the five and twentieth of Moharem, De 1021. de Mahomet.

Dus Como bono Amico

Aidar Aga Aga de Mucha.



I haue also diuers Letters of *Mamy* Captaine of *Mucha* (*Moha*) or of the Gallies there, vn-  
to the Generall, which to auoide prolixitie, and because the substance is as the former, I omit. I  
haue yet caused some of the Seales to be cut, and heere added for the raritie, being not in wax,  
but stamper of Inke, in forme as heere is expresse.



Likewise I haue added a piece of a Letter in the *Banian* hand and Language (common in great  
part of the *Indies*) written from the *Sabander* in *Moha*, to Captaine *Saris*.

Handwritten text in the Banian hand, consisting of several lines of script.

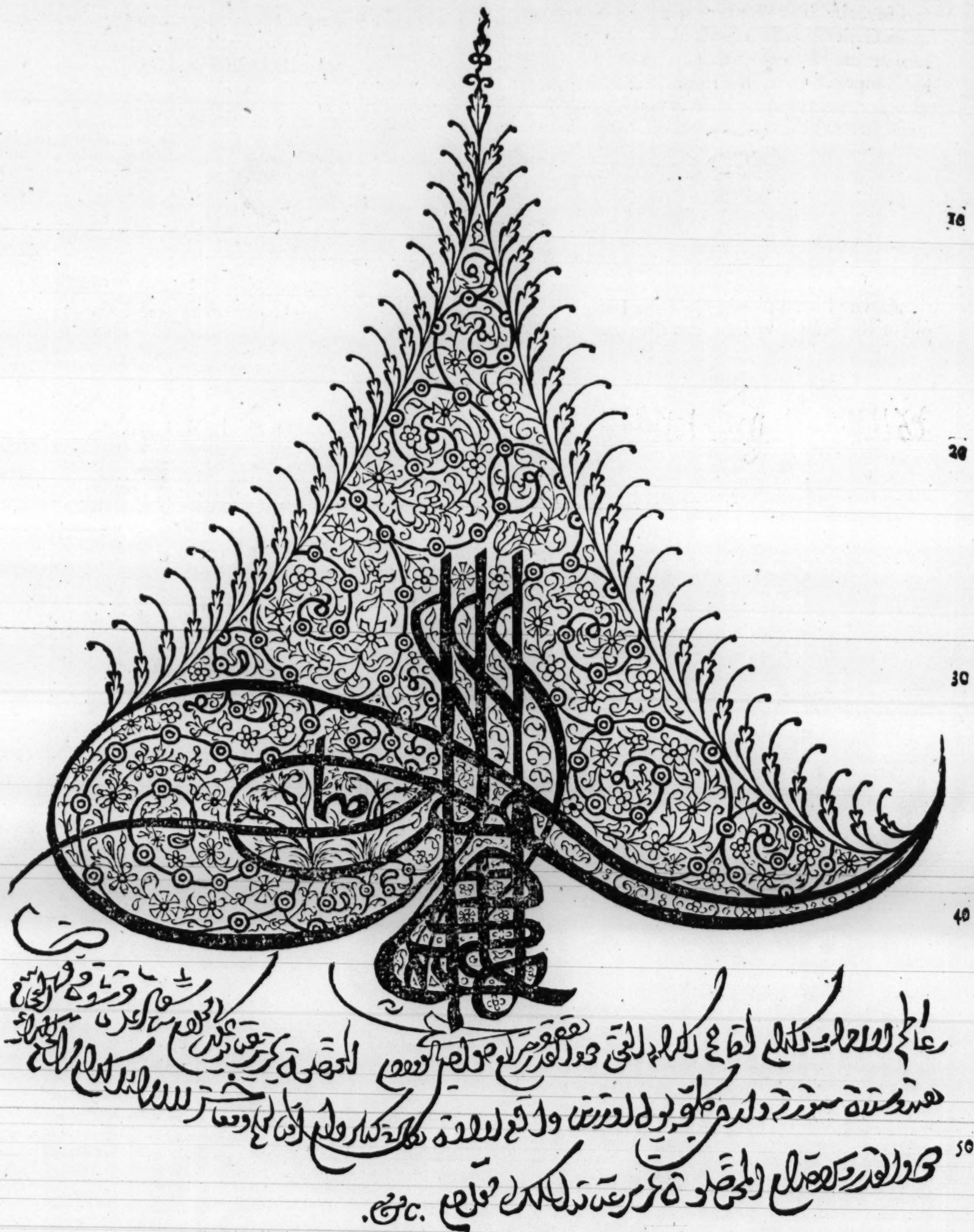
The twentieth, the Gouverneur sent aboard, according to agreement the day before, *Mabu-*  
*met Aga* Admirall of the shoare, and Commander of the Roade for the *Turkes* Custome and An-  
chorage, And *Nasuffe* a graue old man, with two attendants proper men to remayne pledges for  
the Generall. So he went ashore with all the Merchants, the three Skiffes well fitted, and had  
one and fiftie Peeces of Ordnance shot out of the ships at parting. Hee was receiued at the lan-  
ding place by the Captaine of the Gallies, and diuers other principall men, with Waites, Drums,  
and other Muscull Instruments playing before, and diuers Peeces shot out of the Castle, the peo-  
ple following in such abundance, that we could hardly passe. Hauing passed two Guards of verie  
proper men well clad, we were brought into the Gouvernours House, which is built all of Free-  
stone, with very faire and large staires, and so were led into a roome spred with rich Carpets,  
at the vpper end of the roome was a window made after the fashion of our Bay-windowes:  
where a Silke Quilt was spread vpon the floore, and two Cushions of Cloth of Siluer, laid there-  
on, he was requested to sit downe. But presently the Gouverneur came forth of another Cham-  
ber accompanied with fise or sixe persons richly apparelled, himselfe in a Gowne of Cloth of  
Siluer, faced with rich Furre. He tooke the Generall by the hand, kist his owne hand, and put it  
to his head. Then he led him by the hand to the said window, where they sate downe, and af-  
ter some few complements, he deliuered vnto the Gouverneur our Kings Letter, which Master  
*Cockes* did reade, and *Bolton* our Linguist interpreted to the Captaine of the Gallies, and hee to  
the *Aga*, which course hee held for state. After, he deliuered him the *Grand Signiors* Passe,  
which he gaue to his Secretarie to reade, which done, he tooke it, kist it, and layd it vpon his head  
without further ceremonie.

Generall *Saris*  
landeth at  
*Moha*

The Originall I haue in my hands, and haue caused a little of the beginning to be here expref-  
fed, and therewith the forme of the *Grand Signiors* Seale, (a little contracted to come with-  
in the Page) and heere, to giue delight to the Curious Reader, annexed. All the larger  
strokes or lines are Gold, the rest Azure, with Red here and there beautifully intermixed.  
After which followeth the same Letters Patent, for better Patencie, Englished out of the *A-*  
*rabique*.

The





## The Great Turkes Letters Patents Englished.

**Y**OU that are My most Laudable, Fortunate, Wealthie, and great Vice-reys and Beglerbeys, that are on the way from My most Happy and Imperiall Throne (both by Sea and Land) unto the Confines and Bounds of the East-Indies: Owners of some part of Dignitie, and those unto whom belongeth to giue aide, helpe, and succour in Gods cause, and Muſlimanicall Religion, upon thier Emperours becke, The Wealth and Greatnesse of whom let it continue for ever. Likewise un-



to yee My most Laudable and Valiant Saniacq Beys, that are under the above-named Beglerbeys, officers, and hope of future greater Dignities, and those unto whom belongeth dutifull aide and help in Gods cause and Religion, upon their Emperours direction: the Honour and Dignitie of whom bee ever continuing. And unto yee, My most Laudable, Wise, and Prudent Iustices, of Peace, Iudges, and Ministers of Iustice, that are within the Precincts of the said Saniacq Beys, whose Iudgements, Iustice, and Words doe flow, as from a fountaine of all Wisedome and Prudence: The Worthinesse and Greatnesse of whose Dignitie and Function, let it continue for ever. Also unto yee My Laudable, Great, and most Worthy Captaines and Reyles of all Our Navies and Shipping that swimme upon the face of the Sea. Unto yee My laudable Captaines, of the Castles, Cities, and Townes: And unto yee worthy and laudable Customers, dwelling upon the Sea-coast, upon Rivers, Bridges, and all other parts of our Dominions, and thereunto adjacent. Upon sight of this My most High and Imperiall Commandement, in conformitie of your most bound duties, yee shall arise, and doe obeisance and Reuerence thereunto.

Herby yee shall understand, that the Embassadour of the King of Great Brittainie that resideth in Our happie and most high Port, hath giuen vs to understand by his Supplication; That forasmuch as some of his Masters the King of Great Brittainie his subiects, haue with great charge and labour, discovered a Trade in the East-Indies; and withall understand of Wealth, & likelihood of Trade in some Parts of Our Dominions by the way to be had in their Passage to the said Indies, beeing therefore desirous to visit those places for the better enlarging of their said Trade. To the ende that such men may in so good and laudable enterprises haue all fauour, aide, and helpe (so farre as lawfully and conueniently may be graunted) Hath requested vs in the Name of his said Master the King of Great Brittainie, to vouchsafe them our safe-conduct and recommendations. In conformitie of whose request, as also in regard We and our Predecessors, are and haue beene for the space of many yeeres in strict league and Amitie, with the afore-mentioned King of Great Brittainie, and the Subiects of that Kingdome, who long haue had, and at this present haue free Traffique and Trade in merchandizing in our Dominions and Prouinces through the Mediterranean Seas. Wee therefore doe command, and expressely charge yee all, and euery of yee, our above mentioned Subiects and Officers, that yee will not only kindly and louingly intertaine and receiue the said Merchants and Subiects of Great Brittainie, comming or passing through or by any of Our Dominions, especially intending to trade, to the Dominions of Yemen, Aden, and Mohit, and the parts adioyning thereunto. Assisting and relieuing them with all things needfull for themselves, their men and Ships: but also freely to permit them by Land or by Sea, to goe or saile, outward and returning, euen as their occasions shall require, and to remaine in any of our Dominions, Countreys, or Cities, granting them such libertie of Traffique, and Priuiledges as shall be reasonable without giuing or suffering any let or hinderance, iniurie, or molestation to be offered or done vnto them. Yea, yee shall yeeld vnto them such Offices of Beneuolence and Humanity, as shall bee meet and conuenient to be yeelded vnto honest men and strangers, undertaking so long and laborious a Voyage. And if so be that We shall understand, that contrary to the Capitulations, the Amitie, and League, which is betweene vs and the King of Great Brittainie, yee doe offer them the least wrong, and any way molest and trouble the said Merchants in their Traffique, and ought else: Know ye for certaine, that yee shall not onely incurr Our high displeasure, but yee shall be punished for example vnto others: and therefore carry your selues conformable to this My Imperiall Commandement, and giue credit to this My Imperiall Ensigne. Written at Our Mansion Guard at Constantinople, on the fifteenth day of the Moone called Zuliegie. Anno. 1019.

The Gouvernour afterward tooke a Copie thereof, and returned it againe.

He told our Generall that he was welcome, desiring that what had formerly been past, touching Sir Henry Middleton, might not be remembred, for that the quarrell grew by two drunken men, and was by the then Gouvernour rashly followed, for which he was displaced fve Moneths since. And as concerning Trade, he could not permit any great matter, till he had direction from his Master Isafar Basha of Sinan, whom he had written vnto, and would within tenne or twelue dayes returne an answer, earnestly intreating that he would permit his people to come on shoare to buy what they wanted, and to sell small matters, to the end that the Naturalls might see that we were in peace and amitie together, and that what was past was forgotten. These his speeches made good what the Generall had formerly conceiued, touching the doubt that the East-Indian ships would make of their comming in here, vnlesse they vnderstood that wee were all friends: and their not comming in here, would bee a great hinderance to euery Officer of this Port. Besides, we riding so neere the shoare (as we did of purpose) as that no laden ship could come in, but that she must perforce ride within call of vs, which did put them in the greater feare: whereby he reckoned himselfe sure of Trade, either a shoare or aboard the ships, and that keeping the Towne in this awe, he might the more boldly aduenture his skiffe and people to the shoare, to fetch what our ships wanted.

The Gouvernour feasted them very royally at a dinner, with all sorts of wild fowle, Hennes, Goates, Mutton, Creame, Custards, diuers made dishes, and Confections, all serued in Vessels of Tinne (different from our Pewter) and made Goblet-fashion with feet, the dishes so placed the one vpon the other, that they did reach a yard high as we saie, and yet each dish fit to bee dealt vpon without remouue. The meate was all serued vp at once, and that before we sat down.

Our



Our drinke was water simply, or else water boyled with an herbe called *Canhan* therein, which is in tast somewhat bitter. We did sit crosse-legged vpon Carpets laid vpon the shoare: for there they vsed neither Tables nor Stooles. Dinner ended, he led the Generall into an inner Chamber, where he had fowre little boyes that attended him; beeing his bugging boyes: there they two being set vpon a crimson Veluet Carpet, the rest of the Chamber shoare beeing spread with very rich Carpets, one of the boyes bearing a linnen napkin in his hand, did vsheer in two of the other, whereof the first had a siluer Chaffing-dish with coales, the other brought a dish wherein were diuers rich perfumes, viz. Amber-greece, Lignum Aloes, and others. The Gouvernour requested the Generall to let the Boy couer his head close with the napkin; which done, the other Boy held the Chaffing-dish, with the perfumes put therein, vnder his head, that he might receiue the fume which was very pleasant. After he had finished, the Gouvernour and two other chiefe men about him did the like, being as it seemeth a ceremony much vsed among them. Hauing conferred a while together, there came in three of the Boyes again. The one brought a Vest or Gowns of cloth of Gold, wrapped vp in a case of Taffatie, died in Saffron to preserue the colour of the Gold. The other Boy had a Shash or Turbant striped all with Gold, and in length twenty two yards: the third a Damaskeen, or Turkish Sword, richly garnished with Siluer and Gilt, both Hilt and Scabberd. The Gouvernour himselfe did put the Vest vpon the General, & did girt the Damaskeen vnto his side, telling him, That they were not presents from himselfe, but commanded by the *Grand Signior*, who (as he said) did bestow them, and intreated him to ride with the *Cady*, (who is chiefe Iustice there) and the Captaine of the Gallies, about the Towne, that the people might take notice of the amitie and friendship that was betwixt vs. They brought a horse richly trapped, the mettall worke of the bridle all of Siluer: but he rather chose to goe on foot, that he might the better view the Towne, whereto they gaue consent, and so wee walked together about the Town, and hauing viewed a house wherein to haue settled our Factory, I was brought to the house of the Captaine of the Gallies, where he had a costly banquet. And thus returning by the Gouvernours house, he met him vpon the staires, where againe earnestly intreating that the discourtesies offered Sir *Henry* might be forgotten, and that it might appeare by his often coming or sending his people a shoare, they tooke their leaues one of another. And so accompanied with a great traine of the best of the Towne, he returned aboard, where the shippes discharged fifteen peeces of Ordnance. The *Turkes* that remained pledges hauing diuers Presents giuen them, were sent friendly on shoare, and had fifteen Peeces shot off at their parting.

The one and twentieth, the Generall sent M. *Cocks* and others a shoare with a Present to the Gouvernour, a case of Bottles fild with *Rosa Solis*, which he did earnestly desire the Generall to giue him, and to send it so wrapped vp, as that it might not be knowne what it was: likewise was sent two Vests of Violet broad cloth to his Eunuches. They had further directions giuen them to enquire a shoare what Customes were due in and out, the weights, measures, valuations of Coynes, prizes of Indicos, Callicoes, Cotton-yearne, and other Commodities fit for vs to lade. Also to procure the Iewe to come aboard, who was in the *Ascension* at her casting away, neere the Barre of *Surat*, and could giue vs certaine intelligence of Sir *Henries* successe.

Note of Moha  
Roade.

Extemitie of  
heate beginneth  
in the fine of  
May.

Note, that this Road of *Moha* is very open and dangerous, with very shoald water a mile off the Towne low land euen with the Sea. At this present the wind South South-west a great storme, which caused such a Sea, as that we did send not lesse then seuen feete, riding in fise fathome; and the wind at West you haue no succour. But the country people say, that in the time of those winds, which beginne in the fine of May, the extemitie of heate is such, as that it deads the wind, which maketh that season very contagious.

The thirtie one, the General vnderstood from the Captaine of the Towne that yester-night late arryued the Messenger from the *Grand Basha*, with Letters to the Gouvernour to this effect, That he should yeeld vs peaceable Trade, both on shoare, and with the *Indian* ships, as he would answer the contrary at his perill, and to let vs furnish our selues with what we wanted. He was doubtfull of the certaintie of this pleasing newes, for that not halfe an houre before, M. *Cocks* had speech with the Gouvernour, who spake of no such matter. The Captaine said, that the reason of the Gouvernours not speaking thereof, was, because here was a *Jelba* bound for *Mecca*, and readie to depart, which he would not haue to know, that the Basha had graunted vs trade, fearing least they should acquaint the Sheriffe at *Mecca* therewith, who by his Letters to the *Grand Signior*, might cause the graunt to be reuoked. But we rather thinke the Basha hath returned some harsh answer, with direction to doe that vnto vs, which as yet he cannot effect, we being so watchfull and wary ouer him, and therefore will not be knowne to haue receiued answer from *Sinan*, till better bethinking. Note that *Hosoroofe* (one that closely had sent a letter of M. *Femells*, testifying their treacherous vsage here) did now send word by our Linguist, That the Generall should beware of comming a shoare himselfe, vnlesse he had good pledges as formerly, and then he might boldly come, but otherwise not to trust them, though the Gouvernour should sweare vpon his *Alcaron*: for they were souldiers, and did not much respect oathes: and as hee heard, the newes that was come from the Basha did not tend to our Benefit: for that the Copy of the *Grand Signiors* passe was not as then come to the Bashaes hands: But then should be fully seene what would be done, which would be within sixe dayes.



The second of Aprill, 1612. the Caravan from *Grand Cayro* in *Egypt*, arrived here in *Moha*. The third, came into the Road two *Indian* ships, one of *Chaul*, the other of *Cananor*, their lading Indicos, and Callicos, Pintados, Amber-greece, and Cotten-yarne, with at least foure hundred passengers, who carried much wealth about them. We saluted them with nine Peeces of Ordnance out of our Fleet. They answered with three Chambers a Peece beeing all they had. The Generall sent the Skiffe, to enquire what newes vpon the Coast of *Surat*. The Captaine sent word that there were three *English* ships trading there, but further could not tell. The Captaine of the Towne with five chiefe *Janisaries* came aboard, beeing sent by the Gouvernour, to let our Generall vnderstand, that the Bascha had written vnto him to intreate and vse vs kindly, and to permit vs peaceable Trade, desiring the Generall that hee would in person come a shoare the next morning, and he should further vnderstand. He craued pardon, not forgetting *Hosroofoes* admonition. But Captaine *Tower*son being desirous to goe a shoare, the Captaine was requested to tell the Gouvernour, that the Generall vpon good pledge would the next morning send his Brother vnto him, which was well liked of: so hauing feasted the Captaine and his retinew, and giuen them diuers Presents, they were sent a shoare, with twentie one Peeces of Ordnance at parting, which he sent word that he tooke so well, as that we should not want the best assistance he could doe vs.

Aprill.  
Caravan of  
Cayro.  
Indian ships.

The fourth in the morning, though the pledges were not yet come, yet desirous to see what the Bascha had ordered, Captaine *Tower*son was sent a shoare: for we held the two *Indian* shippes which rid hard by vs, for sufficient pledge, if on shore any iniury should be offered. The Gouvernour vsed him friendly, and vested him to content, but nothing was effected of that hee went about, the *Turkes* not performing their promise. The Gouvernour sent word, that it would be fitting to send two of our men of good fashion vp to the Bascha to *Sinan*, with the Kings Letter and Present, and then speedy dispatch would be had to our liking. Whereof the General approoued, intending the next day to lay out a Present for him.

The fifth, the Captaine of the Gallies sent aboard three letters, which the last night came to the Gouvernours hands, from *S. Henry Middleton*, and Captaine *Sharpeigh*, who rid then at an anchor at *Bab mandel*. The effect whereof was, That he was come from *Surat*, and had little or no Trade there. That Captaine *Hawkins* vpon distast was come from *Agra*, and with his wife was aboard his ship. That he had brought all away from thence, except one man of Captaine *Hawkins*, which went ouer Land for *England*. And that he was come backe to bee reuenged of the *Turks*, wishing our Generall to get his goods and people aboard with all speed. Hereupon he altered what yesternight was agreed vpon, and forthwith sent one of the Marchants away to *Sir Henry* with a letter of the proceedings of his Voyage, and of the manner of our entertainment here hitherto: that if he had not thus come in, he had on Monday sent two men of fashion vp to *Sinan*.

Three letters  
from Sir Henry  
Middleton and  
Capt. Sharpeigh

Note, the two *Indian* ships aforesaid, did discharge here these goods following: Lignum Aloes sixtie Kintals, Indico sixe hundred Churles out of both ships, Shashes of all sorts great store, Cinnamon of *Celon* one hundred and fiftie Bahars, each Bahar three Churles and an halfe, Osfar which is a red die, great quantitie, Cloues great store, Bastas or white Callicos from twentie to fortie Royals the Corge, (a Corge being twentie pieces) a great quantitie. The Price of Indico was from thirty to thirty five, fortie, and fiftie Rials the Churle.

Indian Mer-  
chandise.

The seuenth, the Generall writ to the Captaine of the Towne, that he should procure the *Indian* Merchants to barter with him at reasonable rates for such of their commodities as he should desire, and as might serue to lade one of our ships, which doing would satisfie *S. Henry* of their now friendly meaning towards vs, and cause him to forbear all hostile attempts.

At this present, there was a great rumour spread in the Towne, of a *Jelba* or two, which *Sir Henry* had taken (comming ouer from the *Abesh* side with victuall) in respect whereof, we durst scarcely aduenture our Skiffe and Ging a shoare.

The Generall receiued another letter from Captaine *Mamee*. That the answer which the Gouvernour had receiued from the Bascha, was in these words; Ider Aga, You haue writ me that three *English* ships are come to *Moha*, to trade in merchandise, with the Grand Signiors Passe: Give them faithfull promise from me to come on shoare, to take a house untill the Monson be past, to buy and sell. You haue likewise writ me, that they will send vp two men vnto me: give them all things fit for their iourney, &c. Captaine *Mamee* did further write, that what our Generall would propound, the Aga and hee would vnderwrite. That for bartering, they would doe something for loue, but nothing by force, and were as willing to lade all the three ships as one.

Note, as we were informed, the weight here vsed is called an Inen, which is two Rottalas, a Rottala is a pound of their weight: tenne Inens is twentie pound of theirs, which makes twenty three pound *English* haberdeweize, sometimes foure and twentie pounds as the Weigher will befriend you. A Churle of Indico by their weight is an hundred and fiftie pound, and of ours betwixt an hundred and sixtie sixe, and an hundred and seuentie pound. Cotten wooll is sold by the Bahar, which is three hundred Rottalas, making betwixt three hundred thirty two pound, and three hundred forty foure pound *English*, at eighteen Royals the Bahar, very good & cleane. Their measure

Weights of  
*Moha*.



measure of length is called a Peeke, contayning seuen and twentie inches, or three quarters of our *English* yard.

The ninth, the *Gouernour* sent off a Canoa to intreate me, that the *Generall* in the morning he would send a hoare, and he should haue both the *Bashas* answer, and a warrant to stay all such Iunckes as shall passe *Sir Henrie*, and force them to come in hither, and trade with them for such of their goods as he desired, &c. and that he would suffer his people to come ashore, because the *Merchants* were now growne fearefull, by reason of *Sir Henries* staying some of the ships.

The tenth, *Master Cockes* was sent ashore, had conference with the *Gouernour*, and *Captaine Mamy*: who told him that they were now fully resolved, that what they had formerly promised, they might not performe, the *Cadie* disliking thereof, saying, that they might hazard their owne liues thereby: That neither *Merchant* nor *Broker* would come aboard (as our *General* had requested) the *Knight* had so discontented them: That they of *Grand Cairo* had their *Factors* there, which lay purposely to ingrosse *Indicoes*, and other *Indian* Commodities, whereof they would not buy vntill they should see what quantitie would come: That the *Bannians* (or *Indian* Liegers ashore) which haue *Indicoes* in their hands, would not sell, hoping of a scarcitie: he also brought word, that they denie ashore to buy any of our goods, vnlesse wee will land them first.

Note, the *Grand Signiors* Custome of this Port *Moha*, is worth yearly vnto him fifteen hundred thousand *Chicquenes*, (which rated at five shillings sterling a piece, is yeerely thirtie seuen thousand five hundred pounds sterling) according to the report of the *Gouernour* to *Master Cockes*.

¶. III.

*Their Aduentures with Sir HENRY MIDDLETON, with other Observations of those parts, and arriual at Bantam.*

**T**He eleuenth, the *Generall* caused the *Merchandizing Councell* to meete and consult what was best to be done, seeing that *Sir Henrie* thus kept the Iunckes from coming in thither, and that there was then no further hope of Trade heere. It was agreed vpon, that vntill the *Monson* would permit vs to proceed further, wee should continue friendship with the *Towne*, as hitherto we had done, &c.

The twelfth, the *Generall* being informed of *Sir Henries* earnest desire to speake with mee, and protestations of great kindnesse and loue, resolved to goe vnto him; and so willed the *Master* with the first wind to set sayle for *Babmandell*. Whereof hee did let the *Gouernour* of the *Towne* to vnderstand, and tooke a Letter of his to carrie to *Sir Henrie*, the better to continue friendship still with him.

The fourteenth, in the morning we arriued at the *Bab*, where wee found the *Trades Increase* riding, and foure *Indian* Iunckes or ships. The *Generall* went aboard the *Trade*, where hee remained vntill night, but nothing could at that time be concluded vpon betwixt the *Generals*.

The fifteenth *Sir Henry* came aboard the *Cloue*.

The sixteenth, our *General* seeing *Sir Henries* resolution, called his *Councell* together, & acquainted them with what he obserued thereupon, and that in regard, that by these brabbles and iarres happened betwixt *Sir Henrie*, the *Turkes* and the *Cambayans*, our hopes of any Trade to be had at *Surat*, was as small, as that which we had already found at *Moha*: Our best course would be, that the *Hector* and *Thomas* should waigh anchor & ply between *Aden* and the *Bab*, The *Cloue* to keep the *Abesh* Channell there, that none might passe by in the night, and so to meet with as many of the *Indian* ships as we could, to whom we might put off our *Broad-cloth*, *Leade*, *Tinne*, *Iron*, and *Elephants Teeth* (Commodities which were provided for those parts) in barter for such as he knew would vent well in those Countries, whither wee were afterwards to goe: if wee lighted vpon *Indicoes*, they would be good for *England* also. That he had certaine intelligence of two very great ships daily expected, called the *Rehmi* and the *Hasani* the least of them (by report) able to lade the *Hector*, with requestable Commodities: Hereunto they generally assented, to be put in practice with the first wind.

The *Generall* went aboard the *Trade*, where at length this agreement was made: that both *Fleets* should ioyne to trade with as many of the *Indian* ships as they could meet with, and to exchange our *English* Commodities with them for theirs: *Sir Henrie* to dispose of two third parts of all the goods which should be bartered for from this day forwards, and *Generall Saris* the other third. The *Grand Signior* to haue his Custome paid. Hereof Writings were made, being sealed and deliuered betwixt them. The *Hector* and *Thomas* were appointed to ply betweene the North end of *Babmandell* and the *Abesh* shoare, to meete with all such as should come that way: with charge that no man should take the value of a penie out of them, or offer the least violence to any of their persons, &c.



The eighteenth, in the evening, a ship of *Cananor* arrived laden with Spice, Drugs and other Commodities.

The Generall set saile for *Moba*, the wind at South and South by East a stiffe gale, where we arrived within five houres after. The Gouvernour presently sent off to vs intreating to know how all things passed at the *Bab*; requesting that our Linguist might bee sent ashore to acquaint him therewith, which was accordingly done.

The twentieth, the Skiffe was sent ashore to fetch our Linguist, who returned and brought a present of fresh victuals from the Gouvernour to our Generall. The Gouvernour intreated to have a muster of our Commodities, which Master *Cokes* carried presently to him: hee liked of diuers colours of our Broad-cloth, promising to take for a thousand Rials besides some quantitie of Tinne and Lead. Many others desired to have Lead and Iron, wherefore he intreated that in the morning some quantitie thereof might bee brought ashore, for hee having once begun, the Merchants would certainly follow and trade with vs.

He sent three samples of *Indico*, but none of *Labor*, which is round and the best. The price a hundred Rials the Churle; which is an hundred seven and twentie pound or Rottalas of *Moba*, and about a hundred and fittie pound *English*. But they would not sell by any other weight, then that they bought by, which they might very well doe, the price so vnreasonable: for wee esteemed the three sorts to bee worth but thirtie, fortie and five and fortie the best the Churle.

Our Generall writ to Sir *Henry* and Captain *Tower*, and sent his Letters ouer land by *Mahumed*, Secretarie to the Gallies.

The one and twentieth we sent ashore eight Clothes, one Tunne of Iron, one Tunne of Lead, two Chests of Tinne of sixe hundred weight. They offered for foure of the best clothes three halfe Rials the Peeke, which should be seven and twentie inches, but measured by another Peeke, proued to be one and thirtie inches. The Bahar of Tinne, an hundred and twentie Rials. The Bahar of Iron, twelue Rials. Lead fifteene Rials, which were no prices to our liking. At night the Merchants returned with their Commodities aboard againe.

The five and twentieth, the Generall (vpon conference with Master *Cokes*) resolved to set saile and goe to *Assab*, where we came to an anchor.

The seven and twentieth, about eight at night hee found the *Trade* and *Hector* riding there, with eleuen saile of Iunkes or *Indian* shippes of severall places. Note, that comming into this Road or Harbor, keepe the Northerne side aboard, leauing a little Rocke or Hummocke on your star-boord side, then we had twelue, eleuen, ten, nine, eight and seven fathome sandie ground, and in seven fathome wee let fall our anchor about halfe a mile off the shoare.

The thirtieth, the Generall sent his Skiffe to the Iunkes, to giue warning to the *Nobodais*, and Merchants, that they should not offer to set saile without his leaue. The *Nobodas* and principall of them requested, that such of their goods as wee desired might bee sorted out of hand, that they might not loose their Monson of going to *Iudda*, offering to bring aboard our shippes what packes wee would to be opened there, and to carrie backe what we refused.

The ninth of May, 1612. I caused the *Indian* ships to be measured, which were found to bee of the scantlings following, viz. The *Rehemy*, was long from sterne to sterne-post, an hundred three and fittie foot. For rake from the Post aste, seuateene foot. From the top of her sides in bredth, two and fortie. Her depth, one and thirtie.

The *Mahomedee* in length, an hundred sixe and thirtie foot. Her rake aste, twentie. In bredth, one and fortie. In depth, nine and twentie and an halfe. Her maine Mast in length, was sixe and thirtie yards, an hundred and eight. Her maine yard, foure and fortie yards, an hundred two and thirtie.

The other were not much lesse.

The tenth, Captaine *Mamy* came from *Moba* to treat with Sir *Henry* concerning his demand. But first he came aboard the *Cloue*, where hee was friendly entertayned, and after the Generall went with him aboard the *Trade*, where he deliuered to Sir *Henrie* two Letters, viz. one from the Basha of *Sinan*, and the other from the *Aga* of *Moba*: the effect, to know what he demanded of them, for they were ignorant of any after iniurie offered to him, & for the former they said that they had giuen him satisfaction before his departure. Wherefore they intreated the Iunkes might bee discharged and sent for *Moba*. His answere was, that hee demanded satisfaction for the losse of his mens liues, & for the making of him lose his Monson, to the ouerthrow of his Voyage. *Mamy* said, if he would write his minde, he should haue answere from the Basha in foureteene dayes.

The twelfth, Captaine *Mamy* returned with Letters from Sir *Henrie*.

The fifteenth, the King of *Rehita* being a pettie Prince vpon the *African* or *Abeffe* side, came riding downe vpon a Cow to visit Sir *Henrie* and our Generall: he had a Turbant on his head, a piece of a Periwinkle shell hanging on his fore-head, in stead of a Iewell, apparelled like a *Moore*, all naked (sauiug a Pintado about his loines) attended with an hundred and fittie men in battaile after their manner, weaponed with Darts, Bowes and Arrowes, and Sword and Targets: both the Generals went ashore with an hundred shot and Pike to preuent all Treacheries, that

The K. of *Rehita* riding vpon a Cow, visiteth both the Generals.



the *Turkes* might plot against them by colour of this courtesie, being loath to let him returne without an enteruiew, lest they should want the refreshing which they might haue by his friendship heere at *Affab*, which is vnder his command. They presented him with diuers gifts, and (according to his desire) did giue him his lading of *Aquauita*, that hee was scarce able to stand; they are *Mahometanes*, being a blacke hard-fauoured people, with curled pates. The King bestowed vpon our Generall five Bullockes, and proffered all the assistance he might doe them.

This day the *Pepper-Corne* arriued from *Aden*, bringing with her a *Iuncke*, which came from *Sinde*, or the *Riuer Indus*, laden with Butter, Oyle, and *Cambaya* cloath. They brought vs newes that *Mallacamber*, Captaine of the great shippe of *Diu* had escaped them with his shippe, and was arriued at *Moha*, passing in sight of them; the *Pepper-Corne* shot at her, but could not reach her, shee went so well. This was the ship for which the *Pepper-Corne* had purposely weighed, and which the *Thomas* and *Darling* had so long expected to haue come to *Babo*. 10

This day our Generall had a note deliuered him of the prises of commodities, how they were lately bought and sold at *Surat*, whereof the copie followeth, viz. Broad-cloath of three and twentie pound a Cloath seuerall colours, twentie Mamoodyes, the Conido of five and thirtie Inches and five Mamoodyes make one Riall of eight. Kersies eightie foure Mamoodyes the piece, which was lesse then ours did cost in *England*. Lead the great Maund, thirtie three pound, at seuen and one third part of Mamoodyes. Tinne the small Maund, five and twentie pound, at five and a halfe Rialls of eight. At *Dabull*, Iron the Bahar, containing three hundred and threescore pound, at one and twentie Rialls the Bahar. Peees damasked, from twelue to eighteene Rialls the piece. Ellephants teeth, threescore and five Mamoodyes, the great Maund of three and thirtie pound. Indico Cirkesa, three sorts, whereof the best at fourteene Rupias, which make halfe a Riall of eight: the second sort, twelue Rupias; the third sort eight, the great Maund of three and thirtie pound. Indico Lahor, which is best of all; three sorts, whereof the best at fixe and thirtie, the second at thirtie, the third at foure and twentie Rupias, the Maund of five and fiftie pound. Charges of bringing it to the waterside, ten in the hundred for the Cirkesa, and twentie in the hundred custome for Lahor. 20

The seuenteenth, we began to weigh Lead, and deliuer our *English* commodities to the Captains & Masters of the Iuncks, in part of paiement of the goods, which we had receiued of them. 30

The *Thomas* is  
dispatched for  
*Socatra*, *Priaman*  
and *Tecoo*.

The three and twentieth, the *Thomas* manned with nine and fortie men, all in health, set saile for *Socatra*, for Aloes: and from thence for *Priaman* and *Tecoo*, vpon *Sumatra*, for Pepper.

The one and thirtieth, the messenger from the Basha of *Siman*, the *Sabander* of the *Bannians* at *Moha*, and Captaine *Mamy* arriued at *Affab*, to compound the differences with Sir *Henry Middleton*.

June 24.

The foure and twentieth of Iune, the *Trade* set saile out of *Affab* Road for *Moha*, and the five and twentieth day, the *Cloane* did follow. The same night they in *Moha* made great Bonfires, and Fire-workes, which for that they had not done the like before when wee were there, wee supposed them therewith to braue vs.

The fixe and twentieth, our Generall sent his Skiffe to the shoare with letters to the *Aga*, the *Sabandar*, and Captaine *Mamy*, and gaue the Cockson charge not to put ashore, for feare of surprising. The effect of these letters was, to see what readie money might bee procured to cleare the accounts betwixt the *Indians* and vs. The nine and twentieth, the *Gouernour* returned an answer to our Generall, more ceremonious then of substance; so that the thirtieth day we returned againe to *Affab* Road. 40

July 1.

The first of Iuly the *Trade* came thither likewise, and fell to our old trade of bartering for *Indian* commodities.

The fift, *Mere Mahumood Tookee*, Captaine of the *Rehemi* of *Surat* (which was the Queene Mothers ship) brought diuers dishes of meate aboard the *Cloane*, being dressed after their fashion; he was accompanied with diuers of his principall merchants, who were all kindly entertained: his shippe was at the least of twelue hundred Tunnes. 50

The eleuenth, we all visited the *Cloane* and *Hector*: the *Trade* and *Pepper-Corne* weighed anchor and set saile for *Moha*, together with seuen of the *Indian* ships, which for the most part of them were better then any of vs any way: in the euening we anchored short of *Moha*.

The twelfth, we weighed and stood for *Moha*, and about three in the after-noon, we all anchored before the Towne of *Moha*.

The eighteenth, one of the Iuncks, which was indebted to vs, got in so neare the shoare, that we doubted shee would steale all her goods ashore. Whereupon, the next day, the *Cloane* and the *Pepper-Corne* did warpe nearer, and discovered many *Ielbaes* aboard the Iuncke to vnlade her, but at their going ashore, the *Cloane*, *Hector* and *Pepper-corne*, made many shot at them, so as the men forsooke both the Iuncks and the *Ielbaes* and twomme ashore; the Castle nor Towne not once shooting at vs, albeit we were much within command of their Ordnance. 60

The twentieth, the Gallies fearing our comming so neare, warpt behinde an Island to the Northward.

The



The seventh of August, wee had aduice of the arrivall of the great shippe of *Sues*, and foure August 7.  
great Gallies at *Bago*, a Towne on the *Abesse* side, about halfe a dayes saile from *Moha*. Our Ge-  
nerall receiued a Letter from the Gouvernour of *Moha*, shewing that this day was Festiuall a-  
mongst them, and that thereon they were accustomed to shoote off certaine Peeces of Ord-  
nance, desiring that it might not be taken in euill part, doubting lest we should hold it done in a  
brauado, and so in requitall shoote into the Towne againe. About noone they discharged seuen-  
teen Peeces out of the fort, three from the landing-place, and diuers from within the land, with  
abundance of small shot, which went off in good order; some of their great shot went a head  
vs, and some a sterne, to shew what they could doe, but all past in kindnesse: hereby wee found  
10 the report of this place false, viz. That heere were only two Peeces, and that they were not able  
in two houres to discharge them.

The eight, the *Hector* let saile for *Priaman* and *Tecoo* (the Monson now serving) having eightie eight *English* in perfect health. The *Nobodais*, or Captaines of the luncques, desired to have Passports from our General, for their better getting into their Countrey, in case they should meet with any more of our Nation : which was granted.

The tenth, all reckonings were cleared with the three Iunckes, the *Hafani*, *Caderi*, and *Mabomodi*. The eleventh, we cleared the *Rebemoy* and *Salameti*. Note our whole cargason of commodities and Rials bartered for in this place, did amount but to fortie six thousand one hundred seuentie foure Rials of eight.

I haue thought good to adde heere, two Acquittances for better vnderstanding the premises.

*In Moha Road in the Red-sea the tenth of August 1612.*

*Memorandum, That I Mahomed Hasen Comall Adeene Asben, Captaine of the Hassany of Surat, haue bartered and sold vnto Captaine John Saris, Generall of the eight Voyage into the East-Indies, for the summe of seuen thousand foure hundred Rialls of eight, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a Riall in these*  
30 *goods following, viz.*

Indicoes of both sorts 86. balles amount with profit vnto the summe of	3046	$\frac{7}{4}$	
Cambaya Cloath 316. Corges, 7. $\frac{1}{2}$ peeces, amounts to with profit, summe	4136		
Carpets three, valued at	0020		
Quilts of <i>Cotponia</i> , two, at eightie Rialls a Corge	0008		
Rice, Butter, Ginger and Sugar, amount in Rialls	0053	$\frac{7}{4}$	
For eightene yards Broad-cloath receiued backe in acccount, summe	0096		
Four balles Gumme, lacke with profit	0040	$\frac{12}{4}$	
			7400 $\frac{11}{4}$

Summe totall of all the Merchandizes sold, as aboue said, is Rialls 7400  $\frac{11}{16}$

40 And I have Receipts in payment thereof these goods following, viz.

Eight and twentie and an halfe Broad-cloathes amounts to in Rialls	4574 $\frac{1}{4}$	} 7400 $\frac{17}{4}$
Ten Pieces of Kersies amounts to	0501 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Thirtie Bahars of Lead, amounts to	0720--	
Twentie Bahars Iron, amounts to	0480--	
Four and an halfe Bahars of Tinne, amounts to	0679 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Fifteene Fowling-peece, amounts to	0445--	

Summe totall of these goods Received, amounts vnto in Rialls—74<sup>00</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$

And in witnesse of the truth, I haue hereunto set my hand and Seale  
the day and yeere aboue written.

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا منكم من أمة محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم





*In Moha Road in the Red-sea, the twelfth day of August 1812.*

*Memorandum, That I Nohada Hassan, Captaine of the good ship, called the Candrie of Diem, haue bartered and sold vnto Captaine John Saris, Generall of the eight Voyage into the East-Indies, for the summe of two thousand nine hundred fortie and sixe Rials of eight, and  $\frac{2}{3}$  parts of a Riall, in these goods following, viz.*

Indicoes of both forts, one and thirtie Bales, with profit, amounts to in Rialls—1694  $\frac{3}{4}$   
 Spicknard one Bale, Turbith one Bale, Cinamon five Bales, with profit amounts  
 Rialls—0064  $\frac{1}{4}$   
 Cloath of *Cambaya* an hundred thirtie seven Corges, and three pieces with profit, a-  
 mounts to Rialls—1188  $\frac{1}{4}$   
 Summe totall—2947  $\frac{1}{2}$  10

And I have received in payment, these goods following, viz.

Broad-cloathes, sixe pieces, for the summe of Rialls	0890 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Kerfies, ten pieces, amounts to Rialls	0477 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Lead one and thirtie Bahars and three quarters, amounts to Rialls	0762 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Iron ten Bahars, amounts to Rialls	0240	} 2947 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tinne one Bahar and an halfe, amounts to Rialls	0226 $\frac{1}{2}$	
For ling-peeces fourteene, amounts to Rialls	0350	
More Receipts in money to ballance, Rialls	0000 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Summe totall amounts to Rialls	2947 $\frac{1}{2}$	20

And in witnesse of the truth, I have hereunto set my hand and Seale  
the day and yeare above written.

नारुमानलक्ष्म 30

English commodities not  
vendible in any quantie at  
Maha.  
We departed  
for Bantam in  
Iana.

September 3.  
1612.

At the Port of *Mocha* we found not our *English* commodities vendible for any quantitie: the Naturalls poore, and the *Turkes* vnwilling to deale with vs.

The thirteenth, we set sail from *Moba* for *Bantam*, our Company seventy five men all in perfect health.

The fourteenth in the morning, in sight of *Babo*, but the wind large at North-west, we steered East by South through the great Channell on the *Abesse* side, hauing eightene fathom, about one league of the Island *Babo*, where is very good and safe harbour for shipping, and of good receipt, but the place is barren.

The third of September, we arrived at *Socatora* in the Road of *Delisha*, having been much hindered in our passage hither, by a West and North-west Current. We understood that the *Thomas* had been here three moneths past, but stayed not, for that they could not agree vpon the price of Aloes.

The fourth, the Merchant and Linguist were sent ashore, friendly entertained and furnished with horses to returne to the Skiffe, but could not agree vpon the price, hee holding it at fortie Rialls of eight, the kintall of one hundred and foure pounds; saying, he had only five and twentie hundred weight, for which he was earnestly solicited by the *Portugals*.

Being loath to lose time here, it was concluded that hee should haue thirtie Rials for one parcell, and thirtie eight for another; so he deliuered foure thousand sixtie seuen pound, which cost 50 one thousand foure hundred eighteene and an halfe of Rialls of eight: we found the King very false both in his weight and word, but we vsed him kindly for the good of future Voyage. The eight, we set saile for *Bantam*.

The two and twentieth, latitude by the Starre eight degrees, twelue minutes, the wind at West South-west, we steered East by South. About midnight we fell into the strangest and fearefullest shining water that euer any of vs had seene: the water giuing such a glare about our ship, as that we could discerne a letter in the book thereby, it being not halfe an houre before so darke, as that it was not possible to see halfe our shippes length any way. We doubted it had beene the breach of suncken ground, and thought to haue cast about: but finding that wee had sailed in it for halfe an houre, and saw no alteration, we held on our course, quartering very much wind; but at length it proued to be Cuttle-fish, which made this fearefull shew.

The seven and twentieth, in the morning we had sight of the Island *Selon*, bearing Northeast by East, about seven leagues off, being very high land vp into the countrey, but low to Sea-ward.

Cuttle fish  
yeelding a  
wonderfull  
glare in the  
Sea.  
*Selon or Zeilan.*

The



The nine and twentieth about noone, we fell with Cape *Comorin*, bearing East by South about fourteene leagues off, being high land, and towards the North, shewing double land neare the water-side, we sounded and had no ground at an hundred fathom. Note, that this land lyes in the latitude of seven degrees, two and fortie minutes to the Northward of the Line: but in our Plats it is made to stand in sixe degrees, and ten minutes, which differs one degree, two and thirtie minutes, stretching South South-east. By experience we find that it lyeth more Northerly; and in our course we had no sight of any of the Islands described in our Plats, neither did we discover any of the *Maldive* Islands, whereof the number is said to bee so great; making our account to have past betweene the Maine and the Northerne Coast of the *Maldivas*, in eight degrees no minutes, discrying no land, vntill we saw this Maine.

Cape *Comorin* in seven degrees, two and fortie minutes. False plats.

10 The fifteenth of October, latitude foure degrees, nine and fortie minutes to the Southward of the Line: This day we had sight of *Sumatra*, whereof the Eastmost part did beare East North-east fourteene leagues off, high land: heere we found a very strong Current setting to the Southward, which put vs off from the land. Note, that those bound for the Straights of *Sunda*, must keepe *Sumatra* aboard, after they are come into one degree, thirtie minutes to the Southward of the Line, for there begins the current: keepe thirtie league off; with good looking out, for there are many *Cayos* fiftene or twenty leagues off, which, by reason of the current, we did not see.

October 15. South latitude foure degrees, nine and fortie minutes, *Sumatra*.

20 The eighteenth, latitude five degrees and twentie minutes, way East, Northerly, very tempestuous, with thunder and lightning very fearefull, with much raine, so that we could not see the land: But, praised be God, notwithstanding the euill weather, our people were all then in as good health (if not better) as when we parted out of *England*.

The foure and twentieth, we came to an anchor in the Road of *Bantam*, where (though contrary to expectation) we found the *Hector*, which arriued there the day before, with the *James* in her company, and certaine *Flemmings*. The arriuall of all these ships, and expectation daily of the *Trades-Increase*, the *Pepper-Corne*, *Darling* and *Thomas* to follow, occasioned a great (though sudden) alteration in the prices of commodities; Those of any request being raised very neare to thrice the value of what they were bought for, the day before the *Hectors* arriuall. Cloaves which the Marriners of the *Hector* and *James* had bought the day before for sixteene Rials of eight the Peecull were now risen to fortie Rials and vpwards: Pepper the day before 30 was at ten Rials of eight the ten sakes, but vpon our comming, were raised to twelue Rials and an halfe, &c.

We arriued in the Road of *Bantam*. The *James*.

30 The sixe and twentieth, we went ashore, and so to the Court, accompanied with the Merchants, and gaue diuers presents to the Gouvernour *Pangran Chamarra*, (who is as Protector to the King, ruling all, the King being as no body, though of yeares sufficient) which Presents hee well accepted: we desired his Order for speedie landing of our goods, which he granted; provided, that the Kings officers might be acquainted with what wee landed, that the King might not be wronged in his Custome.

40 The eight and twentieth, a Letter from Master *William Adams* out of *Iapan*, was read to all the Merchants, that they might take notice of the hopes of that Countrey. It was now concluded vpon, that in regard the *Flemmings* were so strong, and almost sole Commanders of the *Moluccas* and *Banda*, and that the place heere is so vnhealthfull, besides our people dangerously disordering themselves with drinke and Whores ashore: The *Hector* should with all speed bee dispatched for *England*, and that fourteene thousand sakes of Pepper should be provided for the lading of her, and the *Thomas*: doubting that if once there should come newes of the other ships expected, Pepper would be much raised ouer that it now was.

A letter of Master *William Adams* from *Iapan*.

50 We bargained with *Lackmoy* for two thousand sakes of Pepper, at an hundred twentie seven Rials of eight and an halfe the hundred sakes: and with *Keewee*, for a thousand sakes, at an hundred twentie five Rials the hundred sakes: and for three thousand sakes more, at an hundred and fittie Rials the hundred. Wee made triall on shoare, what a Peecull of Cloaves might weigh by our *English* weights, and found it to be an hundred and thirtie two pound sub- till, good weight.

60 The ninth of Nouember, Sir *Henry Middleton* arriued at *Bantam* in the *Pepper-Corne*. The fifteenth, (the Gouvernour hauing earnestly requested it) there mustered before the Court fortie men out of the *Cloave* and *Hector*, thirtie out of the *Pepper-corne*, and ten out of the *Salomon*, in all eightie men, which gaue him good content. The *Flemmings* denyed him: it was for the breaking vp of the *Mahometanes* Lent.

Nouembet 9.

The seuenteenth, agreed with *Keewee* for foure thousand sakes of Pepper, at sixteene Rials ten sakes, with allowance of three in the hundred balle.

70 The eighteenth, heere arriued eleuen saile of *Flemmings*, great ships, and the *Thomas* in their company; shee had gotten at *Priaman* only three hundred and twelue Bahars of Pepper, and twentie Taile of Gold.

Twentie Taile of Gold.

The two and twentieth, an hundred *Flemmings*, with their furniture and their pike-men in bright armour marched to the Court, where they brought themselves into a ring, and gaue three volleys of shot: The Gouvernour sent word to them, that the King thanked them, that they



had done enough, and might depart with their iron hats; for so the *Iauans* call head-peeses.

The eight and twentieth, three *Holland* ships, laden for the most with Pepper and Mace, set saile, homeward bound: five more of their ships set saile for *Banda*, and the *Moluccas*.

December 4.  
The *Globe* in  
*Patane*, bound  
for *Siam*.

The fourth of December, a *Dutch* ship arrived heere from *Choromandell*: by whom wee understood that they left the *Globe* in *Patane*, bound for *Siam*.

The eleventh, the *Hector* set saile from *Bantam* for *Morough* the watering place, where there is a sweet ayre, and where good refreshing of Orrenge, and other wholesome fruits are to be had; there to attend till the *Thomas* were full laden.

The two and twentieth, the *Trades-Increase* and the *Darling* arrived heere from *Priaman*.

The five and twentieth, in honor of the Birth-day of our Saviour Christ, certaine Chambers were discharged at the *English* house in *Bantam*, and were answered with Ordnance out of the shippes.

*Kewee* a chiefe  
*China* Mer-  
chants curte-  
sie.  
January 12.

The eight and twentieth, *Kewee*, the chiefe *China* Merchant, invited Sir *Henrie* and my selfe, with all the Merchants, to dinner, and caused a Play to be acted before vs by *Scenicks* of *China*, which was performed on a Stage with good pronounciation and gesture.

The twelfth of January, the *Thomas* set saile for *England*, hauing in her sixe and thirtie *Eng-lish*, and three *Indians*.

### Q. IIII.

*The Voyage of Captaine SARIS in the Cloaue, to the Ile of Iapan, what befell in the way: Obseruations of the Dutch and Spaniards in the Molucca's.*

**H**He fourteenth of January 1612. in the morning, wee weighed out of the Road of *Bantam*, for *Iapan*, hauing taken in heere for that place seven hundred sackes of Pepper for a triall there. Shee had in her seuentie foure *English*, one *Spaniard*, one *Iapan*, and 30 five *Swarts* or *Indians*.

*Pulo Lack.*

We came on  
ground.

The fifteenth in the Morning, little wind at West, and haling into fourteen fathom, we steered East by South, and East South-east, leaving *Pulo Lack* on our Starboord, and eluen or twelue on our Larboord side, our depth from fourteene to ten fathoms, going within two Islands, which lye to the Eastwards of *Pulo Lack*. And in the faire way there lyeth a shoald, which hath not aboue sixe foot on the toppe of it, and is not aboue halfe a Cables length euery way, and hard aboard it there is ten fathomes, and the next cast on ground, as by experience: for heere we lay three houres beating, with a reasonable stiffe gale; but through Gods mercy, and the extraordinary labour and endeaour of the Company, got her off; but sprung a leake, that for all night, and till ten the next day we continued pumping euery man (my selfe only excepted) taking his turne, and all little enough to keepe it from increasing, which made vs all to doubt that wee should be enforced to put backe againe to *Bantam*, to the ouerthrow of all our men and Voyage for *Iapan*. The Carpenter by his diligence hauing found out the leake, made it Thite, thanks bee to God. To goe cleare off this shoald, keepe close to the Islands, for the Maine is shoald.

*Tinga Iana.*

Two Islands.

The sixteenth, we anchored at the watering place called *Tingo Iana*, beeing foureteen leagues from *Bantam*, and some three leagues and an halfe to the West-wards of *Iaccatra*, riding between two Islands which lie off the point, distant five miles. Depth ten and nine fathomes close to the Island, but the maine is shoald. I sent Presents to the King, to his *Sabandar*, and Admirall requesting leaue to buy such necessaries as we wanted.

A Current.

The eighteenth, the King of *Iaccatra* sent his chiefe man vnto me, with thanks for the Presents, and proffer of what his Countrey afforded. The twenty one, we set saile, steered neere vnto the East-most Island of the two, that are against the watering place: depth ten and nine fathome, and so to Sea-boord of all the Islands East North-east from the watering place. For the outward-most of them beareth East by North Northerly, and off the Norther point of the said Island lieth a shoald, which yee shall see breake, distant from the Island halfe a league, and hauing that South of you, the East point of *Iana* will beare East Southerly, depth seenteene and eighteene fathome, and all the way out from twentie to foureteene fathome, but here you shall find a Current setting East South-east, which you must allow for, as you haue the wind. In the evening we anchored, little wind at North by West, the Current setting vs to the South-east vpon the shoare: depth thirteene and thirteene fathomes and an halfe, being shot three leagues to the East-wards of the East point of *Iaccatra*, wind at North-west.

The twenty two, the wind at South-west, we weighed and steered East North-east to get deepe water, and finding foureteene fathome, the high hill ouer *Bantam* did beare West South-west, halfe a point Westerly. The three and twentieth in the morning, we deckt vp our sailes, the



the wind at South-east, and had sight of an Iland which lieth off *Cherribon*, with three of those high piked hills of *Iana*, the Eastermost bearing South-east, and *Cherrybon* South by East. Latitude at noone sixe degrees tenne minutes, the wind at North North-west, the Iland bearing East by North three leagues and an halfe off.

Note, that yee may boldly keepe betweene twentie three and twenty foure fathome water in the Offing, and in twentie fathome vpon *Iana*, the darkeſt night that is, and in the day vpon *Iana* in what depth yee please.

The twentie fourth in the morning, we had sight of three high piked hills, and three other to the East-ward, like Ilands: depth twentie fathome, the point of *Iana* bearing South-east by South, and the Iland lying off it South-east and North-west about nine leagues off. We steered East by South, and East South-east. Latitude sixe degrees tenne minutes, way East twenty eight leagues.

The twentie sixth, at breake of day we had sight of the Iland called *Pulo Labuck*, bearing North-east by East eight leagues off, wind West by North. We steered East by South, depth thirtie foure and thirtie fve fathomes, and about nine of the clocke had sight of land, bearing South-east and South-east by South, the Iland aforeſaid bearing now North-east by North, little wind, latitude sixe degrees twelue minutes, way East and East by North twenty two leagues, wind at West, the Iland at foure in the after-noon, bearing West by North nine leagues off, depth thirtie foure fathomes. The twentie ſeuenth, latitude sixe degrees foure minutes, way East Northerly twenty eight leagues, depth thirtie eight fathome, and at three in the afternoone had sight of an Iland bearing North North-east ſeu en leagues off, and at fve of the clocke ſounded, and had thirtie foure fathomes.

The twenty eighth, at foure in the morning, we had twentie fve fathomes, steering East till noone, latitude fve degrees fiftie fve minutes, way East Northerly twenty leagues, depth thirty fathome. From noone we steered East by South, and at foure a clocke had thirty fve fathome. The twenty ninth, in the morning about foure, wind at West by North, we steered East by South, but had no ground at fortie fathome, but at noone fiftie two fathomes, with many ouerfalls. Latitude sixe degrees nine minutes, way East by South twenty eight leagues, wind at West and West by North, with a Current ſetting to the West-ward, afternoone we ſounded, but had no ground at an hundred fathome, and steered East.

The thirtieth in the morning, latitude fve degrees fiftie ſeu en minutes, way East Northerly twenty eight leagues, and in longitude from *Bantam*, two hundred twenty foure leagues, the ouer-falls continuing, but ſounding had no ground at an hundred fathome. At three in the afternoone, we had sight of a low flat Iland at top-maſt head, bearing North-east by North fve or ſix leagues off, full of trees, and had eightene fathome, and at next caſt eightie fve fathome: then we steered East by South, and at foure a clocke it did beare North by East halfe a point Northerly, three or foure leagues off. Then we had sight of two other low flat Ilands, the one opening to the East-ward, the other to the West-ward, ſo that this was the middle-moſt. At ſixe at night, it bearing North halfe a point Eaſterly, we ſounded againe, but had no ground at eightie fathom, we steered East by South, keeping our lead in reſpect of the ouer-falls or Ripplings, which were fearefull, yet had no ground at ſixtie fathome.

The one and thirtieth, at breake of day we had sight of the *Celebes*, the Weſter end riſing like an Iland, and the outward-moſt high land bearing East by North: Latitude fve degrees fiftie two minutes, the Eaſt part bearing East by North ſixe leagues off, way East Northerly ſixteene leagues and a Current ſetting to the North-weſt ward. At Sunne-ſetting we tooke in our ſailes to keepe ſhort of the ſtraights of *Deſalon*, by the Naturals called *Solore*, and keeping our Lead all night, we found fiſt twenty fathome, the high land North, and ſo droue into thirtie three, and fortie ſeu en fathome, fearing a ſhoald which lyeth two third parts of a league from the *Celebes*, and at low water the breach vpon it may be ſeene. On the *Celebes* ſide it is very dangerous, and full of ſunken ground. Wherefore we haled ouer for *Deſalon* ſide, keeping a good birth of it, hauing a piked hill, which is next to the Sea ſide, riſing like an Iland, being to the Weſt-wards, then it is North North-east, and when it is North, then yee are thwart of the Weſt end of the ſhoald, and then will the Iland which yee leaue on your Star-boord ſide, beare East North-east, ſo that yee may be bold to ſteere out in the middeſt betweene the two Ilands. And when the Pike hill beares North by Weſt, then are you thwart of the Eaſt end. Note that the Eaſt end of *Deſalon* ſhoweth like an Iland, and will deceiue you till you come to it, but hauing brought the North end of the point East North-east, halfe a point Eaſterly, then bee bold; for you are cleare of the ſhoald afore-ſaid. It is about foure leagues betweene them: we came within halfe a mile of the Iland of our Star-boord ſide, going through, and the wind taking vs ſuddenly ſhort, we ſounded, but had no ground at fiftie fve fathome, right vp and downe.

The fiſt of February afternoone, we were thwart of the point of the Iland bearing South off vs, and the two Ilands which make the ſtraights, lying one from the other North and South, diſtant fve ſmall leagues.

The ſecond in the morning, we had sight of the South part of *Deſalon*, South-weſt by South, and

*Pulo Labuck*

A Current.

*Celebes*.

The Straight  
of *Deſalon* or  
*Solore*.

February.



and the North part West by North eight leagues off. We steered East by North, the wind at North by East, latitude five degrees fiftie two minutes, distant from *Desalon* tenne leagues. The third in the morning, the Southerne end of *Cambina* did beare North-east by East, and the Iland or Hammocke North-east eight or nine leagues, latitude five degrees fiftie seven minutes: the Iland North-east halfe a point Northerly eight leagues, way East Southerly five or sixe leagues, and towards night the wind at South, and South South-east, we steered all night East by North. The fourth in the morning, the wind at North-east, latitude five degrees no minutes. At three we saw land East by North, making it to be *Botun*.

The fift, three or foure leagues off *Cambina*, we found the Current to carry vs to the Northward, the wind at East by North; and the Iland of the East end of *Cambina*, North-east halfe a point Easterly foure leagues off. The sixth at breake of day, the Iland North-east by North Northerly foure leagues off, the wind at North; so that these twenty foure houres we haue gotten to the East-wards one point.

The seuenth at breake of day, the Northern point was North by East, & a smal high land, that lieth to the South-ward sixe or seven leagues off *Botun*, South-east, and the Easter land of *Botun* East North-east: we steered East by North, and East, but left the high land to the South-wards on our Star-boord side, and it did beare South-east halfe a point Easterly, then was the point of *Botun* shut in, in a long great Iland. The Norther end will be North North-west.

The Ile *Tingabasse*.

The eighth in the morning, we saw another Iland, called *Tingabasse*, rising round and flat. Here we had a Current setting North-east, the wind at North-east by North and North North-east. 20

M. Welden an Englisman employed in the King of *Botun* service.

The ninth, wind at North West by North, the point of *Botun* North-west, halfe a point Northerly, we had sight of two *Curra Curras* between vs and *Botun*: The Skiffe was sent off to them, and brought one M. Welden, one of the *Expeditions* Companie, and a *Flemming* bound for *Banda*. The said Welden beeing employed in the King of *Botun* affaires for *Banda*, and had now the command of these *Curra Curras*. Latitude five degrees twentie minutes, wind at East North-east, we steered North, and at night the wind Southerly, we steered North North-east: and from the East point of *Botun*, the land falls away suddenly, with two or three great Bayes to the North-west-wards; and three great Ilands which lie to the Northward of *Botun*, which make the straights.

Aduertisements concerning the straight of *Botun*.

Note, to goe through the straights of *Botun*, it is not aboue a league broad, and the entrance is on the North-side of the Iland; and if you come from the Westward, being thwart of the North-west point, your course is East North-east, and East by North, vp to the Roade, and no danger but what you shall see; but you must leaue the three great Ilands to the North-wards of you, yet goe not betweene any of them, and falling with the West end of *Botun*, goe not betweene the Iland that lyeth off it. There are two long Ilands, but leaue them on your star-boord side, for it is full of broken ground betweene them and *Botun*. But if the wind serue you, then hale to the North-ward of all the Ilands either betweene *Botun* and *Cambina*, or else to the North-ward of that too, and so you may keepe the Coast of *Celebes*, for it is bold: we steered with little wind all night, North North-east.

The tenth in the morning, the straights of *Botun* did beare North-west by West, and the maine Iland of *Tingabasse* South South-east halfe a point Southerly. 40

The eleuenth, at five in the morning, the wind at North-west, the Iland West ten leagues off, we steered North North-east, latitude at noone foure degrees eight minutes; way North North-east Easterly a litle, foure and twentie leagues, and off the East point of *Botun*, five and thirtie leagues, the wind all night betweene North and North by West.

The twelfth, little wind at North by West, latitude foure degrees sixe minutes, way East by North twentie leagues.

The Ile of *Buro*.

The thirteenth in the morning, we had sight of the Iland *Buro*, beeing high-land, the one point bearing North-east by North, and the other North-east ten leagues off, the wind at North by West, hauing made to noone seven leagues of latitude, three degrees one and fortie minutes.

The fourteenth in the morning, we bore vp with the East part of the Iland to seeke for some place to ride in. 50

The fifteenth and sixteenth of latitude, three degrees, fortie minutes, breake off day the Northernmost part of *Buro*, East by North nine leagues off, little wind at East North-east, and North by East.

The seuenteenth, little wind, the East-part of *Buro*, bearing East Northerly, wind at North, at noone North-west by North, the North part of *Botun* East by South, and three Ilands, which we then had in sight at Top-mast head, North-east by North.

The Ile of *Sula*.

The eighteenth, in the morning we were by the Eastermost Iland three leagues off, wind at North North-west, it bearing North North-east. At noone we were within a mile off the shore. The Skiffe was sent to speake with the Countrey people. This Iland is called *Sula*: wee had fiftene fathome, the ships length off the shoare, and a mile off no ground at a hundred fathomes: the West part of *Buro* lying South halfe a point Westerly, and North halfe a point Easterly fourtene leagues the one from the other, wind at West, the Land stretching North North-east. 60

The twentieth, wind at East by North, steered North by East, of latitude one degree thirtie minutes, way North-east seven leagues. The



The one and twentieth in the morning, we were foure or five leagues off an Iland, called *Haleboling* by our Saylers, being a high copped round Iland, different in shape from all the rest of the Ilands in sight. The wind at North-east, and at East hauing made to this noone a North-east way foure leagues of latitude one degree, sixteene minutes the point of *Haleboling*, or *Bachian*, North-east by North foure leagues off: and the outwardmost land, North a quarter Westerly, finding a current setting North-east, wind all night at North North-east and North.

The Ile of *Haleboling*, so called by the English Saylers, by others *Boa de Bachian*.

The two and twentieth in the morning, wee had sight of land North by East, it being the Iland *Machian* very high land: heere we had a current setting North North-east of latitude at noone no degrees, one and fiftie minutes, way North seven leagues, variation at Sun-setting, foure degrees twelue minutes, wind at North by East, and North North-east.

*Machian*.

The three and twentieth in the morning we were three leagues off the Land, wind at North North-east seeking a place to anchor in: and within a quarter of a mile of the shoare had fortie fathome, wherefore we bore vp to the South part of the Iland, where we had twentie and nineteene fathomes for a cast or two, but then no ground. Wee steered from this South point East South-east, for so the Land lyeth open off the point of the high round Iland, being foure leagues betweene the two points, but the Wester point is an Iland with three or foure other to the Eastwards, which you cannot perceiue till you bee verie neere them. Then the Land falleth away North-east, and sheweth a large and round sound or Bay with Land of both sides very deepe. This round Hill is *Bachian*, and yeeldeth great store of *Cloues*; but by reason of the Warres they are wasted. The people not suffered to make their benefit thereof, for to gather them, and let them fall and rot vpon the ground. Beeing by the *Flemmings* and *Spaniards* oppressed, and wrought to spoyle one another in Ciuill Warre, whilst they both secure in strong Forts, sit and looke on, prepare to take the bone from him that can wrest it from his fellow. Hauing no ground to anchor in, and not able to get to the Northward, we resolved to stand off all night, hoping to haue a shift of wind to carrie vs to the Iland *Machian*, whither we intended.

Misery of wars in the *Moluccas*

The foure and twentieth, in the morning the high land South by East ten or twelue leagues off the Iland seemed ragged, we stood in, and a league off the point, sent off the Skiffe to sound and to looke for water, but returned aboard finding no water nor place to anchor in, wherefore we stood into the Bay, and presently had sight of a Fort and Towne called *Bachan*. The Pinasse a head finding fresh water in diuers places, but steepe too into the cod of the Bay, where the *Flemmings* haue a Fort artificially and warlike built; the Towne hard by it. Heere we came to an anchor (saker shot off the Fort) hauing had very vncertaine shoaling, as seuentie, sixtie, eight and ten fathome; but *Ozie*.

A small Fort of the Hollanders. *Boa de Bachan*, being the Norther end of the Ilands, in our plats called *Haleboling*.

The *Dutch* saluted vs with five Peeces; whom I requited with the like number, but the Kings man being then aboard our ship, we told him, it was done to the honour of his King, who sent mee word that hee would haue come to visit mee, but that the *Dutch* intreated him to forbear. In this Fort are thirteene Peeces: viz. one Demy-culering of Braile, the rest Saker and Minion. The *Flemmings* here resident are more feared of the *Naturals* then loued, which notwithstanding is cause of their better benefit. For the *Naturals*, as soon as we were arrived, told vs that they durst not bring vs a Cattie of *Cloues*, but vpon their liues. As wee rid heere, the outwardmost point was South South-west, and the other South-west, distant from vs foure leagues. The King sent his Admirall and diuers of his Nobles aboard to bid me welcome, saying, that they knew of what Nation we were by our Flagge, vsing much Ceremonious courtesie, wishing that we were seated there in stead of the *Flemmings*, that they might bee cleared of them, their Countrey now almost ruined by these Warres. I entertayned them friendly, and told them that our comming was to procure Trade and to leaue a Factorie amongst them, if their King so pleased. They answered that it was a thing by them much desired, but at present not to bee granted, yet they would acquaint their King therewith.

The Captaine of the *Dutch* Fort came aboard to visit mee, by whom I vnderstood their force to be but of thirteene Peeces and thirtie Souldiers. The most of them married, some to the Countrey-women, and some to *Dutch* women, whereof the Fort was fitted with eleuen able to withstand the furie of the *Spaniard* or other Nation whatsoeuer, being of a very lustie large breed, and furnished with few good qualities. But it seemed they followed their Leader: for no sooner was the Captaine aboard, but the *Amazon*-band followed, complayning of great miserie, sitting downe with our Saylers to victuals at their first comming, with small intreatie. They had what the ship afforded, and they returned ashore with their Captaine.

The small forces of the Holland. vs in *Bachian*.

The third of March, we sounded with the Skiffe alongst the East-side of this Bay, and at the opening or going out neere to a little Iland, we found a place to anchor, in twelue, sixteene, twentie fathome, Corall ground, without command of the Fort. Note, there is a shoald to the South-wards the length of three Cables, latitude no degrees, fiftie minutes.

The fourth, the King of *Ternata* sent me a present by his Priest.

The fifth, variation at Sun-rising, foure degrees fortie eight minutes Easterly, A *Moore* came aboard with a muster of *Cloues*, offering to sell some quantitie, if wee would goe to *Machian*. This *Moore* was sent by a man of great account of that place, who at the present was heere.

Variation 4. degrees, 48. minutes East. erly.

Where-



*Tahannee*, is a Towne vpon *Machian*, where the Portugals heretofore haue had a Fort, but now there is none, neither for them nor the *Flemings*, there is the best riding of the whole Island, but very neere the shore, yet free of all danger.

The Roade of *Amasane* where the Hollanders Fort standeth. *Geilolo*.

*Taually Bachar*.

A shoale.

*Grochy* a great Island.

*Machian* five leagues North off the Line. *Caia* an Island.

Wherefore it was thought good to stay a day longer to haue some conference with him, his name was *Key Malladaia*; and was Brother to the old King of *Ternata*.

The sixth, we stayed to speake with this Cavalier, who came and promised to goe with vs to *Machian*, and to bring vs to a place there called *Tahannee*, and did put aboard vs two of his chiefe men to be as our Pilots thither, appointing vs to goe before and stay for him at an Island by the way, and within two dayes he would be with vs, giuing vs great incouragement of good store of Cloues. He told me that the *Dutch* gaue fiftie Rials of eight the Bahar, but they would cost vs sixtie Rials, which I willingly promised to giue him.

The seuenth in the morning, we weighed anchor and parted out of this Road called *Amasan*, & by direction of our new Pilots, steered in West & West by North for the Island *Machian*, lea- 10 uing two Islands (which lye foure or five miles from the place where we last anchored) on our larboard side, depth two and twentie, thirtie and fortie fathomes, two Cables length off the Island.

The tenth, we had sight of *Machian* being a high and copped Island bearing North-easterly, and the Island *Tidore* opening like a Sugar-lofe on the Wester side, but not so high Land as *Machian*: it is shut into the point of the Wester side of the outwardmost Islands, of the three that lye in the going out, two of them being without the narrow or straight, and the third maketh the straights it selfe, yet there are more Islands on the Easter side. But the current setting to the South-wards, we anchored in three and twentie fathomes, a mile off the little Islande in the straights mouth: so that the distance from the straights of *Namorat*, to this passage, is five 20 leagues, and from the Roade of *Amasane*, where the *Flemish* Fortresse standeth, fourteene leagues.

The eleuenth in the morning, we weighed the wind at South South-east, and current setting to the North-ward, we passing the straights. The wind vered to the North-west by North, we flood to the East-ward till noone, then we tackt to West-ward the wind at North North-west, and had sight of *Geilolo*, being a long Land, depth going out nine and twentie, and foure and thirtie fathome, and many Islands to the East-ward, and East South-east. The point of old *Bachian* lying to the North-ward of the straights some three or foure leagues, leauing foure Islands on the star-board side. That which maketh the straights on that side is called *Taually Bachar*, and when you are a little without the small Island which lyeth in the straights, you shall haue 30 eightene fathome, a cast or two, and then it will deepen, and standing to the North-wards you shall open another Island to the West-ward called *Tamata*, with a Rocke like a Sayle a good distance off the point of it. And anchored at an Island bearing North Westerly, three leagues from the straights in three and fortie fathomes, where on the Southerne point is a shoale hauing three fathome on the skirts, and is dry at low water, which shoale reacheth ouer to the South part of *Bachian*, we riding halfe a mile off the shoare. This Island is called *Taually*, the wind at North North-west.

Heere we stayed all the twelfth day, for *Keymalladaia*, being the place where hee appointed to come vnto vs. This Island is distant from *Machian* ten leagues: here we had good store of wood, but no water.

The thirteenth, our Cowpers prouided themselves of *Rottans* for Water-caske, which make 40 excellent hoopes, and are heere of all assises in great abundance. The shoale afore-said now dry, beareth West by South, halfe a mile off vs, and another point a mile off, North North-east. The wind at North.

The fourteenth, for that *Keymalladaia* came not, his seruant doubted that the *Flemings* seeing vs to aduenture through this passage amongst the Islands, did suspect him and perforce kept him. Wherefore we did set saile, the wind at North by West, and plyed vp for *Machian*. The Norther point of *Taually*, and the Norther point of *Lattetatte* (from whence wee set saile) bearing one of the other West by North, and East by South, distant sixe leagues, and the Norther end of *Taually*, and the bodie of *Grochy*, the great Island, lye the one from the other North-west foure 50 leagues, and North North-west from *Grochy*, are foure or five small Islands which couer the Mayne of the great Island, and are distant from it five leagues North-wards, and there are many Islands North-east by North, called *Motere*. The sound lyeth cleere of all the Islands betweene *Bachian* and *Geilolo*, (alias *Batta China*) South-east and North-west, and is very broad, but hath Islands on the star-board side as you goe to the North-wards. The Channell betweene *Bachian*, *Machian*, *Tidore*, and *Ternata* lyeth North by West, and South by East, and is sixe leagues ouer in the narrowest part.

The fifteenth in the morning, we passed betweene *Battachina* and *Caia*. Latitude at noone no degrees seienteen minutes to the North-ward: So that *Machian* is not truly placed in the Plats: for that there the Equinoctiall cuts it in the middle, and wee find it to stand five leagues more 60 Northerly, wind at North by East, and North by West, with a Current setting to the South-wards, variation foure degrees fiftie eight minutes Easterly. The sixteenth in the morning, we were saire by the Island of *Caia*, the wind at North by East. Here we had sight of a saile to the North-wards, which by a Fisherman we vnderstood to bee a *Flemish* bound from *Machian* to *Tidore*.



*Tidore* with *Sago*, which is a *Roote* whereof the Naturalls make their bread.

The seventeenth in the morning, we were nere a Fort of the *Flemmings* called *Tabelola*, wind at North-east; we stood to the Southwards, the Current setting vs to the North-wards. Then the wind at North, we steered with the East-most point, and came to an anchor at foure in the afternoone in the Road of *Pelebere*, hard by *Tabanne* in fiftie fathome, within call of the shoare, halving one point of the land South South-west two miles off, and another North-east by North one mile and an halfe off, and the land *Caia* five leagues off. This night some small quantity of Cloues were brought aboard, the price set at sixtie Rials of eight the Bahar, of two hundred Catties, each Cattie three pound five shillings *English*. I received a letter from *Key Mal-ladaia* from *Bachian*, expating his stay, with promise that he shortly would bee with me, in the mean time that he had written to the people to helpe me with all the Cloues they could.

The eighteenth, a *Sannaca* came aboard and proffered much curtesie: two *Hollanders* came with him, being very inquisitive to know who directed vs to this roade, saying, that it must needs bee one of the Naturalls, and if they knew him they would cut him in peeces before our faces; that we did wrong them in coming hither, this beeing their Countrey, as having conquered it by the Sword. They were appointed to returne to their Forts, and tell their Captaines that if they needed ought that we might spare, they should haue it for reasonable content before all others, because we acknowledged them our neighbours and brethren in Christ: but for any propertie of this Countrey to be more in them then vs, we tooke no notice, and therefore would ride there, and trade with whosoever it pleased to come aboard. So they parted, threatening the Naturalls which were then aboard, that if any did bring Cloues aboard vs, they would put them to death. The countrey people made light of their threats, and said they held vs their friends, and would come aboard to vs. Bought this day three hundred Catties Cloues for *Cambaya* cloth, and some sold for ready money.

The nineteenth, the two *Flemmings* came aboard againe, and beganne to note downe in their Table-bookes the names of the Countrey people which came aboard. Whereupon I caused the Boat-swaine to turne them out of the ship, and command them to come no more aboard. Diuers of our Companie were sent to walke ashore, to see what intertainment the Countrey people would giue them. They went vp to the Townes of *Tabanne* and *Pelebere*, and were very friendly vsed. They told our men, that the *Flemmings* had wrought so with *Key Chillisadang*, the King of *Ternataes* sonne, who was newly come, that he had forbidden them to sell vs any Cloues vpon paine of death, otherwise we should haue had them before the *Flemmings*, whom they find great oppressors of them. Towards night, the Prince passing by our ship in his *Curra Curra*, I sent my Pinnasse well fitted with a faire *Turkie* Carpet, and Crimson Silke and Gold Curtaines, intreating him to come aboard; which he tooke kindly, but excused it, saying, that in the morning he would visit me.

The one and twentieth, an *Oran Caya* came aboard, and told me, that a *Curra Curra* of the *Flemmings* had searched three or foure Prawes or Canoas comming aboard vs with Cloues, and had taken them from them, threatening death to them for the next offence. And that since our comming hither, they disurnished their Forts, and placed their people round about the Island, that the Naturalls should not be able to bring vs any more Spice, and that they had sent ouer a *Curra Curra* to *Tidore*, to cause two great ships of theirs to come hither and ridle by vs, the one a head, the other a sterne, to beate vs out of the Road, without trade or refreshing.

The twentieth, we had sight of one of the *Flemmish* ships comming about the point, by reason whereof we had little trade now, the people being afraid, I received a Present from *Key Mal-ladaia*, who as yet was not come. The Naturalls expected what would now become of vs, the *Flemmings* hauing reported ashore, that they should see vs runne out of the Road at sight of one of their ships. It was the *Redde Lion*, had thirtie Peeces of Ordnance, anchored a sterne of vs.

The twentieth fourth, the Prince of *Ternate*, *Key Chillisadang* sent to tell me, that hee would come and visit me. So all things were fitted in the best manner for his entertainment. Hee came attended with diuers great *Curra Curras*, and rowed thrice round about the ship before he entred. At his boarding of vs, our ship discharged five Peeces of Ordnance: I brought him to my Cabbin, where I had prepared a Banquet, meet enough to haue been set before the King of *Ternata* himselfe (had he been there) with a very good consort of Musique, which much delighted him. He promised me to giue the people license to bring Cloues aboard vs, and requested that I would but haue patience for a day or two, that he might haue aduice from his brother then beeing at *Tidore*. I bestowed on him diuers Presents, and at parting ordered seven Peeces for his farewell.

The twenty fifth in the morning, a *Curra Curra* of the *Flemmings* came rowing by our shippe, scoffing at our people, and singing a song which they had made in derision of vs: they often vling thereof caused our men iustly to find themselves therewith agrieved, as also for their rowing ouer our Can-bodies diuers times, endeavouring to sinke the. Wherefore I caused the Pinnasse to be well fitted, and gaue order, that if at their returne they continued their mocking of vs, to run aboard and sinke them. They came singing and scoffing according to their custome, the Pinnasse ranne aboard them with such a surge, as that the water came through her sides; there beeing in her two

\* Some say he  
tops of trees.  
A Fort of the  
Hollanders cal-  
led *Tabelola*.

The Hollanders  
entertainment  
of vs.

*Tabanne*  
*Pelebere*.

The spight of  
the Hollanders  
to vs.

A *Curra Curra*  
of the Hollan-  
ders almost  
sinke.



of the Captaines of their Forts, well fitted with shot and darts : our men were well provided, and had two good Fowlers in the Skiffes head. They lay a good while aboard her, and willed them to take this for a warning, and leaue off their scoffing and mocking of vs, for else they would teach them better manners the next time, and so they returned aboard with their promise, that it should be no more so.

A writing sent  
from the Hol-  
landers.

Towards euening they sent one of their Merchants vnto me, with a writing from their Doctor in *Droits*, who as we were informed, was chiefe amongst them in absence of *But* or *Blocke*, who had come out of *Holland*, Generall of eleuen Saile. The effect whereof was to let me know, That all the people of the *Moluccas* had made a perpetuall contract with them for all their Cloues, at fittie Royals of eight the Bahar, of two hundred Cattees, in respect that they had deliuered them out of the seruitude of the *Spaniards*, not without losse of much blood, and expence of great wealth; willing me that I should not mooue the people from their obedience, which might redound to their greater damage, they holding the Countrey to be their owne, as conquered by the Sword. Also that the Naturalls ought them much money, which was aduanced to be paid in Cloues. Answer was returned that we would not meddle with their businesse, our coming being only to trade with such as desired to trade with vs, and so dismissed him.

The twentieth seuenth, the *Flemmings* enforced the Prince to lie with his *CURTACHITA* a sterne, to keepe watch that none bring any thing aboard vs: for in our sight he commanded a Canoa aboard him, which was coming to vs (as we thought with Spice) making him returne. Towards night, two of the Naturalls brought vs some refreshing.

The twentieth eighth, the Prince vnderstanding that we tooke it not well, that hee rid so neere vs to the fearing of the Naturalls, remooued and went about a point further off, which much discontented the *Flemmings*. After noone, with the Skiffe well manned, I went to see if I could deale with the Prince for a parcell of Cloues, but found him gone to the Wester side. Captaine *Blocke* seeing my Skiffe gone into the Bay, followed vs with his *CURTACHITA*, and would haue landed where I was, but that I would not suffer him, which the Naturalls seeing, and that Captaine *Blocke* returned aboard againe without landing, diuers of the better sort came downe to vs, protesting great loue towards vs, and sent for Cocos and other fruites, and bestowed them vpon the Ging. The Master of the Cloue seeing Captaine *Blocke* to make such speed after vs, manned the long Boat for aide, but vpon a signe giuen returned aboard.

The thirtieth, the *Flemmings* brought the Prince to ride by vs in his old place. Towards euening another *Flemmish* ship came in, called the *Moone*, a proper ship of thirtie two Peeeces of good Ordnance, but not aboue fittie men: she came to an anchor so neere a head vs, as that wee could scarcely wind cleare one of the other. The Prince sent vnto me to excuse his coming backe, but now we saw that he durst not displease the *Flemmings*. The thirtie one, diuers harsh dealings and discourtesies passed betwixt the *Flemmings* and vs.

Aprill the first  
1613.

The first of Aprill, the *Flemmings* brought an hundred and twentieth of their men ashore, which morning and euening did set and discharge the watch with Drum, Fife and Ensigne. This force they had gathered together out of their Forts and ships.

Road of Pelabry.

The second, I seeing no more hope of lading, and that *Key Malladaia* came not according to promise, gaue order to the Master, to cause water to be filled, and to make readie to set saile with the first faire wind. At noone, obseruing we found this Road of *Pelabry*, to stand in no degree, twentieth sixe minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, Variation three degrees, eight and twentieth minutes, the highest land in the Island, *Mechian* bearing West North-west halfe a point Westerly.

The fift, we weighed anchor, little wind, the Current setting to the Southward, we droue to sea, being vnder our fore-saile, and ahead the *Moone* the greater ship of the *Flemmish*, which made a faire shot vnder our sterne, which we presently answered, close a head his Admirall, expecting farther, but heard no more of them. At noone they both weighed and followed vs, but the wind at South-west had put vs so farre to the windward, as that the Naturalls came aboard with Cloaues for a time, as fast as we could weigh and pay for them, the *Flemmings* not able to hinder them. Also there came an *Oran Caya* aboard, who promised vs a good parcell of Cloaues, if we would but come nearer the shoare in the morning.

The sixt, about fittie Cattees of Cloaues were brought aboard in diuers Canoa's, but no newes of the *Gallant*. Towards euening standing nearer the shoare then we were willing, but for this occasion, we had sight of a west ashore: the Skiffe was sent and spake with the *Oran Caya*, who said the Cloaues were readie, and in the darke should be brought aboard; but presently a *Curra Curra*, of the *Flemmings* passing by, put him into such a feare, as albeit our people would haue waisted him, yet durst he not aduenture: so they returned.

Mootiere.

The seuenth in the morning, wee were thwart of *Mootiere*, being distant from the Wester point of *Machian* foure leagues North by East, halfe a point Easterly; and from it North three leagues, is the Island *Marro*, and from that two leagues *Tidore*. There is passage betweene these Islands, or on any side of them, without danger. Wee had sight of the two *Flemmings* to the Southwards of vs, plying after vs: Latitude at noone no degrees, five and thirtie minutes, wind Westerly.

The



The eight, *Marro*, North by West, some two miles off the body of it, and one point North by East, halfe a point Easterly, and the other North-west by North, halfe a point Westerly, and the pike of *Tidore* North by West, and opening the East point of *Tidore*, and the Wester point of *Bachian*, they will beare the one from the other North and South, and the body of *Marro* West South-west halfe a point Southerly, and the Westerne part of *Tidore*, that you shall see West by North. Looke well out, for in the faire way is a long shoale, which lyeth euen with the water at high water, the water shewing whitish, and stretcheth North-east and South-west, betweene *Marro* and *Battachina*: and hauing brought the points of the Islands, as aboue-said, then it will be East of you, at low water you shall see it, for it ebbeth sixe foorse, the tide setting sixe houres to the Northward, and sixe to the Southward: but keepe close to the Islands for there is no feare. The Spaniards Fort is on the East-side of *Tidore*, where is deepe water shoare-toe. It fell suddenly calme, so that a great sea did set vs into the shoare. The Fort made a shot at vs, but willingly short: we answered with one to Sea-board: then the Fort made two more, intending to strike vs, one betweene our millen-mast and ancient staffe, the other betwixt maine-mast and fore-mast. Then they shot a Peece from the Top of the Fort without sharpe; wee answered that without, and presently they sent off a Boat with a flage of truce, the Sea still setting vs vpon the shoare, no wind, nor ground at an hundred fathom, so that we could lay it off no way, two Gallies riding vnder the Fort: when their Boat was put from the shoare, they shot their two chase peeces, but without sharpe. They came and tooke a fast a starne our shippe: there were two Spaniards souldiers of good ranke, (knowne to *Hernando* the Spaniard, whom wee tooke with vs from *Bantan*) sent from the Captaine Generall of the shoare, *Don Fernando Byseere*, to know of what Nation we were, what we came for, and wherefore we came not to an anchor vnder the Kings Fort. We requested them to come aboard: they said they were commanded to the contrary: wherefore I willed to let downe wine and bread vnto them in a string, from the poope, which they fell too lustily, in so great a showre of raine, as we had seene, yet would not enter the ship. I returned answer, that I was the subiect of the Kings Maiestie of Great Brittain, as by my Colours they might well discern. They said the *Flemmings* had many times past by scot-free, by shewing the like, which made them shoote the second shot with sharpe at vs, thinking vs to bee *Flemmings*. I sent them word that my comming was, to doe the best good I could to the friends of the Kings Maiestie of Spaine, but was not minded to anchor heere, but further a head, where, if it pleased *Don Fernando* to come aboard, he should be welcome: with which answer, they returned ashore contented. Suddenly it pleased God to grant vs a gale, so that we stood alongst the shoare. The Captaine Generall sent off the Pilot Maior of the Gallies, *Francisco Gomes*, a man of good preface, to bid mee welcome, offering his assistance to bring vs into the best anchoring place vnder the Fort, or elsewhere about the Island. Being darke, he brought vs to a place about one league and an halfe off the Fort, whereas he said no force was, and so intreated after supper to be set ashore, for that the Captaine Generall would dispatch away letters to *Ternate*, to the Master *Del Campo*, *Don Ieronimo de Sylua*, for resolution in all points, and so departed.

A dangerous shoald.

The Spaniards Fort on the East-side of *Tidore*.

The ninth in the morning before day, finding that we were within command of eight peeces of Ordnance, we got vp our anchor and remoued a league further to the Southward, where we rid in fue and thirtie fathome: *Gomes* the Pilot came aboard with two Spaniards more of good fashion, whom I bid kindly welcome, so that they tooke their lodging aboard. They brought with them a Present of eatable commodities from their Generall. I returned the like to theirs, with proffer of all friendship and assistance, that in mee lay, to supply his wants, and to accept of Cloaues for payment, desiring speedie answer, for that I would not stay long there. The two *Flemmish* shippes plyed, as if they would haue come to an anchor by vs; but afterwards went and rid at their new Fort *Maracco*.

*Maracco*, a new Fort of the Hollanders.

The tenth, the Captaine Generall sent to request me to stay, and the next morning hee would visit me, with the Sergeant Maior of *Ternate*, who was arriued with a letter from the Master *Del Campo*, giuing them leaue thereby to trade with me for diuers matters, and to content mee in what I requested; wherefore I resolved a while longer, to see what good might be done.

## §. V.

Further obseruations touching the Molucca Islands, and their proceeding on their Voyage to Iapan.

60



He eleuenth, wee expected the Captaine Generall according to promise, and hearing nine peeces of Ordnance to be shot out of the Fort, prouided for them, thinking verily that they were comming: But it proued to bee for the arriual of the Prince of *Tidore*, who had bin abroad in war, and was now returned with the heads of an hundred

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dred



Key Chilly Sadang, the King of Ternate his sonne, slaine by the Tidorians.

dred *Ternatans*, his force being only sixtie small shot, two brasse Bases, and three or foure Fowlers: hauing ouerthrowne *Key Chilly Sadang*, the King of *Ternate* his sonne, whom the *Flemmings* had enforced ouer from *Ternate* to *Machian*, to keepe the countrey people from selling of Cloaues to vs. For whom returning back towards *Ternate*, (after our departure) the King of *Tydore* sonne, lying purposely in waite vpon sight of them, the *Tydorians* keeping themselves behind a point of land, sent out two small Prows to fish in their way, whom the *Ternatans* espying, did presently giue chase vnto. The Fishermen easily retire, the other earnestly pursue, vntill before they once thought thereof, they fell into their enemies hands, who spared not one man of an hundred and sixtie, the Prince of *Ternate* himselfe being one of the number, whose head the Conquerour brought to his wife, who was sister to the Prince of *Ternate*, so slaine. At their first incounter, a barrell of powder, which the Prince had bought of vs at *Machian*, tooke fire, which was the confusion and losse of them all. With the Prince was slaine one of his yonger brethren, and the King of *Geilola*. Towards euening came aboard vs the Sergeant Maior of *Ternate*, and Secretary of State; with the like complements to those of the *Tydorian* Officers, requesting me to come thither, and they would doe what in them lay for me: whereto I consented, the rather because it was in my way.

The twelfth, the Prince of *Tidore* sent vnto mee, to excuse his hitherto not visiting of mee, and to acquaint me that he had some store of Cloaues, which I should haue. I thanked him, and requested speedie dispatch. They promised mee to be aboard againe before day. Wherefore to preuent all treachery, we kept double watch, match in cocke, and all things in readinesse. This *Tydorian* Prince being a very resolute and valiant souldier, hauing performed many dangrous exploits vpon the *Flemmings*, and not long since surprized one of their ships (being a Man of War) then riding not farre from this place. Before day, a Gally (which the *Spaniards* told vs they expected) came ouer from *Batta China*, and were neare vs in the darke before they were aware, we hailed her, they answered, *Spaniards*, and your friends, and so made to the shoare with all speed, shee was but small, of fourteene oares on a side. At noone latitude no degrees, fiftie minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall.

The thirteenth, we weighed, the wind Northerly, and a Current setting out of the Southward: passing by the Fort, we gaue them five peeces, which they required. Diuers *Spaniards* boarded vs with complements, and the Princes man, saying, that if we had stayed but foure and twentie houres longer, we should haue had good store of Cloaues, but wee rather thought they intended some treachery against vs, with their Gallies, Frigats, and Curra Curra's, which by sudden departure we thus preuented. Comming about the Wester point of *Tidore*, we had sight of the foure *Flemmish* shippes, riding before their Fort of *Maricco*: one of them at sight of vs, shot off a peece of Ordnance, as we supposed, to call their people aboard to follow vs. We steered directly with the Fortresse of *Ternate*: comming neare, shortned our sailes, and lay by the Lee, and shot off a peece towards the Towne, without sharpe; which they readily answered, and sent off a Souldier of good fashion, but to as little purpose as those of *Tidore* had done.

Four ships of Holland.

But little wind our shippe sagged in, and no anchoring, but at night a gale at South, we stood into the Sea, hauing lost much by the Current of that wee had gotten, finding it to set to the Southward.

The fourteenth, the wind at South South-west, we steered North North-west, and at noone had latitude one degree no minutes: we had sight of a Gallie, wherefore we cast about, but finding her to stand away, went our course for *Iapan*.

But before we part further from this *Moluccan* Coast, I thinke it not amisse, to acquaint the Reader with a few Notes that I hold worthy obseruance, touching the Trade and state of those Ilands.

Throughout all the *Molucca* Ilands, a Bahar of Cloues doth weigh two hundred Cattees of that Countrey, euery Cattee three pound five ounces haberdepoiz, which maketh the Bahar to be fixe hundred sixtie two pound eight ounces haberdepoiz subtile. For which Bahar of Cloues, the *Flemmings* by their perpetuall contract (as they terme it) giue fiftie Rials of eight. My selfe for more speedie obtayning of lading, yeelded to pay them sixtie Rials of eight the Bahar. Which increase of price made them so forward to furnish vs, that had not the *Flemmings* by their force ouer-awed the nationals, imprisoning and threatning them with death, and keeping watch and good guards along the Sea-Coast, I had in one moneth procured our full lading. The most of these Ilands beare store of Cloues. Those of note inhabited, yeeld one yeare with another as followeth, that is to say, *Ternate*, one thousand Bahars. *Machian*, one thousand and ninetie. *Tydore*, nine hundred. *Bachian*, three hundred. *Moteer*, fixe hundred. *Meau*, fiftie. *Batta China*, five and thirtie. The totall is three thousand nine hundred seuentie five.

Euery third yeare is farre more fruitfull then either of the former two, and is called the great Monson. It is lamentable to see the ruines that Ciuill Warre hath bred in those Ilands, which as I vnderstood at my being there, beganne and continued in manner following. The *Portingall* at his first discouerie of them, found fierce warres betwixt the King of *Ternate*, and the King of *Tydore*, vnder which two Kings all the other Ilands are either subiected or confederated with one of them.



them. The *Portugall* for the better settling of himselfe, tooke part with neither of them, but politickely carrying himselfe kept both to bee his friends, and so fortified vpon the Ilands of *Ternate* and *Tydore*, where, to the *Portugals* great aduantage, hauing the whole Trade of Cloues in their owne hands, they domineered and bore chiefeft sway vntill the yeare 1605. wherein the *Flemming* by force displaced them, and planted himselfe: but so weakly and vnprouided for future danger, that the next yeare the *Spaniard*, (who whilest the *Portugall* remayned there, was ordered both by the Pope and King of *Spaine* not to meddle with them) came from the *Philippinas*, beat the *Flemmings* out of both the Ilands, tooke the King of *Ternate* Prisoner, sent him to the *Philippinas*, and kept *Ternate* and *Tydore* vnder their command. The *Flemming* since that time hath gotten footing there againe, and at my beeing there had built him these  
10 Forts, viz.

The *Holland* vs  
planted in the  
*Moluccas*, 1605.

Vpon the Iland *Ternate*, They haue a Fort called *Malayon*, which hath three Bulwarkes, and is walled round about. Secondly *Tolonco*, which hath two Bulwarkes, and a round Towre walled about. Thirdly, *Tacome*, which hath foure Bulwarkes, and is walled about.

Vpon the Iland *Tydore*, *Marieko* which hath foure Bulwarkes.

Vpon the Iland *Machian*, First, *Tafasoa*, (the chiefe Towne of this Iland) where they haue foure great Bulwarkes walled about, sixteene Peeces of Ordnance, and about one thousand Inhabitants of the *Naturals*.

Secondly, *Nofakia*, another Towne, where they haue two Forts walled about, and another  
20 Fort vpon the top of a high hill there, which freeth the Roade on the other side, and hath five or fixe Peeces of Ordnance.

Thirdly, *Tabalola*, a Towne where they haue two Forts walled, eight Peeces of Ordnance, and the Inhabitants hereof, (as of the former) vnder their command. This place is very strongly situated by nature.

Those of *Nofakia* are esteemed no good Souldiers, but are reported to take part alwayes, as neere as they can ghesse it, with the strongest. But the *Naturals* of *Tabalola*, which formerly dwelt at *Cayoa*, are accounted the best Souldiers of the *Molucca* Ilands, and are deadly Enemies to the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, and as weary now of the *Flemmings*.

In these three Forts vpon *Machian*, there were at my being heere an hundred and twentie  
30 *Holland* Souldiers, viz. eightie, at *Tafasoa*; thirtie, at *Nofakia*; and ten, at *Tabalola*: which Garrison is with the least.

This Iland *Machian* is the richest of Cloues of all the *Molucca* Ilands, and according to the generall report of the Inhabitants, yeeldeth in the yeare of the great Monson aboue eighteene hundred Bahars of Cloues.

Vpon the Iland *Bachian*, The *Flemmings* haue one great Fort.

Vpon the Iland *Moteer*, They haue foure Bulwarkes.

These Ciuill Warres haue so wasted the *Nationals*, that a great quantitie of Cloues perish, and rot vpon the ground for want of gathering. Neither is there any likelihood of peace to be made betwixt them, vntill the one part be vtterly rooted out.

40 Thus leauing them to their warres I will returne to our Trafficke, and shew in what manner we traded with the *Naturals* for Cloues, which for the most part was by bartering and exchanging Cotton cloth of *Cambaya*, and *Coromandell* for Cloues. The sorts requested, and prices that they yeilded.

*Candakeens* of *Barochie*, six Cattees of Cloues. *Candakeens* *Papang*, or flat, three Cattees. *Selas*, or small *Bastas*, seuen & eight. *Patta chere* *Malayo*, sixteen. *Dragam chere* *Malayo*, sixteen. Five *Cassas* twelue. Course of that kind eight. *Betellias*, or *Tancoulos* red, fortie foure and fortie eight. *Sarassas chere* *Malayo*, fortie eight and fiftie. *Sarampourri*, thirtie. *Chelles*, *Tapsiels*, & *Matafons*, twentie, & foure and twentie. White *Cassas*, or *Tancoulos*, fortie, and foure and fortie. *Dongerijus*, the finest, twelue. Course of that kind, eight and ten. *Pouti* *Castella*, ten. *Ballachios* the finest, thirtie. *Patta chere* *Malayo*, of two fathomes eight and ten. Great *Potas*, or long foure fathome, sixteene Cattees of Cloues. *Parcallas* white, twelue. *Salalos* *Ytam*, twelue and fourteene. *Turias* and *Tappe* *Turias*, one and two. *Patola*, of two Fathomes, fiftie and sixtie. Those of foure and one fathome accordingly. Rice eight and twentie pound, a Riall of eight. *Sagu*, which is a roote whereof the *Naturals* make their Bread, and is their chiefeft food through the whole Countrey, it is sold in bunches, and was worth there one quarter of a Riall of eight a bunch. Veluets, Sattins, Taffataes, and other stufes of Silke of *China*, are very well requested heere. And this shall serue for aduice concerning the *Molucca* Ilands.

The sixteenth, calme till night, then a gale at West: we steered North North-west.

The seuenteenth in the morning, wind at East by South, we steered North but after variable,  
60 shifting to all the points of the Compasse: towards night we had sight of land to the North-ward.

The eighteenth, calme, much raine and contrarie windes, I therefore resolued to goe for the Iland *Saiem* which was to the West-ward, and there to stay and refresh till the Monson would permit me to proceed. But instantly the wind came to the West, so that wee stood North and



North by East. The nineteenth, little wind at West, wee continued our course North by East, very much raine and extreame hot.

A Current to  
the Eastward.

The twentieth, in the morning calme, and a continuall current setting to the East-ward, which we have felt euer since our departure from *Ternate*. In the after-noon the wind North a gale we stood to the West-ward to stemme the current, in regard of the Northerly winds subiect to calmes and the Easterly current, we stood in with a great lland called *Doy*, to rest and refresh our selues.

*Doy* a great  
lland.

The one and twentieth, in the morning we were faire before the said lland, neere the Northerne point, being a low point stretching to the Southwards, we stood in East by South, wind at North by East: at noone the Skiffe was sent to search out a conuenient place to ride in, but the current did set so strong to the East-ward, as that we could not get a head, onely discovered a Bay very large, but it had a great shoale lying off the Northerne point halfe a league into the Sea, and had sixtie fathome two mile off the shoare sand, but night approaching wee stood off till morning.

A great shoale.

The two and twentieth, after Sun-set we anchored in foure and twentie fathomes, in the Bay hauing had (standing in) fittie fixe, thirtie fixe, twentie fixe, and twentie foure fathomes.

The three and twentieth, I sent the Skiffe ashore to seeke a conuenient place to water in, and to pitch a Tent for the company to defend them from the raine. They found such a place right ouer against the ship, together with a great tracke of Deare and Swine, but no signe of people: the Countrey full of Trees and abundance of Cokers, Penang, Serie, Palmitas, and Fowle, Pheasant and Wood-cockes. I went ashore, the Merchants with mee, a Tent was set vp, our Carpenter made Fal-pits very artificially to take Swine, some fish we tooke amongst the rockes, but cost much labour, one Pheasant, and two Wood-pidgeons very large bodied like Hens, some of the Companie stayed all night on shoare, to looke for the comming of the Swine to the Trap.

A strange E-  
clipse of the  
Moone.

The foure and twentieth, we saw very large Swine, but got none. This day about halfe an houre after seuen in the morning, the Moone in the full was eclipsed in the strangest manner that euer any of vs had seene, being obscured three houres and an halfe before she recouered her perfect light, which vnto vs was very fearefull.

The five and twentieth, our people searched abroad, brought to the ship great store of Cokers, some Fowles, and heads of Palmita Trees, which boyled with Beeffe are as good as Cabbage.

The eight and twentieth, the Companie laboured to get in wood and water. The Skiffe sounded about the shoale, and found ten and twelue fathome, at the Norther point neere to it, night and day very much raine.

The nine and twentieth and thirtieth were spent in getting aboard our wood, whereof wee had great store, and as good as our Billets in *England*.

May 1. 1613.

The first of May, the Skiffe was sent to sound to the Wester point into the Bay, and found very deepe water. Landing, they found the ruines of houses, and certaine brasse pannes, so that we were of opinion that the place had lately beene inhabited, but the Inhabitants by the Warres hunted from their home.

*Doy* at the  
Northermost  
end of *Geilolo*.

The twelfth, we set sayle from this lland *Doy*, being the North-east most lland of *Batta Chi-na* or *Geilolo* in the *Moluccas*, latitude two degrees, thirtie fixe minutes, variation five degrees, twentie minutes Easterly, hauing remayned heere twentie dayes, beeing seuentie one persons bound for *Iapan*, and at noone fourteene leagues North by East, off the place where wee anchored.

The thirteenth, the shippes way to noone North by East, twentie two leagues. Wee steered North the wind West, variation five degrees thirtie minutes Easterly, with a strong Current setting to the East-ward, then the wind shifted to the West by South, West North-west, East, then a gale at West by South, and West South-west. The fourteenth, latitude five degrees twentie fixe minutes, way North by East twentie fixe leagues, wind West, and Current as afore-said: cleere weather. The fifteenth, latitude five degrees fittie fixe minutes, way North North-east, fourteene leagues current as formerly. The sixteenth, latitude seuen degrees ten minutes way North Easterly, twentie seuen leagues, wind at South-west, and West raine. The seuenteenth, latitude eight degrees twentie two minutes, way North twentie foure leagues wind South-west, but in the morning at East with raine. The eighteenth, latitude nine degrees seuen minutes, way North-easterly fifteene leagues, wind at East and East North-east very cleere weather. The nineteenth, latitude nine degrees fortie one minutes, way North eleuen leagues one third part, wind East and East North-east. The twentieth, latitude ten degrees fortie minutes, way North halfe a point Westerly, twentie leagues wind, East and North-east, with helpe of a current Northerly. The one and twentieth, latitude eleuen degrees thirtie fixe minutes, way North North-west twentie leagues, wind North-east East, North North-east, and North-east by East star-board tacke aboard. The two and twentieth, latitude twelue degrees thirtie nine minutes, way North North-west, twentie three leagues, wind East North-east, North-east by East, and North-East.



The three and twentieth, latitude twelve degrees fiftie seven minutes, way North by West, fixe and two third parts of a league wind, South-east calme. The foure and twentieth, latitude thirteene degrees fortie two minutes, way North fifteen leagues, wind South by East, very smooth water. The five and twentieth, latitude fiftene degrees, twelve minutes, way North thirte leagues, wind South, we steered North Westerly. Note, that wee find those fauourable winds in the full of the Moone. The sixe and twentieth, latitude seuentene degrees, fixe minutes, way North thirte eight leagues, wind South by West South, and South South-west a continuall stiffe gale and smooth water. The seven and twentieth, way North-east twentie foure leagues, wind at West North-west and West, with Raine, Thunder and Lightning. The eight and twentieth, way North, nine leagues wind West, and West North-west. The nine and twentieth, latitude nineteene degrees fiftene minutes, way North, nine leagues wind North-east East, West, West North-west and South, calmes and gusts. The thirtieth, latitude twentie degrees twelve minutes, way North twentie leagues, wind at South-east and East South-east. The one and thirtieth, latitude twentie one degrees, thirtie five minutes, way North by West, thirtie leagues, wind East, and East by North. Variation fixe degrees no minutes Easterly.

Note.

Variation fixe  
degrees Ea-  
sterly.

Iune 1. 1613.

The first of Iune, we passed the Tropick of Cancer, the Sunne in our Zenith wee could not observe, way North fortie leagues, wind at South-east, and South-east by East, variation five degrees twentie five minutes Easterly.

The second, latitude twentie five degrees fortie foure minutes, way North fortie two leagues, wind South-east and South-east by South, making account we should haue seene the Ilands, *Dos Reys Magos* about eight of the clocke in the morning, but as yet see none. About foure a clocke in the after-noon we made land, being a very low Iland bearing North-west about three leagues off, wind South-east by East, and hauing it North North-east, we had sight of the high-land ouer the low land, there being many little Ilands to the number of ten or eleuen, with broken ground and breaches reaching ouer to each Iland, so that wee could discerne no passage to the West-ward. At night we tackt off, tooke in our Top-sayles, and lay close by in our courses all night, wind very much at South South-east, we steered East. The Ilands lye alongst North-east and South-west.

The Iles Des  
Reys Magos.

The third, we stood in for the land, being a high Iland bearing North-west, seeming to vs a most pleasant and fruitfull soyle, as any we had seene since our comming out of England, well peopled, and great store of Cattle. Wee purposed to haue come to an anchor about the North-east point, and sounding had sixty fathome, had sight of two Boates comming off vnto vs, wee ysed all the meanes we could to speake with them, being desirous of a Pilot, and to know the name of the Iland, the better to bee assured where we were. But the wind was so forcible, as that we could not get in, wherefore we stood away North-west, and had sight of another Iland bearing West North-west, we steered with it, and from thence had sight of another Iland, bearing North-east halfe a point Easterly, some seuen or eight leagues off, and comming vnder the Wester-most Iland, we discerned certaine Rockes that lay off the shoare about two miles, the one aboue water, and the Northermost vnder-water, and is a great way without the other, the Sea breaking vpon it. Then the land falleth away to the South-wards round, and nere to the point you shall open a steepe Rocke, that is vpon the West-side of the Iland, resembling Charing-Crosse. Then we steered North-west with an extreame gale at South by West, and South South-west. When we had opened the Iland, and a current setting to the South-ward, at foure of the clocke we tooke in our Top-sayles and haled close vpon a tacke, the Iland being about seuen leagues North-west off vs. Way to noone North halfe a point Easterly, sixteene leagues, way North North-west three quarters Westerly, twentie leagues. At three a clocke in the afternoone we set our courses, the wind at North-west, and North-west by North, wee steered North-east some two houres, then calme and raine, variation at Sunne-setting foure degrees fortie minutes Easterly.

Variation  
four degrees  
fortie minutes,  
Easterly.

The fifth, way West by North foure leagues and an halfe, wind North North-east, wee steere North-west starboord tackt, variation foure degrees fortie two minutes.

The sixth, way North North-west nine leagues, wind East North-east, North-east by North and North-east by East, little wind, much raine, variation foure degrees nineteene minutes Easterly. At night the wind at East and East South-east.

The seuenth, way North-east by North sixteene leagues, wind at South-east and South South-west, then we steered away North-east by North, supposing to bee off *Tonan* twentie eight or thirtie leagues.

The eight, in the morning wee had sight of a high round Iland bearing East fixe leagues off with diuers other Ilands rising in fixe or seuen parts bearing West five or fixe leagues off: hauing made to this noone twentie two leagues North-east by North, wind at South South-west a stiffe gale. Then we haled ouer North-west with another Iland, which we found to be foure in number, being barren and many picked Rockes. Then we steered North by East, the wind at South by West, about three of the clocke wee had sight of an Iland, with three Hills like three round Sugar-loues, bearing East by S. five leagues off. At five of the clock we had sight of an Iland ri-

H h h 3

sing



sing in two parts, bearing North North-east, the Northren end being an high steep vpright point, the land falling away to the Eastward North-east, and at sixe of the clock the body of it did beare East one league and an halfe off. The wind West, we stood off vpon a tacke North North-west.

*Xima or Mash-  
ma.*

The ninth, in the morning wee had sight of land, bearing North North-east, and sixe great Islands on a ranke. From the Island we descried yesternight North-east and South-west, and at the Northermost end of them all, many small rockes and hummockes, and in the Bay to the Eastward of the hummockes we saw an high land bearing East, East by South, and East South-east, which is the Island called *Xima* in the Plats, but called by the Naturals *Mashma*, and the Island afore said, North North-east, is called *Segue* or *Amaxay*: it lyeth East by North, and West by South, with many small Islands and rockes on the Southerne side of them, and is distant from the Island with the steepe point, (which wee did see the eight day) South South-west twelue leagues, the wind calme all night, yet we got to the Northward, as wee supposed, by the helpe of a current or tide.

*An excellent  
kind of oares.*

*Nangasaque.*

The tenth, by breake of day the outward-most land to the Westward did beare North by East ten leagues off, the wind at North-east by North: at nine, a gale at South, wee steered North by West, and had sight of two hummockes without the point. Then wee steered North North-west, and soone after came foure great Fisher-boats aboard, about five tunnes apeece in burthen, they sailed with one saile, which stood like a Skiffe saile, and skuld with foure oares on a side, their oares resting vpon a pinne fastned on the toppe of the Boats side, the head of which pinne was so let into the middle part of the oare, that the oare did hang in his iust poize, so that the labour of the Rower is much lesse, then otherwise it must be; yet doe they make farre greater speed then our people with rowing, and performe their worke standing, as ours doe sitting, so that they take the lesse roome. They told vs that we were before the entrance of *Nangasaque*, bearing North North-east, and the straights of *Arima*, North-east by North, and the high hill, which we did see yesterday, is vpon the Island called *Vsideke*, which maketh the straights of *Arima*, where at the Norther-most end is good riding, and at the South end is the going into *Cochinoh*. To this noone we haue made a North-way sixe leagues. Wee agreed with two of the Masters of the Fisher-boats (for thirtie Rialls of eight a piece in money, and Rice for their food) to Pilot vs into *Firando*; which agreement made, their people entred our shippe, and performed voluntarily their labour, as readily as any of our Mariners. We steered North by West, the Pilots making account to be thirtie leagues off *Firando*. One of the foure Boats which came aboard vs, did belong to the *Portugals*, liuing at *Langasaque*, and were new *Christians*, and thought that our ship had been the *Macan* ship; but finding the contrary, would vpon no intreatie stay, but made hast backe againe to aduise them.

## ¶ VI.

### *Their arriuall at Firando: the Habite, Rites, and Customes of the Iaponians.*

*June 11. 1613.  
The King of  
Firando and his  
Nephew.*

*Iaponian habite.*

*Iaponian man-  
ner of saluta-  
tion.*

**T**He eleuenth, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to an anchor halfe a league short of *Firando*, the tide so spent that we could not get further in: soone after I was visited by the old King *Foyne Sama*, and his Nephew *Tone-Sama*, Gouvernour then of the Iland vnder the old King. They were attended with fortie Boats or Gallies, rowed some with ten, some with fiftene oares on a side: when they drew neare to the ship, the King commanded all, but the two wherein himselfe and his Nephew were, to fall a sterne, and they only entred the ship, both of them in silke gownes, girt to them with a shirt, and a paire of breeches of flaxen cloath next their bodies; either of them had two Cattans or swords of that Countrey by his side, the one of halfe a yard long, the other about a quarter. They wore no bands, the fore-parts of their heads were shauen to the crowne, and the rest of their haire, which was very long, was gathered together and bound vp on a knot behind, wearing neither Hat nor Turbant, but bare-headed. The King was aged about seuentie two yeeres, his Nephew or Grand-child, that gouerned vnder him, was about two and twentie yeeres old, and either of them had his Gouvernour with him, who had command ouer their slaues, as they appointed him. Their manner and curtesie in saluting was after their manner, which is this. First, in presence of him whom they are to salute, they put off their shooes (stockings they weare none) and then clapping their right hand within their left, they put them downe towards their knees, and so wagging or mouing of their hands a little to and fro, they stooping, steppe with small steps sideling from the partie saluted, and crie *Augb, Augb*. I led them into my Cabbin, where I had prepared a Banquet for them, and a good consort of Musicke, which much delighted them. They bade me welcome, and promised me kind entertainment. I deliuered our Kings Letters to the King of *Firando*, which he receiued with great ioy, saying hee would not open it till



till *Ange* came, who could interpret the same vnto him; this *Ange* is in their language a Pilot, being one *William Adams* an *English* man, who passing with a *Flemming* through the South-sea, by mutiny and disorder of the Marriners hee remained in that Countrey, and was seised vpon by the Emperour about twelue yeares before: The King hauing staid aboard about an houre and a halfe, tooke his leaue: he was no sooner ashore, but all his nobilitie, attended with a multitude of souldiers, entred the ship, euery man of worth brought his present with him, some Venison, some Wilde-fowle, some wilde Boare the largest and fattest that euer any of vs had seene, some Fruits, Fish, &c. They did much admire our shippe, and made as if they had neuer seene it sufficiently. We being pestered with the number of these visitors, I sent to the King, requesting him that order might bee taken to remoue them, and to preuent all inconueniences that might happen. Whereupon hee sent a Guardian, (being a principall man of his owne Guard) with charge to remaine and lye aboard, that no iniury might be offered vnto vs; and caused a proclamation to be made in the Towne to the same effect. The same night, *Henrick Brower*, Captaine of the *Dutch* Factory there, came aboard to visite me, or rather to see what passed betwixt the King and vs. I did write the same day to Master *Adam* (being then at *Edoo*, which is very neare three hundred leagues from *Firando*) to let him vnderstand of our arriuall. King *Foyu* sent it away the next day by his Admirall to *Osackay*, the first Port of note vpon the chiefe Island, and then by post vp into the Land to *Edoo*: giuing the Emperour likewise to vnderstand of our being there, and cause thereof.

*William Adams.*  
His story written by himselfe you haue before.

*Osackay.*

The twelfth in the morning, there was brought aboard such abundance of fish, and so cheape as we could desire. We weighed and set saile for the Road. The King sent at the least threescore great Boats or Gallies very well mand, to bring vs into the harbor. I doubted what the cause of their coming might be, & was sending off the Skiffe to command them not to come neare the ship but the King being the head-most, weaued with his handkercher, and willed the rest to attend, and himselfe comming aboard, told me that he had commanded them to come to tow our ship in about a point, somewhat dangerous, by reason of the force of the tide, which was such, that hauing a stiffe gale of wind, yet we could not stemme it, and comming into the eddie, we should haue been set vpon the Rockes. So we sent Hawfers aboard them, and they fell to worke. In the meane while the King did breake his fast with me. Being at an anchor, I would haue requited the people for their paines, but the King would not suffer them to take any thing. We anchored before the Towne in fise fathome, so neare the shoare, that we might talke to the people in their houses. We saluted the Towne with nine peeces of Ordnance, but were not answered, for they haue no Ordnance heere, nor any Fort, but Barricados only for small shot. Our ground heere was *Ozie*. Diuers Noblemen came to bid me welcome, whereof two were of extraordinary account, called *Nobusane* and *Simmadone*, who were very well entertained, and at parting held very great state, one staying aboard whilest the other were landed; their children and chiefe followers in the like manner. There came continually such a world of people aboard, both men and women, as that we were not able to go vpon the decks: round about the ship was furnished with Boats full of people, admiring much the head and sterne of the ship. I gaue leaue to diuers women of the better sort to come into my Cabbin, where the Picture of *Venus*, with her sonne *Cupid*, did hang somewhat wantonly set out in a large frame, they thinking it to bee our Ladie and her Sonne, fell downe and worshipped it, with shewes of great deuotion, telling men in a whispering manner (that some of their owne companions which were not so, might not heare) that they were *Christians*: whereby we perceiued them to be *Christians*, conuerced by the *Portugall* Iesuits.

A strong tide.

We anchored before the Towne.

Note the danger of idolatry, euen in Popish sense, by veneration of Images.

The King came aboard againe, and brought foure chiefe women with him. They were attired in gownes of silke, clapt the one skirt ouer the other, and so girt to them, bare-legged, only a paire of halfe buskins bound with silke riband about their instep: their haire very blacke, and very long, tyed vp in a knot vpon the crowne in a comely manner: their heads no where shauen as the mens were. They were well faced, handed, and footed; cleare skind and white, but wanting colour, which they amend by arte. Of stature low, but very fat; very curteous in behaviour, not ignorant of the respect to be giuen vnto persons according to their fashion. The King requested that none might stay in the Cabbin, saue my selfe and my Linguist, who was borne in *Japan*, and was brought from *Bantam* in our ship thither, being well skild in the *Mallayan* tongue, wherein he deliuered to mee what the King spoke vnto him in the *Japan* language. The Kings women seemed to be somewhat bashfull, but he willed them to bee frolicke. They sung diuers songs, and played vpon certain Instruments (whereof one did much resemble our Lute) being belied like it, but longer in the necke, and fretted like ours, but had only foure gut-strings. Their fingring with the left hand like ours, very nimble; but the right hand striketh with an Iuory bone, as we vse to play vpon a Citterne with a quill. They delighted themselves much with their musicke, keeping time with their hands, and playing and singing by booke, prickt on line and space, resembling much ours heere. I feasted them, and presented them with diuers *English* commodities: and after some two houres stay they returned. I moued the King for a house, which hee readily granted, and tooke two of the Merchants along with him, and shewed them three or foure houles,

The Kings women, their habit.

Their musicke instrumentall and vocall.

Prick-song.



houses, willing them to take their choise, paying the owners as they could agree.

Presents.  
Feasting and  
drinking of  
healths in Iapan

The thirteenth, I went ashore, attended vpon by the Merchants and Principall Officers, and deliuered the Presents to the King, amounting to the value of one hundred and fortie pounds, or thereabouts, which he receiued with very great kindnesse, feasting me and my whole companie with diuers sorts of powdered wild fowles and fruits: and calling for a standing Cup (which was one of the Presents then deliuered him) he caused it to be filled with his Countrey wine, which is distilled out of Rice, and is as strong as our *Aquavita*: and albeit the Cuppe held vppward of a pint and an halfe, notwithstanding taking the Cup in his hand, he told me hee would drinke it all off, for a health to the King of *England*, and so did, my selfe and all his Nobles doing the like. And whereas in the roome where the King was, there was onely my selfe and the Cape Merchant, (the rest of our Company being in an other roome) the King commanded his Secretarie to goe out vnto them, and see that euerie one of them did pledge the health. The King and his Nobles did sit at meat crosse-legged vpon Mats, after the *Turkie* fashion, the Mats richly edged, some with cloath of Gold, some with Veluet, Satten, and Damaske.

Gesture at  
meate.

The foureteenth and fifteenth, we spent with giuing of Presents. The sixteenth, I concluded with Captaine *Audasse*, Captaine of the *China* quarter here, for his house, to pay ninetie five Ryals of eight for the Monson of fixe Moneths, he to repaire it at present, and wee to repaire it hereafter, and alter what we pleased: he to furnish all conuenient roomes with Mats according to the fashion of the Countrey.

*Mashma* a place  
of good vent  
for our com-  
modities.

This day our ship was so pestered with people, as that I was enforced to send to the King for a Guardian to cleare them out, many things being stolne, but I more doubted our owne people, then the Naturals. There came in a *Flemming* in one of the Countrey boates, which had been at the Iland *Mashma*, where he had sold good store of Pepper, broad Cloth, and Elephants teeth, but would not be acknowne vnto vs to haue sold any thing, yet brought nothing backe in the boat with him. But the *Iapons* his watermen told vs the truth, viz. That he had sold good quantitie of goods at a Mart there, and returned barres of siluer, which they kept very secret.

Women Ac-  
tors of Co-  
medies in Ia-  
pan, being also  
common wo-  
men, and their  
price rated.  
Bawdes in Ia-  
pan.

The one and twentieth, the old King came aboard againe, and brought with him diuers women to be frolicke. These women were Actors of Comedies, which passe there from Iland to Iland to play, as our Players doe here from Towne to Towne, hauing seuerall shifts of apparrell for the better grace of the matter acted; which for the most part are of Warre, Loue, and such like. These Women are as the slaues of one man, who putteth a price what euery man shall pay that hath to doe with any of them; more then which he is not to take vpon paine of death, in case the partie iniured shall complaine. It is left to his owne discretion to prize her at the first, but rise he cannot afterwards, fall he may. Neither doth the partie bargain with the Wench, but with her Master, whose command she is to obey. The greatest of their Nobilitie traueilling, hold it no disgrace to send for these Panders to their Inne, & do compound with them for the Wenches, either to fill their drinke at Table (for all men of any ranke haue their drinke filled to the by Women) or otherwise to haue the vse of them. When any of these Panders die (though in their life time they were receiued into Company of the best, yet now as vnworthy to rest amongst the worst) they are bridled with a bridle made of straw, as you would bridle an Horse, and in the clothes they died in, are dragged through the streetes into the fields, and there cast vpon a dunghill, for dogges and fowles to deuoure.

Fine thousand  
Chineses done to  
death for tra-  
ding in forrain  
parts.

The twentieth three, we had newes of two *China* Iunkes arriued at *Langasague*, laden with Sugar. By him we vnderstood, that the Emperour of *China* had then lately put to death about five thousand persons, for trading out of the Countrey, contrary to his Edict, confiscating all their goods: notwithstanding hope of profit enticed these men to put it in hazard, hauing bribed the new *Pungas* and Officers vpon the Sea-coast, which vpon the execution of the former, were placed in their steads.

The *Hollanders*  
formerly pas-  
sed vnder the  
name of *Eng-  
lishmen*.  
Note.  
*Iaponian* song of  
the *English*.

The twentieth ninth, a Soma or Iunke of the *Flemmings* arriued at *Langasague* from *Syam*, laden with Brasill wood and Skins of all sorts, wherein it was said that there were *Englishmen*, but prooued to be *Flemmings*. For that before our comming, they passed generally by the name of *Englishmen*: for our *English* Nation hath been long known by report among them, but much scandalled by the *Portugals* Iesuites, as Pyrats and Routers vpon the Seas; so that the Naturals haue a song which they call the *English Crosonia*, shewing how the *English* doe take the *Spanish* ships, which they (singing) doe act likewise in gesture with their *Cattans* by their sides, with which song and acting, they terrifie and skare their children, as the *French* sometimes did theirs with the name of the Lord *Talbot*.

Iuly.

Seueritie for  
fighting and  
drawing wea-  
pons.

The first of Iuly, two of our Company happened to quarrell the one with the other, and were very likely to haue gone into the field, to the endangering of vs all. For it is a custome here, That whosoever drawes a weapon in anger, although he doe no harme therewith, hee is presently cut in peeces: and doing but small hurt, not only themselves are so executed, but their whole generation.

The second day, I went ashore to keep house in *Firando*, the household consisting of twenty six persons. Note, that at our comming we found Broad-clothes of fifteen or sixtene pound a cloth to



to be sold by the *Dutch* in *Firando*, for fortie Rials of eight, which is eight pound sterling the Mat, which Mat is two yards and a quarter: but desirous to keep vp the price of our cloath, and hearing that the *Dutch* had great store there, I had conference with *Brower*, Captaine of their Factorie to this effect; That betwixt vs we should set rates vpon such clothes as both of vs had, and neither of vs in any wise to sell vnder the price agreed vpon: for performance whereof, I proffered to enter into bond to him. In the morning he seemed to approue hereof, but ere night sent word that he disliked it, excusing himselfe that he had no warrant from his Masters to make any such agreement. The next morning, he shipped away great store of Cloath to diuers Ilands, rating them at base prizes, viz. at twentie, eightene and sixteen Rials the Mat, that he might procure the more speedie dispatch of his owne, and glut the place before the comming of ours.

English broad  
clothes sold by  
the Dutch in  
Iapan.

*Bantam* Pepper vngarbled, which cost at *Bantam* one Riall three quarters of eight the sacke, was worth here at our comming tenne Tayes the Peecull, which is one hundred Cattees, making one hundred thirtie pound *English* subtile. A Taye is five shillings sterling with them. A Riall of eight is worth there in ordinary payment but seuen Masse, which is three shillings six pence sterling. For a Masse is as a Riall of Plate.

Tinne the Peecull, thirtie Tayes: Elephants Teeth the Peecull eightie Tayes: Iron cast Peeces the Peecull fixe Tayes: Powder the Peecull twentie three Tayes: *Aloes Socatrina* the Cattee fixe Tayes: Fowling Peeces the pece twentie Tayes: Callico and such like Commodities of *Choromandel*, and of the *Guzerates*, as they are in goodnesse.

The seuenth, the King of the Iland *Goto*, not farre from *Firando* came to visit King *Foyne*, saying, that he had heard of an excellent *English* ship arriued in his Dominions, which he greatly desired to see, and goe aboard of. King *Foyne* intreated me that he might be permitted, for that hee was an especiall friend of his. So he was well entertained aboard, banqueted, and had diuers Peeces shot off at his departure, which he very kindly accepted, and told me, that hee should bee right glad to liue to see some of our Nation to come to his Iland, whither they should be heartily welcome.

King of Goto.

The eighth, three *Iaponians* were executed, viz. two men and one woman: the cause this, The woman none of the honestest (her husband being trauelled from home) had appointed these two their seuerall houres to repaire vnto her. The latter man not knowing of the former, and thinking the time too long, comming in before the houre appointed, found the first man with her already, and enraged thereat, he whipt out his Cattan, and wounded both of them very sorely, hauing very neere hewne the Chine of the mans backe in two. But as well as he might hee cleared himselfe of the woman, and recouering his Cattan, wounded the other. The street taking notice of the fray, forthwith seased vpon them, led them aside, and acquainted King *Foyne* therewith, and sent to know his pleasure, (for according to his will, the partie is executed) who presently gaue order that they should cut off their heads: which done, euery man that listed (as very many did) came to trie the sharpenesse of their Cattans vpon the Corps, so that before they left off, they had hewne them all three into peeces as small as a mans hand, and yet notwithstanding did not then giue ouer, but placing the peeces one vpon another, would try how many of them they could strike through at a blow: and the peeces are left to the Fowles to deuoure.

The King of  
Goto desirous  
that our men  
would come  
into his King-  
dome.  
Iaponian man-  
ner of Execu-  
tion.

The tenth, three more were executed as the former, for stealing of a woman from *Firando*, and selling her at *Langasacque* long since, two of them were brethren, and the other a sharer with them. When any are to be executed, they are led out of the Towne in this manner: There goeth first one with a Pick-axe, next followeth an other with a shouell for to make his graue (if that hee permitted him) the third man beareth a small Table whereon is written the parties offence, which table is afterwards set vp vpon a Post on the graue where he is buried. The fourth is the partie to be executed, his hands bound behind him with a filken cord, hauing a little Banner of Paper (much resembling our wind-vanes) whereon is likewise written his offence. The executioner followeth next, with his Cattan by his side, holding in his hand the cord wherewith the offender is bound. On either side of the executioner goeth a souldiour with his Pike, the head thereof resting on the shoulder of the partie appointed to suffer, to skare him from attempting to escape. In this very manner I saw one led to execution, who went so resolutely and without all appearance of feare of death, that I could not but much admire him, neuer hauing seene the like in Christendome. The offence for which he suffered was for stealing of a sacke of Rice (of the value of two shillings six pence, from his neighbour, whose house was then on fire.

To steale an  
others slaue,  
death.  
The manner of  
their going to  
execution.

The eleuenth, there arriued at *Langasacque* three *China* Iunckes laden with Silkes. The nineteenth, the old King *Foyne*, intreated me for a peece of *Poldauis*, which I sent him; hee caused it presently to be made into Coates, which he (notwithstanding that hee was a King, and of that great age, and famed to be the worthiest souldiour of all *Iapan*, for his valour and seruice in the *Corean* warres) did weare next his skinne, and some part thereof was made into handkerchiefs, which he daily vsed.

Poldauis worn  
by the King.

The twentieth, a *Soma* or Iuncke comming from *Cochinchina* arriued at *Langasacque*, laden with Silkes, and Benjamin, excellent cleere and rich. The nine and twentieth, M. *Adams* arriued at *Firando*, hauing been seenteene dayes on the way comming from *Sorongo*, we hauing staid

ed



William Adams  
commeth vnto  
them.

The first Car-  
rier for not  
making haste  
with the letters  
to Adams, was  
banished by  
the angry King

An intention  
of the Spaniards  
to discouer to  
the Northward  
of Japan.

August.

ed here for his comming fortie eight dayes. After I had friendly entertained him, I conferred with him in the presence of the Merchants, touching the incouragement hee could giue of trade in these parts. He answered, that it was not alwaies alike, but sometimes better, sometimes worse, yet doubted not but we should doe as well as others; giuing admirable commendations of the Countrey, as much affected thereunto.

The thirtieth in the morning, one of the yong Kings Gouvernours was by his order cut into pieces in the street, for being (as it was thought) too familiar with his mother. A slaue of his died with him, for endeauouring to defend his Master. This day there came to *Firando* certaine Spaniards of M. Adams his acquaintance, to desire passage in our ship for *Bantam*. These Spaniards had been belonging to a Spanish Gentleman their Generall, who about a yeare past, were come (vpon the King of Spaines charge) from *Nona Hispania*, to discouer to the Northward of Japan, and arriuing at *Edoo*, attending the Monson to goe to the Northward, which beginneth in the end of May, his Company (whereof these were two) mutinied against him, euery man taking his owne way, leauing the ship vtterly vnmanned, wherefore I thought it best to keepe them out of my ship.

The third, King *Foyne* sent to know of what Bulk our Kings Present to the Emperour was, also what number of people I would take with me, for that he would prouide accordingly for my going vp in good fashon both for Barke, Horses, and Pallanchins.

This day, I caused the Presents to be sorted that were to be giuen to the Emperour, and to those of office and esteeme about him. viz.

	£	8	20
To <i>Ogoshofama</i> , the Emperour, to the value of	87	7	6
To <i>Shongofama</i> , the Emperours sonne	43	15	0
To <i>Codschedona</i> , the Emperours Secretarie	15	17	6
To <i>Saddadona</i> , the Emperours Sonnes Secretarie	14	03	4
To <i>Iocora Iuga</i> , Iudge of <i>Meaco</i>	04	10	6
To <i>Fongo dona</i> , Admirall of <i>Orungo</i>	03	10	0
To <i>Goto Shozanero</i> , the Mintmaster	11	00	0
Totall	180	03	10

## ¶ VII.

### Captaine Saris his Iourney to the Court of the Iaponian Emperour, and obseruations there, and by the way.

The old King  
sent 100. Tayes  
of Iapan money  
for him to  
spend by the  
way. A Tay is  
five shil. of our  
money.  
My setting for-  
ward toward  
the Emperours  
Court.  
*Fuccate* a large  
and faire  
Towne.

Women with  
their households  
that lue in  
boats vpon the  
water.  
Women-diuer

The seuenth of August, King *Foyne* furnished me with a proper Galley of his owne rowed with twentie five oares on a side, and sixtie men, which I did fit vp in a verie comely manner, with walle clothes, ensignes, and all other necessaries, and hauing taken my leaue of the King, I went and remained aboard the ship, to set all things in order before my departure. Which done, and remembrances left with the Master and Cape Merchant, for the well gouerning of the ship and house ashore during my absence, taking with mee tenne English, and nine others, besides the former sixtie, which were onely to attend the Galley, I departed from *Firando* towards the Emperours Court. Wee were rowed through, and amongst diuers Ilands, all which, or the most part of them, were well inhabited, and diuers proper Townes built vpon them; whereof one called *Fuccate*, hath a very strong Castle, built of free stone, but no Ordnance nor Souldiers therein. It hath a ditch about five fathome deepe, and twice as broad round about it, with a draw bridge, kept all in very good repaire. I did land & dine there in the Towne, the tyde and wind so strong against vs, as that we could not passe. The Towne seemed to be as great as *London* is within the wals, very wel built, and euen, so as you may see from the one end of the streete to the other. The place exceedingly peopled, very Ciuill and courteous, onely that at our landing, and being here in *Fuccate*, and so through the whole Country, whithersoever we came, the boyes, children, and worser sort of idle people, would gather about and follow along after vs, crying, *Coré, Coré, Cocoré, Waré*, that is to say, *Ten Coréans with false hearts*: wondering, hooping, hollowing, and making such a noise about vs, that we could scarcely heare one another speake, sometimes throwing stones at vs (but that not in many Townes) yet the clamour and crying after vs was euery where alike, none reproouing them for it. The best aduice that I can giue those who hereafter shall arriue there, is that they passe on without regarding those idle rablements, and in so doing, they shall find their eares onely troubled with the noise. All alongst this Coast, and so vp to *Ozaca*, we found women diuers, that liued with their household and family in boats vpon the water, as in *Holland* they do the like. These women would catch fish by diuing, which by net and lines they missed, and that in eight fathome depth: their eyes by continuall diuing doe grow as red as blood, whereby you may know a diuing woman from all other women.

We were two daies rowing from *Firando* to *Fuccate*: about eight or tenne leagues on this side the



the Straights of *Xemina-seque*, we found a great Towne, where there lay in a Docke, a luncke of eight hundred or a thousand Tunnes of burthen, sheathed all with yron, with a guard appointed to keep her from firing and treachery. She was built in a very homely fashion, much like that which describeth *Noahs Arke* vnto vs. The Naturals told vs, that she serued to transport souldiers into any of the Ilands, if rebellion or warre shoul happen.

Straights of  
*Xemina-seque*.  
A strange  
luncke.

We found nothing extraordinary after we had passed the Straights of *Xemina-seque*, vntill we came vnto *Osaca*, where we arrived the twenty leuenth day of August: our Gailey could not come neere the Towne by fixe miles, where another smaller Vessel met vs; wherein came the good man or Host of the house where we lay in *Osaca*, and brought a banquet with him of wine and salt fruits to intertaine me. The boat hauing a fast made to the mast-head, was drawn by men, as our Barks are from *London* Westward. We found *Osaca* to be a very great Towne, as great as *London* within the walls, with many faire Timber bridges of a great height, seruing to passe ouer a riuer there as wide as the *Thames* at *London*. Some faire houses we found there, but not many. It is one of the chiefe Sea-ports of all *Iapan*; hauing a Castle in it, maruellous large and strong, with very deepe trenches about it, and many draw bridges, with gates plated with yron. The Castle is built all of Free-stone, with Bulwarks and Battlements, with loope holes for smal shot and arrowes, and diuers passages for to cast stones vpon the assaillants. The walls are at the least fixe or seuen yards thicke, all (as I said) of Free-stone, without any filling in the inward part with trumpery, as they reported vnto me. The stones are great, of an excellent quarry, and are cut so exactly to fit the place where they are laid, that no mortar is vsed, but onely earth cast betweene to fill vp voyd creuises if any be. In this Castle did dwell at our being there, the sonne of *Tiquasamma*, who being an infant at the time of his Fathers decease, was left to the gouernment and education of foure, whereof *Ogoshosamma*, the now Emperour was one and chiefe. The other three desirous of Soueraigntie each for his particular, and repelled by *Ogoshosamma*, were for their owne safetie forced to take vp Armes, wherein fortune fauouring *Ogoshosamma* at the triall in field, two of them beeing slaine, the third was glad to saue himselfe by flight. He beeing Conquerour, attempted that which formerly (as it is thought) hee neuer dream'd of, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour, and seazing vpon the true heire, married him vnto his daughter, as the onely meanes to worke a perfect reconcilment, confining the young married couple to liue within this Castle of *Osaca*, attended onely with such as had been brought vp from their cradles by *Ogoshosamma*, not knowing any other Father (as it were) then him: So that by their intelligence he could at all times vnderstand what passed there, and accordingly rule him.

*Osaca*.

Description of  
*Osaca*.

A faire and  
strong Castle.

The son of *Tiquasamma*, the true heire of *Iapan* how defeated of his right.

Right ouer against *Osaca*, on the other side of the Riuer, lyeth another great Towne called *Sacay*, but not so bigge as *Osaca*, yet is it a Towne of great Trade for all the Ilands thereabout.

*Sacay*.

The eight and twentieth day at night, hauing left musters and prices of our Commodities with our Host, we parted from *Osaca* by Barke toward *Fushimi*, where we arrived.

*Fushimi*.

The nine and twentieth at night we found here a Garrison of three thousand Souldiers maintayned by the Emperour, to keepe *Miaco* and *Osaca* in subiection. The Garrison is shifted euery three yeares, which change happened to be at our being there, so that we saw the old Bands march away, and the new enter, in most Souldier-like manner, marching five a brest, and to euery ten files an Officer which is called a Captaine of fittie, who kept them continually in verie good order. First, their shot, *viz.* Calieuers, (for Muskets they haue none, neyther will they vse any) then followed Pikes, next Swords, or Cattans and Targets, then Bowes and Arrowes: next those, weapons resembling a *Welch-hooke* called *Waggadashes*; then Calieuers againe, and so as formerly, without any Ensigne or Colours: neyther had they any Drummes or other Muscical Instruments for Warre. The first file of the Cattans and Targets had silver scabberds to their Cattans, and the last file which was next to the Captaine had their scabberds of gold. The Companies consisted of diuers numbers, some five hundred, some three hundred, some one hundred and fittie men. In the midst of euery Companie were three Horses very richly trapped, and furnished with Sables, well set out, some couered with costly Fures, some with Veluet, some with Stammet broad-cloth, euery Horse had three slaues to attend him, ledde with silken halters, their eyes couered with lether couers. After euery Troope followed the Captaine on Horse-backe, his bed and other necessities were laid vpon his owne Horse, equally peased on either side, ouer the same was spread a couering of redde felt of *China*, whereupon the Captaine did sit crosse-legged, as if hee had sate betwixt a couple of panners: and for those that were ancient or otherwise weake-backt, they had a staffe artificially fixed vnto the Pannell, that the Rider might rest himselfe, and leane backward against it, as if he were sitting in a chaire. The Captaine Generall of this Garrison wee met two dayes after we had met his first troop, (hauing still in the meane-time met with some of these Companies as we passed along, sometimes one league, sometimes two leagues distant one from another.) Hee marched in very great state, beyond that the others did, (for the second Troope was more richly set out in their armes then the first: and the third then the second, and so still euery one better then other, vntill it came vnto this the last and best of all.) He hunted and hawked all the way, hauing his owne Hounds and Hawkes along with him, the Hawkes being hooded and lured as ours

Garrisons  
changed euery  
three yeares.  
Their March  
and Weapons.

No Ensignes  
nor Drums or  
other Martiall  
Musicke.

Strange riding.

Hunting and  
Hawking.



ours are. His Horses for his owne Saddle being fixe in number, richly trapped. Their Horses are not tall, but of the size of our midling Nags, short and well trust, small headed and very full of mettle, in my opinion, farre excellling the *Spanish* Iennet in pride and stomacke. He had his *Pallankin* carryed before him, the inside of Crimson Veluet, and fixe men appointed to carrie it, two at a time.

Such good order was taken for the passing and prouiding for, of these three thousand Souldiers, that no man either traouelling or inhabiting vpon the way where they lodged, was any way injured by them, but cheerefully entertayned them as other their guests; because they paid for what they tooke, as all other men did. Euery Towne and Village vpon the way being well fitted with Cookes and Victualling houses, where they might at an instant haue what they needed, and dyet themselves from a pennie *Englisch* a meale, to two shillings a meale.

The Dyet vsed generally through the Countrey, is Rice of diuers sorts, one better then other (as of our Wheate and Corne here) the whitest accounted the best, which they vse in stead of Bread, Fish, fresh and salted, some pickeld Herbes, Beanes, Raddishes and other Roots salted and pickled, Wild-fowle, Ducke, Mallard, Teale, Geese, Pheasant, Partridge, Quale, and diuers others, which they doe powder and put vp in pickle, of Hens they haue great store, as likewise of Deere both red and fallow: wild Bores, Hares, Goates, Kine, &c. of Cheese they haue plentie, Butter they make none, neither will they cate any Milke, because they hold it to bee as bloud, nor tame beafts.

Of tame Swine and Pigs they haue great abundance. Wheate they haue as good as any of ours, being red. They plow both with Oxen and Horse as wee doe heere. At our being there, we bought Hens and Pheasants of the best for three pence a piece. Pigs very fat and large twelue pence a piece, a fat Hogge five shillings. A good Beefe, such as our *Welch* Runts, at sixteene shillings, a Goate three shillings, Rice a halfe-pennie the pound. The ordinarie drinke of the common people is water, which with their meate they drinke warme, holding it to bee a souereigne remedie against Wormes in the maw: other dringes they haue none, but what is distilled out of Rice, which is almost as strong as our *Aquanita*, and in colour like to Canarie Wine, and is not deare. Yet when they haue drawne off the best and strongest, they wring out of it a smaller and slighter drinke, seruing the poorer sort of people, which through want cannot reach to the better.

The thirtieth, we were furnished with ninetene Horse at the Emperours charge, to carrie 30 vp our Kings presents, and those that attended me to *Surunga*.

I had a *Pallankin* appointed for me, and a spare Horse led by, to ride when I pleased, very well set out. Sixe men appointed to carrie my *Pallankin* in plaine and euen ground. But where the Countrey grew hilly, ten men were allowed me thereto. The Guardian whom King *Foyu* sent along with vs, did from time to time and place to place by warrant, take vp these men and Horses to serue our turnes, as the Post-masters doe here in *England*: as also lodging at night. According to the custome of the Countrey, I had a slaue appointed to runne with a Pike before mee.

A Pike, signe of authoritie.

*Surunga*.

High-ways.

*Fotoquis* Japonian Temples. Priests.

Crosses and crucifying.

*Surunga* a very great Citie.

Thus we trauelled vntill the sixth of September, before we got to *Surunga*, each day fifteene or sixteene leagues, of three miles to a league as we ghesed it. The way for the most part is wonderfull euen, and where it meeteth with Mountaines, passage is cut through. This way is the mayne Roade of all this Countrey, and is for the most part sandie and grauell; it is diuided into leagues, and at euery leagues end are two small hills, viz. of either side of the way one, and vpon euery one of them a faire Pine-tree, trimmed round in fashion of an Arbor. These marks are placed vpon the way to the end, that the Hacknie men, and those which let out Horses to hire, should not make men pay more then their due, which is about three pence a league. The Roade is exceedingly trauelled, full of people, euer and anon you meet with Farmes and Countrey houles, with Villages, and often with great Townes, with Ferries ouer fresh Riuers, and many *Futakeasse* or *Fotoquis* which are their Temples, scituate in Groues and most pleasantest places for delight, of the whole Countrey. The Priests that tend thereupon dwelling about the same, as our Friars in old time planted themselves here in *England*. When wee approached any Towne, we saw Crosses with the dead bodies of those who had bene crucified thereupon. For crucifying is heere an ordinarie punishment for most Malefactors. Comming neere *Surunga*, where the Emperours Court is, wee saw a Scaffold with the heads of diuers (which had bene executed) placed thereupon, and by it were diuers Crosses with the dead CorpSES of those which had been executed, remayning still vpon them, and the pieces of others, which after their Executioners had bene hewen againe and againe by the triall of others *Cattans*. All which caused a most vsauourie passage to vs, that to enter into *Surunga*, must needs passe by them. This Citie of *Surunga* is full as bigge as *London*, with all the Suburbs. The Handi-crafts men wee found dwelling in the outward parts and skirts of the Towne, because those that are of the better sort, dwell in the inward part of the Citie, and will not be annoyed with the rapping, knocking, and other disturbance that Artificers cannot be without.

Assoone as wee were settled in our lodging in *Surunga*, I sent Master *Adams* to the Court, to let the Secretarie vnderstand of my comming, and desire of as speedie dispatch as might bee. Word was returned that I was welcome, that I should rest me, and within a day or two I should haue access to the Emperour.

The



The seventh was spent in fitting vp of the presents, and providing little Tables of slit deale of that Countrey (which smelleth verie sweet) to carrie them vpon, according to the custome.

The eighth, I was carryed in my *Pallankin* to the Castle of *Surunga* (where the Emperour kept his Court) and was attended with my Merchants and others carrying the presents before me. Being entred the Castle, I passed three draw bridges, euery of which had a corps of Guard, and comming vp a paire of verie faire and large stone staires, I was met by two graue comely men the one them *Codske dona*, the Emperours Secretarie; the other *Furgo dona* the Admirall, who led me into a faire roome matted, where we sat downe crosse-legged vpon the Mats. Anon after they lead mee betwixt them into the Chamber of Presence, where was the Emperours Chaire of State, to which they wished me *fidoe* reuerence. It was of cloth of Gold, about five foot high, very richly set forth for backe and sides, but had no Canopie ouer head. Then they returned backe againe to the place where before they did sit, where hauing stayed about the quarter of an houre, word was brought, that the Emperour was come forth. Then they rose vp and led me betwixt them vnto the doore of the roome where the Emperour was, making signes to me that I should enter in there, but durst not looke in themselves. The presents sent from our King to the Emperour, as also those which (according to the custome of the Countrey) I gaue vnto the Emperour, as from my selfe, were placed in the said roome vpon the Mats very orderly, before the Emperour came into it. Comming to the Emperour, according to our *English* Compliments, I deliuered our Kings Letter vnto his Maiestie, who tooke it in his hand, and put it vp towards his fore-head, and commanded his Interpreter, who sate a good distance from him behind, to will Master *Adams* to tell me that I was welcome from a wearisome iourney, that I should take my rest for a day or two, and then his Answer should be readie for our King. Then he asked whether I did not intend to visit his sonne at *Edoo*. I answered, I did. The Emperour said that order should be taken to furnish mee with men and Horses for the Iourney and against my returne his Letters should be readie for our King. So taking my leaue of the Emperour, and comming to the doore where I had left the Secretarie and Admirall, I found them there readie to conduct me to the staires head where formerly they had met mee, and there I tooke my *Pallankin*, and with my Attendants returned to my lodging.

The Castle & Court of the Emperour.

in book VI

The ninth, I went to deliuer the Secretarie his present, which in no wise hee would receiue, but heartily thanked me, saying, that the Emperour had commanded the contrarie, and that it were as much as his life if he should take any gift. But hee tooke five pound of *Aloes Socatrina* to vse for his health. I deliuered the Articles of priuiledge this day to *Codske dona*, being in number fourteene. He requested to haue them abbreviated and made as short as might bee, for that the people of *Japon* affect breuitie.

Japonians affect breuitie.

The tenth, the Articles so abridged, were sent by Master *Adams* to the Secretarie, who shewed them to the Emperour, and he approued thereof, denying one only, which was, That whereas the *Chineses* had refused to trade with the *English*, that in case we should now take any of them by force, that our Nation might haue leaue and libertie to bring them into *Japon*, and there make sale of the goods so taken. At the first motion, the Emperour answered, that seeing they denied vs Trade, we might take them. But vpon conference with the Lieger of *China*, the Emperours minde was changed, and would not allow of that Article. The rest were passed vnder his great Seale, which is not of Waxe (as ours) but stamped like a print and coloured red.

The Copie of which hee brought home and gaue mee which after followeth.

The eleuenth, the Present appointed for the Mint-master, was deliuered him, which he took thankfully, and returned to me two *Japonian* Gownes of Tassata, quilted with silke Cotton.

The twelfth, Master *Adams* was sent to the Mint-master (being the Emperours Merchant, and hauing charge of his Mint and readie monies, a man of very great esteeme with the Emperour, and one that hath vowed that whensoever the Emperour shall dye, he will cut out his own guts and dye with him.) Master *Adams* carryed vnto him the particular prices of our *English* Commodities (as before is specified.)

About noone the same day, wee departed for *Edoo*, to the Emperours sonne, being furnished with horse and men by the Emperour, as formerly.

The Countrey betwixt *Surunga* and *Edoo* is well inhabited. We saw many *Fotoquise* or Temples as we passed, and amongst others one Image of especiall note, called *Dabis*, made of Copper, being hollow within, but of a very substantiall thicknesse. It was in height, as wee ghesse, from the ground about one and twentie or two and twentie foot in the likenesse of a man kneeling vpon the ground, with his buttockes resting on his heeles, his armes of wonderfull largenesse, and the whole bodie proportionable, he is fashioned wearing of a Gowne. This Image is much reuerenced by Trauellers as they passe there. Some of our people went into the bodie of it, and hoope and hallowed, which made an exceeding great noyse. We found many Characters and Markes made vpon it by Passengers, whom some of my Followers imitated, and made theirs in like manner. It standeth in the maine Roade of the Pilgrimage to *Tencheday*, which is much frequented: for night and day, rich and poore, are comming and going to vuit *Tencheday*. M. *Adams* told me that he had beene at the *Fotoqui* or Temple dedicated to this *Tencheday*, to whom they make this deuout pilgrimage; and as he reported, there is monthly one of the fairest Virgins of

The description of an Image called *Dabis*.

Pilgrimage to *Tencheday*.



Virgins dedi-  
cated to an  
Idoll.

all the  
ano. 1611.

We arrived at  
Edoe.

the whole countrey brought into that *Fotoqui*, and there she sits all alone in a room neatly kept, in a very sober manner, and at certaine times, this *Tentheday* (which is thought to be the Diuell) appeareth vnto her, and hauing knowne her carnally, leaueh with her at his departure certaine skales, like vnto the skales of fishes: what questions shee is willed by the *Bonzes*, or Priests of that *Fotoqui* to aske, *Tentheday* resolues: and euery moneth a fresh Virgin is taken in: but what becomes of the old, Master *Adams* himselfe did not know.

The fourteenth, we arrived at *Edoe*, a Citie much greater then *Surunga*, farre fairer building, and made a very glorious appearance vnto vs; the ridge-tiles and corner-tiles richly gilded, the posts of their doores gilded and varnished: Glasse-windowes they haue none, but great windowes of board, opening in leaues, well set out with painting, as in *Holland*: there is a Ca wsey which goeth throu the chiefe streete of the Towne; vnderneath this Ca wsey runneth a River, at euery fiftie paces there is a Well-head, fitted very substantially of free-stone, with buckets for the neighbours to fetch water, and for danger of fire. This streete is as broad as any of our streets in *England*.

The fifteenth, I gaue the Kings Secretary, *Sadda-dona*, to vnderstand of my arriual, requesting him to let the King know thereof.

The seuenteenth, I had access to the King, and deliuered him the Presents from our King, as also certaine from my selfe (according to the custome of the Countrey.) The King kept his Court in the Castle of *Edoe*, which is much fairer and stronger then that of *Surunga*, hee was better guarded and attended vpon, then the Emperour his Father. *Sadda-dona* the Kings Secretary, is father to *Codske-dona* the Emperours Secretary, whose yeeres affording better experience, hee is therefore appointed to haue the gouernment and direction of the yong King, who (at our being there) we esteemed to be aged about two and fortie yeeres.

My entertainment and access to the King heere, was much like to the former at *Surunga* with the Emperour: he accepted very kindly our Kings Letters and Presents, bidding me welcome, and wishing me to refresh my selfe, and his Letters and Presents to our King should be made ready with all speed.

The nineteenth, I deliuered *Sadda-dona* his Presents. This day two and thirtie men being commanded to a certaine house, for not paying their debts, and being in the stocks within the house, the house in the night time by casualtie fiered, and they were all burnt to death.

Towards euening, the King sent two varnished Armour for a Present to our King. Hee sent likewise a Tatch or long sword, (which none may weare there but souldiers of the best ranke) and a Waggadash for a present to my selfe. From *Edoe* to the Northermost part of *Iapan*, it is esteemed two and twentie dayes journey by horse, little more or lesse.

The one and twentieth, we parted by Boat from *Edoe* to *Oringgan*, a Towne vpon the sea side. From whence we arrived at *Surunga* the nine and twentieth day, and there remained for the Emperours Letters and Presents to our King.

The eight of October, I receiued the Emperours Letters, directed to our Soueraigne Lord *Iames*, King of Great Britaine, the true Copie whereof is as followeth.

### To the King of Great Britaine.

YOur Maesties kind Letter sent me by your seruant Captaine Iohn Saris, (who is the first that I haue knowne to arrive in any part of my Dominions) I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to vnderstand of your great wisdom and power, as hauing three plentiful and mightie Kingdomes vnder your powerfull command. I acknowledge your Maesties great bountie, in sending mee so undeserued a Present of many rare things, such as my Land affordeth not, neither haue I euer before scene: which I receiue not as from a stranger, but as from your Maestie, whom I esteeme as my selfe. Desiring the continuance of Friendship with your Highnesse: And that it may stand with your good liking, to send your Subjects to any part or Port of my Dominions, where they shall bee most heartily welcome, applauding much their worthinesse in the admirable knowledge of Nauigation, hauing with much facilitie discovered a Countrey so remote, being no whit amazed with the distance of so mightie a Gulfe, nor greatnesse of such infinite clouds and stormes, from prosecuting honorable enterprises, of Discoveries and Merchandizing: wherein they shall find me to further them, according to their desires. I returne vnto your Maestie a small token of my loue (by your said Subject) desiring you to accept thereof, as from him that much reioyceth in your Friendship. And whereas your Maesties Subjects haue desired certaine priuiledges for Trade, and setting of a Factorie in my Dominions, I haue not only granted what they demanded, but haue confirmed the same vnto them vnder my Broad-seale, for better establishing thereof. From my Castle in *Surunga*, this fourth day of the ninth month, in the eighteenth yeere of our Dary, according to our Computation. Resting your Maesties Friend. The highest Commander in this Kingdome of *Iapan*:

Subscribed.

Minna, Mouttono. yei. ye. yeas.



I also receiued the said Priuiledges for Trade in \* Iapan: the Originall was left with Master Cocks: the copie thereof with the Seale in blacke heere followeth. The translation whereof (as neare to the Originall as may be) followeth.

\* The Character hau by some been thought to be those of China, but I compared them with China bookes, and they seemed to me quite different, yet not letters to compound words by spelling, as ours; but words expressed in their severall characters, as the Chinese use, and the breuitie manifesteth. I take them characters peculiar to Iapan.

Handwritten Japanese text in Kuzushiji script, consisting of approximately 15 lines of text. The text is written in a cursive style, typical of the Edo period. The first line begins with a small decorative flourish. The text is arranged in a single column, with some lines starting with a vertical line indicating a new section or paragraph.

The Iapanian Charter, the lines to be read downwards, beginning at the right hand.

This last is the Seale.



Priviledges granted by OGOSHOSAMA, Emperour of Iapan, unto the Right  
Worshipfull Sir THOMAS SMITH, Knight, Gouvernour, and  
others the Honorable and Worshipfull Adventurers  
to the East-Indies.

1 **I**Nprimis, Wee give free licence to the subiects of the King of Great Britaine, viz. Sir Tho-  
mas Smith, Gouvernour, and Company of the East-Indian Merchants and Adventurers, for  
ever safely to come into any of our Port of our Empire of Iapan, with their shippes and merchandizes, 10  
without any hinderance to them or their goods. And to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their owne  
manner, with all Nations: to tarry heere as long as they thinke good, and to depart at their pleasures.

2 Item, Wee grant unto them freedome of Custome, for all such merchandizes as either now they  
haue brought, or hereafter shall bring into our Kingdomes, or shall from hence transport to any forraigne  
part. And doe authorize those ships that hereafter shall arrive, and come from England, to proceed to  
present saie of their commodities, without further comming or sending up to our Court.

3 Item, If any of their shippes shall happen to be in danger of shipwracke, Wee will Our subiects not  
only to assist them, but that such part of shippe and goods as shall be saved, be returned to their Captaine,  
or Cape Merchant, or their assignes. And that they shall or may build one house or more for themselves  
in any part of Our Empire, where they shall thinke fittest. And at their departure to make sale thereof 20  
at their pleasure.

4 Item, If any of the English Merchants or other shall depart this life, within our Dominions,  
the goods of the deceased shall remaine at the dispose of the Cape Merchant. And that all offences com-  
mitted by them, shall be punished by the said Cape Merchant, according to his discretion: and Our Lawes  
to take no hold of their persons or goods.

5 Item, Wee will that yee Our subiects trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for  
the same, according to agreement, without delay, or returne of their wares againe unto them.

6 Item, For such commodities as they haue now brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for Our ser-  
uice and proper use: Wee will that no arrest bee made thereof, but that the price bee made with the Cape  
Merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the deliury of the goods. 30

7 Item, If in discovery of other Countries for Trade, and returne of their shippes, they shall need  
men or Victualls, Wee will that yee Our subiects furnish them for their money, as their need shall  
require.

The discovery  
of Yeadzo to  
the northward.

\* Or Raigne.

8 And that without other Passe-port, they shall and may set out upon the discovery of Yeadzo, or any  
other part, in or about our Empire.

From our Castle in Surunga, this first day of the ninth moneth, and in the eighteenth yeere of  
Our \* Dary, according to Our Computation. Sealed with our Broad-seale, &c.

Under-written:

Minna. Mottono.

yei. ye. yeas.

Oringaw the  
best haven or  
road for vs.

A Spanish Em-  
bassador from  
the Philippinas.

Note that Oringaw is a very good harbour for shipping, where ships may ride as safely as in  
the Riuer of Thames before London, and the passage thereto by Sea very safe and good: so that it  
will be much better for our ships to saile thither, then to Firando, in respect that Oringaw is vp-  
on the maine Island, and is distant from Edoe (the chiefe City) but fourteene or fifteene leagues.  
The place is not so well replenished with victuall and flesh-meat, as Firando is, which want only  
excepted, Oringaw is for all other matters to be preferred before Firando. 50

At my returne to Surunga, I found a Spanish Embassadour arrived there from the Philippinas,  
who only had sight of the Emperour, and deliuered him his presents, which were certaine Chi-  
na Damaskes, and five Iarres of sweet wine of Europe. After the first time, he could not obtaine  
accesse to the Emperour. His Embassage was, that such Portugals and Spaniards as were within  
his Dominions, not authorized by the King of Spaine, might be deliuered vp vnto him to carry  
away to the Philippinas: which the Emperour denyed to doe, saying, That his Countrey was a  
free Country, and none should be forced out of it; but if the Embassadour could perswade any to  
go, they should not be staied. This comming of the Spanish Embassadour for men, was caused by  
the great want of me they had to defend the Molucca Ilands fro the Dutch, who then made great  
preparation for the absolute conquest thereof. After that the Embassadour had attended for the 60  
Emperours answere, the time limited him by his Commission, seeing it came not, hee departed  
discontented. But being at the Sea-side, there was an answere returned for him to carry, with a  
flender Present, viz. five Iapan Gownes, and two Cattans or Swords.

The ninth we departed from Surunga at Edoe. About a month before my comming thither, the  
Empe-



Emperour being displeased with the *Christians*, made proclamation, that they should forthwith remoue and carry away all their Churches to *Langasacque*, a Towne situate on the Sea-side, and distant from *Firando* about eight leagues: And that no *Christian* Church should stand, nor Masse be sung, within ten leagues of his Court, vpon paine of death. A while after, certaine of the Naturalls, being seuen and twentie in number, (men of good fashion) were assembled together in an Hospitall, appointed by the *Christians* for Lepers, and there had a Masse: whereof the Emperour being informed, commanded them to be shut vp in an house for one night, and that the next day they should suffer death. The same euening another man for debt was clapt vp in the same house, being an *Heathen* at his comming in, and ignorant of Christ and his Religion: But  
 10 (which is wonderfull) the next morning, when the Officer called at the doore for those which were *Christians* to come forth, and goe to execution, and those which were not, and did renounce the same, to stay behind: this man in that nights space was so instructed by the other, that resolutely he came out with the rest, and was crucified with them.

A proclamation against the *Christians*.

In our passage towards *Miaco* from *Surunga*, we had for the most part much raine, whereby the waters did so rise, that wee were forced to stay by the way, so that it was the sixteenth of October before we got thither. *Miaco* is the greatest Citie of *Iapan*, consisting most vpon merchandizing. The chiefe *Fotoqui* or Temple of the whole countrey is there, being built of free-stone, and is as long as the Westerne end of *Saint Pauls* in *London*, from the Quier, being as high arched and borne vpon pillars as that is: where many *Bonzes* doe attend for their maintenance,  
 20 as the Priests among Papists. There is an Altar whereon they doe offer Rice and small money, called *Cundrius* (whereof twentie make one shilling *English*: ) which is employed for the vse of the *Bonzes*. Neare vnto this Altar there is an Idoll, by the Natiues called *Mannada*, made of Copper, much resembling that of *Dabis* formerly spoken of, but is much higher, for it reacheth vp to the very Arch. This *Fotoqui* was begun to be built by *Taicofania* in his life-time, and since his sonne hath proceeded to the finishing thereof, which was newly made an end of when wee were there. Within the inclosure of the walles of this *Fotoqui* there are buried (by the report of the inhabitants) the Eares and Noses of three thousand *Coreans*, which were massacred at one time: Vpon their graue is a mount raised, with a Pyramis on the toppe thereof; which mount is greene, and very neatly kept. The horse that *Taicofania* last rode on, is kept neare vnto this  
 30 *Fotoqui*, hauing neuer been ridden since, his hooffes being extraordinarily growne with his age, and still standing there.

The description of the Citie of *Miaco*.

Their *Bonzes*, Idols, Altars, Offerings, &c.

The *Fotoqui* standeth vpon the top of an high hill, and on either side, as yee mount vp to it, hath fiftie pillars of free-stone, distant ten paces one from the other, and on euery pillar a Lanterne, wherein euery night lights are maintained of Lampe-oyle. In this Citie of *Miaco*, the  
 40 *Portugall* Iesuits haue a very stately Colledge, wherein likewise are diuers Iesuits, *Naturall Iaponians*, which preach, and haue the new Testament printed in the *Iapan* language. In this Colledge are many *Iaponian* children trayned vp, and instructed in the rudiments of *Christian* Religion, according to the *Romish* Church: There are not lesse then fve or fixe thousand *Iaponians* in this Citie of *Miaco* professing Christ.

Colledge of Iesuits in *Miaco*.  
 The new Testament in the *Iapan* language

40 Besides the *Fotoqui* before described, thtre are many other *Fotoquis* in this Citie. The Tradesmen and Artificers are distributed by themselves, euery Occupation and Trade in their seuerall streets, and not mingled together, as heere with vs.

At *Miaco* we stayed, expecting the Emperours Present, which at length was deliuered to me out of the Castle, being ten *Beobs*, or large Pictures to hang a chamber with.

The twentieth, wee departed from *Miaco*, and came the same night to *Fushimi*.

The one and twentieth, about noone we arriued at *Osaca*: heere wee found the people very  
 50 rude, following vs, crying *Tosin, Tosin*, that is, *Chinaes, Chinaes*; others calling vs *Coré, Coré*, and flinging stones at vs; the grauest people of the Towne not once reproving them, but rather animating of them, and setting them on. Heere we found the Gally readie, which had attended for vs euer since our landing, at the charge of the King of *Firando*. The foure and twentieth at night we all embarked for *Firando*.

We embarked for *Firando*.  
 November 6.

The sixt of Nouember we arriued at *Firando*, and were kindly bid welcome by King *Foyne*. All this while our people sold little, the custome of the Countrey being, that without expresse permission from the Emperour, no stranger may offer goods to sale. Besides, our chiefeest commodity intended for those parts being Broad-cloath, (which, according to former intelligence, had lately been sold there at fortie Rials of eight the matte, which is two yards, as aforesaid) the Natiues were now more backward to buy then before, because they saw that we our selues were no forwarder in wearing the thing which wee recommended vnto them. For, said they, you commend your Cloath vnto vs, but you your selues weare least thereof, the better sort of you  
 60 wearing Silken garments, the meaner Fustians, &c. Wherefore hoping that good counsell may (though late) come to some good purpose, I wish that our Nation would be more forward to vse and spend this naturall commodity of our owne Countrey, so shall wee better encourage and allure others to the entertainment and expence thereof.



## p. VIII.

*Accidents after his returne to Firando, the setting of a Factory there, departure for Bantam, and thence for England.*

**T**he seventh of November, I visited the Kings with Presents first, and after with Presence, and was kindly entertained. The eighth, *Andrew Palmer*, Steward of the ship, and *William Marnell* Gunners Mate, lay ashore all night, and in a drunken humour, went into the field and fought, and wounded each other so sore, that it is thought *Palmer* will hardly escape with his life, and *Marnell* be lame of his hands for ever. 10

The ninth, in the morning very early I went aboard the Ship, and carried *M. Cockes* along with me, and called the Master and all the Officers into my Cabbin, making it knowne vnto them, that it much grieved me the indirect course some of them tooke, namely, *Palmer* and *Marnell*, who went out of the Ship without license, and had wounded one another so sore, that the one was in danger of his life, and the other a lame man for ever; and that which was more, the Survivor in danger to be hanged if the other died, which could not choose but be a great hearts griefe vnto me: as also to vnderstand, that *Francis Williams* and *Simon Colphax* were in the boat, going ashore to haue fought, and *John Dench* and *John Winston* appointed to doe the like, and *Dench* confessed it was true, and that he saw *Palmer* and *Marnell* fighting, and went and parted 20 them, otherwise both had remained dead in the field: these matters, I told them, were grievous vnto me, and therefore I willed them it might be amended in time, otherwise they would dispeople the Ship, to the vtter ouerthrow of our Voyage, and deceiue the Honourable Companie, that had put their trust in vs.

After much contestation, each one departed, with promise to amend what was amisse, and not to offend in any sort hereafter, which God graunt may prooue true. I told them also, that *Foyne Same*, the old King, had made complaint vnto me, that if any more came ashore to fight and shed blood in his Countrey (contrary to his Lawes) he would cause them to be cut in peces, for that he would not suffer strangers to haue more Priuiledge in that matter then his owne Subiects. And at my returne to the *English* house, *Foyne Same* the King came to visit me, and told mee the piece of *Poldauis* and a *Shash* I gaue him, were consumed with fire when his house was burned, which 30 was a manner of begging two more, which I promised him, and got him to send of his people aboard, with my *Iurebasso* *John Iapan*, to signifie to the Company, that if any of them came ashore to fight any more, the King had giuen order to cut them in peces, and not to suffer any one to returne aboard. I did this in hope to restraints them from such drunken Combats.

Towards night came a *Spaniard* from *Langasague*, called *John Comas*, and brought two Letters from *Domingo Francisco*, one for me, and the other for *M. Cockes*, and sent me a Present of three baskets of Sugar, and a pot of Conserues, with many no lesse sugred conserued words of complement in his Letters, that he was sorie that our seven men were gone away in his absence, excusing both himselfe, and the Fathers or Iesuites, that they had no hand in the matter, neither euer spoke such word, that we were heretikes or theeues, yet said our men were gone away from thence, three of them in a *China* or *Iapan Soma* for the *Manillias*, and the other foure in a *Portugall* Vessel; but I hold these but words to excuse themselues, and put other men in fault: for the *Spaniards* loue not the *Portugals*, neither either of both the *Iapan*, much lesse the *Iapan* them. 40

The eleuenth, I went and visited *Nobesane*; he vsed me kindly, and would haue had mee come to dinner to morrow, but I excused the matter, in respect of the much businesse I had, and short time of stay. I met the old King *Foyne* at his house, who desired to haue two peeces *English* powdered Beefe, and two of Porke sod with Turnips, Raddish and Onions by our Cooke, and sent vnto him, which I caused to be done. Wind Northerly a fresh gale day and night, faire dry weather, but cold. 50

The twelfth, the two Kings *Gouernours*, came to visit me at the *English* house; and from thence went aboard the *Cloue* (Master *Cockes* accompanying them) to signifie vnto the Master and the rest of the Companie, that from hence forward, our ships Companie should haue a care how they came ashore to fight and shed blood; for that the Law of the Countrey was, that they which went out to fight, and drew weapon, were to die the death, and all those which did behold them, obliged to kill both parties, in paine of ruinating all their generation if they did not kill both parties.

The foureteenth, I sent *M. Cockes* and my *Iurebasso* to both the Kings, to entreat them to prouide me of a dozen Sea-men, that were able to doe their labour, to goe with me for *England*, and for wages I was willing to giue them what in reason their Highnesses thought fit. The Kings were impeached about other matters; so they spake with their Secretaries, who told them, they need not to speake about that matter to the Kings, for that they would prouide mee a dozen such as should be fit; but that there were diuers vagrant people about Towne, which no doubt would be willing to goe, yet were not fit to be carried to Sea; for that when they came there, they would 60



would serue for nothing but to spend victuals, and of such the *Flemmings* serued their turne without making request vnto them: and what is become of them or the Ship is not known to this day. But seeing that now the matter was referred to them, they would looke out for such as were for our purpose.

The eighteenth, *Foyne* the old King sent me word he would come and visit me, and bring the dancing Beares or Curtesians of the Countrey, which soone after he did, being three whoores of the Countrey, and two or three other men with them, they all dancing and making musique after the Countrey fashion, although harsh to our hearings.

The nineteenth, the Captaine *Chinesa* and *George Dyras* the Portugall came vnto me, desiring me to send to *Semidone*, to procure the libertie of two honest poore men, who were like to loote their liues, for bidding a poore Knaue flie, which had stolne a little piece of Lead not worth three halfe pence, and yet the Malefactor was taken and put to death, and these men in danger to haue done the like, had I not sent M. *Cocks* with my Ring to *Semidone*, to desire pardon for them for my sake, which he granted to procure, and did effect it.

Seuere iustice  
in Iapan.

The twentieth, *Samedon* the King of *Crats* sent mee word hee would come aboard our Ship: So I met him there, he being accompanied with both the Kings of *Firando*, they had fise peeces of Ordnance at their entrie aboard, and three with shot or Bullets, were shot at a marke at the request of *Samedon*. He gaue me two Pikes or *Iapan* stauers with Cattans or Sables on the ends, and so they departed with seuen peeces of Ordnance for a farewell, one being with shot at the marke aforesaid.

The twentie two, a Present was laid out, and sent to *Samedon* King of *Crats*: it was deliuered vnto him at *Tomesanes* the young Kings house, he being there at Breakfast, and tooke in very kind part, sending me word by M. *Cocks*, that he was doubly obliged vnto mee, first in his kind entertainment aboard, and now in sending him such a Present of worth, of such things as his Countrey afforded not the like, and all without any desert of his: onely the recompence he could make was, that for his sake, if euer any of the *English* Nation did come within his Dominions, he would bid them kindly welcome, and shew them any fauour he could.

The twentie fifth in the morning betimes, the Purser and M. *Hownsell* came ashore, and told me *Andrew Palmer* the Steward departed out of this world about tenne of the clocke the night past, and that the Chirurgeon *Thomas Warner* affirmed (as he told me the like many times before) that *Palmer* was the occasion of his owne death, his wound being curable, if he would haue bin ruled. I willed the Purser M. *Melsham* to goe aboard, and that the Master and he should take order to carry him, and bury him on an Iland as secretly as might be, in respect we were about to get some *Japans* to goe along in our ship, which it might be hearing of the death of any one, would make them the more vnwilling.

The twentie eighth, a *Iapan* was put to death: some said for theft; others said he was a house-burner: He was lead by the Hang-man to execution, one carying a board before him, wherein was written the fact he had committed, as the like was written in a paper flag ouer his head, and two Pikemen followed him with the points of their Pikes hard to his backe, to haue killed him if he had offered to resist. Diuers of this place complained, that the Ships Company owed them money, and now the Ship was ready to depart, desired payment, which to preuent a greater inconuenience, I hearkened vnto, and wrote to the Master to enquire aboard who they were that were indebted, and what the summe was they owed, to the intent to make satisfaction, and so to abate it out of their wages.

Now touching a Factorie to be left there, I had on the twenty sixth, assembled my Merchandizing counsell, where vpon these considerations, viz. The encouragement wee had receiued in the *Moluccas* by priuate intelligence, the *Dutch* Factorie already planted here in *Firando*: The large Priuiledges now obtained of the Emperour of *Iapan*: The certaine aduile of the *English* Factories settled in *Siam* and *Patane*: The Commodities resting vsold vpon our hands appointed for these parts, and the hoped for profit which further experience may produce: It was resolved, that a Factorie should be left here, viz. eight *English*, three *Iapan* Iurebasses or Interpreters, and two seruants, who were appointed against the comming of the next ships, to search and discover the Coast of *Corea*, *Tushmay*, and other parts of *Iapan*, and Countreys thereunto adioyning, to see what good might be done in any of them.

The settling of  
an English Fa-  
ctorie in Iapan.

The fifth of December, M. *Richard Cocks*, Captaine and Cape Merchant of the *English* Factorie, settled at *Firando* in *Iapan*, tooke his leaue of me aboard the *Cloue* with his Companie, being eight *English*, and fise others. After their departure, our Companie was mustered aboard, finding fortie sixe *English*, fise *Swarts*, fiteene *Iapaners*, three Passengers, in all sixtie nine: hauing lost since our arriual here three *English*, two by sicknesse, one slaine, and seuen which ranne away to the *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, whilst I was at the Emperours Court. The names of the *English* we left in the Factorie with M. *Cocks*, were *William Adams*, (entertained at an hundred pounds the yeere into the Companies seruice) *Tempest Peacocke*, *Richard Wickham*, *William Eaton*, *Walter Carwarden*, *Edward Sares*, *William Nelson*.

December.

We returne  
home from Iapan.

The wind Northerly a stiffe gale, we set saile, being foure leagues from the place where wee

rid:



Variation at  
Firando 2. deg.  
50. minutes  
Easterly.  
We sayled a-  
longst the  
Coast of China.  
A great Cur-  
rent shooteth  
out betweene  
Corea and the  
maine of China.  
Sumbor.

Three hun-  
dred sailes of  
small Fisher-  
men.  
Ilands of Fi-  
shers.  
Latitude 25.  
deg. 59. minut.

A Rocke.

Variation 1.  
degree 30. mi-  
nutes Easterly.

Latitude 23. de.  
10. minutes.

Many Fisher-  
boates.  
Latitude 21.  
de. 40. minutes.

Note.

Latitude 18.  
deg. 19. minut.  
Variation 50.  
min. Westerly.

rid: our course South by West, halfe a point Westerly, Latitude thirtie three degrees fouretee minutes. Note, that by exact obseruation on the shoare, we found this Iland of *Firando* to stand in latitude thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, variation two degrees fiftie minutes Easterly.

It was resolved to keepe alongst the Coast of *China*, directly to *Bantam*, and so wee brought aboard our star-boord tacke, and steered away South-west, edging ouer for *China*, the wind at North North-east, a stiffe gale and faire weather.

The sixth, Latitude thirtie one degrees thirtie nine minutes, way South by West forty leagues.

The seuenth, it blew very much wind, a storme at North-west, wee steered South South-west no obseruation, there we felt the great Current which shoots out betweene the Iland *Corea* and the maine of *China*, which made a very great Sea, way South South-west halfe point Westerly twentie five leagues.

The eight, Latitude twentie nine degrees fortie one minutes, way South-west, twentie six leagues, wind North-west a very stiffe gale, we steered West South-west, to make Cape *Sumbor* vpon the Coast of *China*: the Sea very much growne, so much wind, that it blew our maine course out of the bolt ropes.

The ninth, Latitude twentie eight degrees, twentie three minutes, way South-west three quarters Westerly, twentie two leagues and two third parts, we sounded and had fortie nine, and fortie five fathome Ozie, the weather cleered, and the wind came to the North, but wee could see no land.

The eleuenth, no obseruation: way West South-west thirtie five leagues, verie Greene water, we kept our Leade, and had fortie nine, fortie three, thirtie five, thirtie seuen, thirtie fathome, no sight of land, yet very cleere, wind North and North-west by North.

The twelfth, before day we sounded, and had thirtie five fathome Ozie, wind North and North-west by North a stiffe gale, and in the morning esteeming our selues to bee neere the Coast of *China*, we had sight of (at the least) three hundred sailes of Iunkes of twentie, thirtie, and vpwards tunnes apiece, whereof two came to the wind-ward close by vs, but perceiuing them to be Fisher-men, we let them passe, vsing all the faire meanes wee could to get some of them to come aborad, but could not preuayle. Wherefore we stood on our course West by South, and presently descryed the land, being two Ilands called the Ilands of Fishers, bearing West by North halfe a point Northerly some foure leagues off. Latitude at noone twentie five degrees fiftie nine minutes, way South-west by West fiftie leagues, Depth twentie, and twentie six fathome. Soone after, the wind came to North-east, wee brought our Lar-boord tacke aboard, and steered alongst the land South South-east, very much wind. About seuen at night we came faire by a Rocke, which, by Gods mercie, wee descryed by Moone-light, and lay right in our course, supposing to haue runne from noone to this time twelue leagues. We were within twice our ships length of the Rocke depth thirtie fathome. Then we haled off South one watch togieue the land a berth, and after mid-night steered South-west, the wind at North-east very much wind, and continually following vs, as the Land trends.

The thirteenth, Latitude twentie foure degrees thirtie five minutes, variation one degree, thirtie minutes Easterly, way South-west fiftie foure leagues, wind at North-east faire weather, wee steered South-west keeping faire by the Ilands, lying alongst the maine of *China*, some five leagues off, much wind.

The fourteenth in the morning little wind, haying this night past had twelue and foureene fathome, then stood off into deeper water. Latitude at noone twentie two degrees ten minutes, way South-west by South one quarter Westerly fortie two leagues wind at East North-east, and at eight at night we had fiftene, thirteene fathome, at nine a clocke sixteene, twentie seuen, twentie one and twentie five, sandie ground.

The fifteenth, in the morning we came amongst many Fisher-boates, but had so much wind as that we could not speake with them. They made signes to vs to keepe vp to the West-ward (as we thought.) Our sounding the last night to this present was twentie, twentie foure, twentie five, twentie fathomes, three leagues off the land. Latitude at noone twentie one degrees, fortie minutes, way West South-west one quarter Southerly fiftie two leagues. The wind at North North-east a stiffe gale, we steered in West North-west Northerly to make the land, and about two houres after had sight of it, but by reckoning should not haue bene neere it by fiftie six leagues, so that the distance from *Firando* hither, is lesse by fiftie six leagues.

Note, that the Ilands which lye alongst the Coast of *China*, lye more Southerly then in the plats; about three in the after-noone wee were by an Iland called *Sancha* about two leagues off, we steered South-west alongst the land, esteeming to haue runne since noone three leagues West North-west.

The sixteenth, at noone no obseruation: way fortie leagues, South-west by South one quarter Westerly, wind at East with drizzling raine.

The seuenteenth, Latitude eightene degrees nineteene minutes, course South-west by South one quarter Westerly fortie seuen leagues, wind at East, variation fiftie minutes Westerly, we sounded, but had no ground.

The



The eighteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie three minutes, course South-west by South sixtie leagues, wind at East a stiffe gale, and at five at night wee had sight of land beeing an Iland called *Pulo Coran*, bearing West South-west, about five leagues off, wee steering South-west. This Iland is high land, and lyeth about twentie leagues (by report) from the shoale called *Plaxel*, to the West-ward of it we sounded about eight of the clocke, but had no ground.

*Pulo Coran.**Plaxel.**Camboia.*

The nineteenth in the morning, the maine of *Camboia* was on our star-boord-side about two leagues off: we steered alongst South by East Easterly, keeping the maine in sight. Latitude at noone thirteene degrees one and thirtie minutes, way South by West fortie foure leagues, wee steered alongst South South-west, making account to bee thwart a *Varella*: keeping about two leagues off the shoare, we sounded but had no ground at fiftie fathome. Note, that this land of *Camboia* lyeth more Easterly in our plats, then it should, for wee find South South-west to goe alongst the land a faire berth off. So that the land heere lyeth South South-west, and North North-east, hauing diuers Rockes like Ilands, some one league, some league, and an halfe off the maine, but otherwise no danger that we could see. Note also, that heere wee found the windes trade alongst the shoare, for from *Firando* hither we did goe large, finding the wind to follow vs as the land trents.

*A Varella.**Camboia is not so far Easterly, as it is set in our Plats.*

The twentieth, Latitude ten degrees fiftie three minutes, course South by West fiftie foure leagues wind at North, a stiffe gale alongst the shoare. And three Glasses after we had obserued, wee had sight of a small Iland, which wee made to be the Iland at the end of the shoale, called *Pulo Citi*, and at five Glasses running we sounded and had eleuen fathome, fine land, two leagues off the shoare. We steered alongst Southwest to bring the point of the shoale called *Pulo Citi* a starne: then wee sounded about two Glasses after, and had fifteene fathome. Note, that wee found *Ian Huijghen Van Linschotens* booke very true, for thereby we directed our selues euer from our setting forth from *Firando*.

*Pulo Citi, or**Pulo Cecir.**Linschotens Observations true.*

The one and twentieth, Latitude nine degrees fortie three minutes course South-west a quarter Westerly thirtie foure leagues, wind at East North-east a continuall stiffe gale till noone, then calme, and found that we were in a tyde girt, our depth all the last night to this noone was ten, sixteene, seuentene, eightene, twentie one, twentie one, nineteene, twentie, twentie, nineteene, eightene fathome good ground, but had no sight of land.

The two and twentieth in the morning, we had sight of land being an Iland called *Pulo Condor*, bearing off vs about five leagues off, we steered South-west, the wind at North-east, latitude at noone eight degrees, twentie minutes, way South-west by West, fortie leagues and two third parts. Depth eightene, nineteene, twentie two, twentie one, twentie one, twentie two and twentie one fathomes, we steered South South-west, for the land called the seven Points.

*Pulo Condor.*

Latitude 8.

deg. 20. min.

The three and twentieth, no obseruing, way South-west by South one quarter Southerly, fiftie one leagues, depth twentie, twentie two, twentie foure, and at noone twentie seven fathomes.

The foure and twentieth, way South-west halfe a point Westerly, thirtie three leagues one third part, wind at North-west by North, depth thirtie seven, thirtie nine, fortie three, fortie, and at noone thirtie five fathome Ozie ground.

The five and twentieth, latitude two degrees, thirtie eight minutes, course South by East, one quarter of a league Easterly, twentie two leagues one third part, the wind at North-west and East by North, Depth, thirtie foure, thirtie two, thirtie, thirtie foure, thirtie foure, thirtie foure, thirtie five. And about foure a clocke in the morning, we made the land, beeing an Iland called *Pulo Timon*, distant from vs some five leagues. And at sixe in the morning, the Northernmost part bearing South-west Westerly: and the South part South South-west halfe a point Westerly, we had sight of another Iland called *Pulo Tinga*, bearing South South-west Westerly, about sixe leagues off at noone.

Latitude 22

deg. 38. min.

*Pulo Timon.**Pulo Tinga.*

The sixe and twentieth, Latitude one degree eightene minutes, course South-east by South, thirtie two leagues wind at East and East by North, Depth thirtie seven, thirtie sixe, thirtie seven, thirtie five, thirtie, and twentie seven fathome.

The seven and twentieth, course South by East fortie leagues, and two third parts, Depth, twentie seven, thirtie one, twentie eight, twentie nine, twentie eight, twentie sixe, and twentie foure fathomes at noone.

The eight and twentieth, way South South-east, fortie leagues and two third parts, Depth eightene, nineteene, sixteene, eightene, nineteene, sixteene, & at noone fifteene fathome sandie ground, making account that *China-bata* was about one league and an half of being low land, and at the South-west point full of Trees or Bushes. At sixe Glasses after-noone wee sounded, and had twentie fathomes Ozie ground, steering alongst the Land South South-east, the wind at North North-west. Note, that those long Ilands on our star-boord-side heere, and diuers small Ilands on our Lar-boord-side doe make the Straights of *China-bata*, finding it to bee truely laid downe in Plat or Draught made by *Ian Ianson Mole* a Hollander, which he gaue to Master *Hippon*, and he to the Companie.

*China-bata, or**Pulo-bata.*

The Plat of

*Ian Ianson Mole*

The nine and twentieth, a little before noone, we perceiued the water to be much changed a head,



A dangerous  
shoale not far  
from the en-  
trance of the  
Straight of  
*China-bata*.  
Latitude four  
deg. six min.

The *Darling*  
sailing for *Co-*  
*romandell*.  
De the Sir  
*H. Middleton*,  
and losse of  
the *Trades In-*  
*crease*.  
A sunken  
ledge of rocks.

The high land  
of *Sumatra*.

January 1.  
The Expedition  
bound for  
*England*.  
We arrived in  
*Bantam* Roade.

The multipli-  
cation of Facto-  
ries for each  
Voyage, cau-  
sed the prices  
to rise, each  
out-bidding o-  
th for the  
particular ac-  
counts of their  
owne Voyage,  
not without  
losse to the  
publike.

head, and therefore doubted it to bee a shoale; so narrowly elcaping a very great danger. Wee sounded and had eleuen, twelue, fourteene, fifteene fathome, but within halfe a Glasse had eight & seven fathomes & a halfe, it seemed three square sharp to the South-west-ward, & so we steered when we had first sight thereof, not farre from the entrance of the straights of *China-bata*. This shoale lyeth very dangerously, but is truly placed with his depths. Latitude at noone foure degrees sixe minutes, course South by West thirtie leagues, wind at North-west and North, depth twentie, thirteene, fifteene, twentie foure, twentie seven, twentie, twentie five, twentie, eightetne, ten, ten, ten, eight and ten fathomes soft sand. And at eight a clocke in the night, we came to an anchor in seven fathomes, the weather likely to bee fowle, and our experience little or nothing, the place verie full of shoales, and before our anchor was a ground wee were in sixe 10  
fixe and a quarter, five and an halfe, sixe, and then in seven fathomes soft sandie ground, then wind at North-west a small gale and rainie.

The thirtie h, this morning we had sight of the *Darling*, plying for *Coremandell*, her Compa-  
nie one and twentie *English*, and nine *Swarts*. By them wee first vnderstood of the death of Sir  
*Henrie Middleton*, and losse of the *Trades Increase*, &c. The weather close, wee obserued not:  
way South South-west halfe a point Westerly fifteene leagues, depth, ten, thirteene, fourteene,  
eleuen, ten, nine, eight, seven, sixe and an halfe, ten, ten, sixe and a halfe, seven, five, foure and an  
halfe, foure and a quarter, five, five, and foure fathome, hard sandie ground, esteeming thus the  
shoale described in *Moies* Plat, and not that which we made it for. This night God mercifully  
deliuered vs out of a great danger. For wee passed by a sunken ledge of Rockes, vnder all our 20  
sayles, within a stones cast of the top thereof, which was onely seene aboue water, and, had not  
the noyse of the breach vpon it wakened vs, wee could not haue cleered our selues. Wee did let  
fall our anchor presently, being in a great Tide girt, and had seuentene, seuentene fathomes  
and an halfe Ozie ground.

The one and thirtieth, in the morning as we rid, the high land of *Sumatra* was about  
leagues off vs, and one Island a starne. The passed shoale or ledge of Rockes on the star-boord  
side, and three small Islands on our lar-boord bow, lying three square: way South three quarters  
Easterly, one and twentie leagues wind at North-west. Depth, ten, nine, eight, seven, nine, ten,  
eleuen, twelue, fifteene, twentie two fathome, about eight leagues off the high-land of *Iana*.  
We could not get in, because it fell calne.

The first of Ianuary, beeing calme, was most spent at an anchor. The second hauing a little 30  
wind we set saile, and about eight of the clocke met with the *Expedition*, and vnderstanding  
that shee was bound home-ward laden with Pepper, we writ by them to our friends in *England*.

The third, we came to an anchor in *Bantam* Roade, finding (to our great grieve) no lading in  
readinesse: For which I iustly blamed those whom I had left there to prouide the same, who ex-  
cused themselves, saying, that they did not as yet expect me.

I questioned with *Kewee*, the chiefe Merchant of the *Chineses*, (being come aboard to visit me)  
what price Pepper did beare, and how he would sell. He answered that it was already knowne  
ashoare that I was home-ward bound, and must of necessity lade Pepper; whereof my Mer-  
chants hauing prouided none afore-hand, I might be assured it would rise. He said it was then at 40  
twelue Rials of eight, the ten sakes, but he would not vndertake to deliuer any quantitie at that  
price. I offered him twelue Rials and an halfe for ten sakes, but found him so farre off, as that  
there was no hope of dealing at the present.

Note, that of the ten, left in the Factorie heere for the eight Voyage at our departure for  
*Japan*, we found now but five liuing at our returne. Betweene *Firando* and *Bantam*, wee lost on-  
ly one.

The fourth, in the morning, I went ashoare, visited the Gouverneur of *Bantam*, and presented  
him with two faire Cattans, and diuers other things of worth.

This day I bargained with *Kewee* and *Lackmoye* for foure thousand sakes of Pepper, at thir-  
teene Rials of eight the ten sakes: Basse three the hundred, and appointed the Merchants to 50  
hasten the milling thereof, all that might be.

The fifth was spent in reducing the severall *English* Factories in *Bantam* to one Gouvernment,  
and setting them in one house: also order was taken that the expence of Dyet should be more  
frugally managed, and not spent in racke houses abroad, or on *Hang-by Swarts* at home, as of  
late it had beene: and that the Ware-houses in the Towne should be fewer in number and better  
looked vnto, as well it might be, the goods being with more discretion orderly stowed.

The sixth, in the reweighing of the Pepper received the day before, wee found most of the  
sakes hard weight, and many to want of what the Kings Beame did allow. Wherefore I sent  
for the Weigher, vsed him kindly, intreated him to take a little more care and paines to amend  
this fault, which he promised to doe: whereto the better to encourage him, I appointed the va- 60  
lue of five Rials of eight to be giuen him.

The sixteenth, being the Sabbath day, I stayed aboard. About two of the clocke in the after-  
noone the Towne was all on a fire. Wherefore our Skiffe being well manned was presently sent  
ashoare



alhoare to helpe the Merchants to guard the goods. The wind was so violent, that in a moment of time almost the whole towne was burnt downe, the *English* and *Dutch* houses excepted, which it pleased God of his mercy to preserve.

The whole Towne of *Bantam* burned downe, saving the *English* and *Hollander* houses.

The twentieth, being alhoare, I procured *Lackmoy* and *Lanching*, two *Chinese* Merchants, to translate the Letter which the King of *Firando* in *Japan*, had delivered mee to carry to our King *James*; it was written in *China* Character and Language, they translated it into the *Malayan*, which in *English* is as followeth, viz.

To the King of Great Britaine, &c.

Most mightie King, how acceptable your Maesties loving Letter and bountifull Present of many worthy things sent mee by your servant Captaine John Saris is unto mee, I cannot sufficiently expresse: neither the great happinesse I esteeme my selfe to be in, by enjoying your Highnesse friendship: For which I render you many thanks, desiring the continuance of your Maesties love and acquaintance. I am heartily glad of your subjects safe arrivall at my small Island, from so long a journey. My helpe and substance they shall not want to the uttermost, for the effecting of their so worthy and laudable enterprises of Discovery and Merchandizing, greatly commending their forwardnesse therein: referring their libertie entertainment to the report of your servant, by whom I returne unto your Maestie an unworthy token, wishing your Maestie long life. From my Place of *Firando*, the sixt day of our tenth moneth.

Your Maesties loving Friend, Commander of this Island *Firando* in *Japan*,

FOYNE SAM-MASAM

They could not well pronounce his name, for *Lanching* said it was \* *Foyne Fosbin Sam*: But *Lackmoy* said as is above written.

\* This comes to passe by the *China* Characters, which in proper names borrow the Characters of other words of like or nearest sound, and therefore cause often mistaking, as *Ioseph Acosta* hath observed. Divers *English* and *Scottish* Souldiers, February 1. Tide of twelve houres flood, and twelve ebbe in *Sunda*. May 16 1614. The *Concord*, the first ship set out for the ioynt Stocke.

The two and twentieth, such houses as the former fire had spared, were now burnt downe; yet the *English* and *Dutch* houses escaped againe: thanks be to God.

The sixe and twentieth, heere arrived a *Flemmish* shippe of a thousand tunnes from *Holland*, called the *Flushing*. At the Island *Mayo* the Company had mutined against the Captaine, and had murdered him in his Cabbin, but that it pleased God a *Scotch-man* revealed the matter, even when they were armed to the exployt, so that they were taken betwixt the deckes with their weapons about them. In this shippe were divers *English* and *Scottish* souldiers. Shee stayed not heere, but towards evening set saile for *Iaccatra*.

The seven and twentieth, I went alhoare to hasten the Merchants, divers of our Company being at this present fallen sicke. Our ship had now her full lading in.

The first of February, the *Darling* was enforced to returne hither, and order by common council was taken, both for her goods and present sending to *Socadanna*, and after to *Pasane* and *Siam*.

The thirteenth day, we got out of the Straights of *Sunda*. Note that in the Straight of *Sunda*, the Tides set twelve houres to the Eastward, which is flood, and twelve houres to the Westward, which is ebbe.

The sixteenth of May 1614. we came to an anchor in the Bay of *Saldania*, where wee found the *Concord* of *London*, being the first that was set out for the ioynt stocke. We found the Natives of this place very treacherous at the present, making signes vnto vs of the forcible carrying away of two of their people. They had wounded one of the *Concord*s men very sore; and whilst we were vp in the Land, they did assault those that kept our Skiffe, carried away our Grapnell, and had spoiled those that were left to tend her, but that they tooke the water.

The Beefe of *Saldania* taketh salt well.

The nineteenth, heere arrived a *Flemmish* shippe bound for *Bantam*, the Master, *Cornelis Van Harte*. We remained heere three and twentie dayes, and having well refreshed our selves, tooke with vs fourteene Oxen and seuentie sheepe alive, besides good store of Fish and Beefe, which we powdered there, finding it to take salt well, contrary to former reports. For ten dayes after our departing from *Saldania*, we had the wind at North-west, and West North-west, but then came to South-west, so that we might goe our course North-west.

The seven and twentieth of September, we arrived, thanks be to God at *Plimmouth*, where for the space of five or sixe weekes wee endured more tempestuous weather, and our lives more endangered, then vpon the whole Voyage besides. Since which, having had some spare time, I have collected certaine notes (in the Iournall omitted) and have thought good, to cause them heere to attend the former Relation.

September 27. We arrived at *Plimmouth*.



## d. IX.

Intelligence concerning Yedzo, deliuered in the Citie of Edoo in Japan, by a  
Iapanner, who had beene there twice.

Yedzo is an I-  
land.  
Hairie people.



That Yedzo is an Island, and lyeth on the North-west side of Japan, and distant from thence ten leagues: That the people are white, and of good condition, but very hairy all their bodies ouer like Munkeyes. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes poysoned. The people in the Southermost part thereof doe vnderstand weight and measure: whereof within the Land thirtie dayes iourney they are ignorant. They haue much siluer and land-gold, whereof they make payment to the Iapanners for Rice, &c. Rice and Cotton cloath of Japan, is heere well requested. Iron and Lead is brought to them from Japan. Necessaries for the belly and backe are most vendible to them. Rice transported from Japan to Yedzo, hath yielded foure for one.

Matchma.

The Towne where the Iapanners haue their chiefe residence and Mart, is called Matchma, therein are five hundred households of Iapanners, who likewise haue a Fort there, the Gouvernour whereof is called Matchmadonna. This Towne of Matchma, is the principall Mart Towne of all Yedzo, whither the Natives most resort to buy and sell, especially in September, for their prouision for winter. In March, they bring downe Salmon and dried fish of sundrie sorts, and other wares, for which the Iapanners barter, which the Iapanners rather desire then

People of low  
 stature farther  
 to the North-  
 ward.  
 A current to  
 the East North-  
 east.

Gluer. The Iapanners haue no settled being or Trade, in any other Towne then Matchma. That further to the Northward, vpon the same Land, are people of very low stature like Dwarfes. That the Yedzoes are people of the stature of the Iapanners: and haue no apparrell, but what is brought them from Japan. That there setteth a very violent current betweene Yedzo and Japan, which commeth from Corea, and setteth to the East North-east. That the winds are for the most part, as usually they are in Japan, viz. That the Northerly winds beginne in September, and end in March, and then the Southerly winds begin to blow.

## CHAP. II.

Observations of the said Captaine Iohn Sarris, of occurrences which happened in the East-Indies during his abode at Bantam, from October 1605. till Octob. 1609.

As likewise touching the Marts and Merchandizes of those parts; obserued by his owne experience, or relation of others, extracted out of his larger Booke, and heere added as an Appendix to his former greater Voyage; and may serue as a continuation of Master Scot's premised Relations. To which are added certaine Obseruation of the said Author, touching the Townes and Merchandize of principall

Trade in those parts of the  
World.

Left eightene  
men in all, viz.  
five Matiners,  
and thirteene  
Sailers.

A Flemmish  
luncke from  
Priaman: newes  
of Sir Edward  
Michelborne.  
The danger  
from our men  
of warre to  
our Merchants

Admirall Ver-  
hagen's saile  
for Holland.  
Sir Edward  
Michelborne  
came into the  
road.



He seventh of October 1605. Our Generall Henry Middleton, and Captain Christopher Coulthurst departed this Roade for England. The eight, we killed one of Keygus Varones Slaues, which would haue fired our house.

The three and twentieth, here arriued a Lunck of the Flemmings from Priaman, by whom we vnderstood of Sir Edward Michelborne and Captaine Davis, there being vpon the coast, and that they had taken a Guzerate luncke in the Straights of Sunda, which came from Bantam, bound to Priaman.

The five and twentieth, we were commanded to the Court, vpon the report the Flemmings had made of Sir Edward, where it was demanded whether wee knew him, and wherefore hee should offer violence to the Kings friends, which had done him no wrong. It was answered, we knew a Knight so called, but whether he were vpon the Coast or no, we knew not, nor did know the Guzerate to be taken, but by the report of the Flemmings, which we held fabulous, and that vpon their better considerations, it might prooue rather to be one of the Flemmings ships, which set saile two dayes before the departure of the said Guzerate from Bantam. Whereupon we were

willed to depart, till fur her prooffe could be made. The sixe and twentieth, Admirall Vanhagen of Viricke departed for Holland, with two ships more in company, by whom we aduised the Company of all matters at large.

The nine and twentieth, Sir Edward Michelborne came to anchor heere, in the Road of Ban-

tam,



1am, Master *Towersen* and my selfe went aboard to him, where we had good entertainment: And he did intimate vnto vs the taking of the *Guzerate*: wee intreated him that he would not take the *China* Iunckes, the which he promised vs, as he was a Gentleman, he would not.

The second of Nouember 1605. Sir *Edward* set saile, directing his course for the Straights of *Pallingban*.

The thirteenth heere arriued a small ship of the *Flemmings* from the *Moluccas*, called the little *Sunne*.

The eighteenth, heere departed a small Pinnaffe of the *Flemmings*, for the discouery of the Iland called *Noua ginnea*, which, as it is said, affordeth great store of Gold. The foure and twentieth, *Vanfoult* set saile for *Choromandell*.

The second of December 1605. heere arriued three Iunckes from *Pattanny*, they brought newes of the great losse the *Flemmings* had had by fire there.

The seuenteenth, Generall *Warwicke* arriued heere from *Patanny*, where hee had taken a very rich Carracke, which came from *Mackean*, the greatest part of her lading was raw Silke.

The second of Ianuary 1605. heere departed a Iuncke of this Towne, fraughted by *Chineses* for *Temore*: their lading or commodities they caried wes Brand peeces of siluer, beaten very thin of an hand-breadth *English*, Iron, course Purfeline, Taffaties, *China* Pans and Belles. The twentieth, arriued a *China* Iuncke, which Sir *Edward Michelborne* had taken, and restitution was demanded of vs, the Gouvernour and principall Courtiers being very much offended, but by the Admirall and *Sabandar* were pacified. The *Nockhoda* of the Iuncke alledged many rich parcells taken.

The three and twentieth of May 1606. heere arriued a small Frigat of the *Flemmings* from *Ternate*, and brought away their Merchants, which had been left there by *Bastianfon*. The *Spaniard* had taken away all they had, but gaue euery man his libertie. They carried the King of *Ternate* for the *Mannelyes*, and as it was reported, they purposed to send him for *Spaine*. Some ten leagues from *Iackatra*, this *Flemmish* Frigat chanced to meete with the King of *Bantams* Fleete, which pillaged them of all which they had saued from the *Spaniards*. The *Flemmings* laboured to get restitution, but could get none of the *Iauanes*.

The nine and twentieth, the Kings Fleete returned, hauing done verelittle against their enemies the *Pallingbanes*.

The fifteenth of Iune, heere arriued *Nockhoda Tingall* a Cling-man from *Banda*, in a *Iaua* Iuncke, laden with Mace and Nutmegs, the which he sold heere to the *Guzerats* for an hundred and fiftie Rials of eight the Bahar *Bantam*, which is foure hundred and fiftie Cattees: he told me that the *Flemmings* Pinnaffe which went vpon discouery for *Noua Ginny*, was returned to *Banda*, hauing found the Iland: but in sending their men on shoare to intreate of Trade, there were nine of them killed by the Heathens, which are man-eaters; so they were constrained to returne, finding no good to be done there.

The sixt of August, the Moone was Eclipsed about eight of the clocke in the euening, continuing for the space of two houres, the *Chineses* and *Ianaries* beating of Pans and Morters during her obscurie, in such manner, as you would thinke there were no hell but there, and crying out the Moone was dead.

The fourth of October, 1606. the *China* quarter was all burnt downe, yet it pleased God to preferue Ours. The same night, the Carracke of the *Flemmings* set saile for *Holland*, her lading was fiftene thousand sakes of Pepper, some rawe Silke, and great store of *China* Sugar.

The fifth, the West *Frisland* arriued here from *Ternata*, whence she was beaten by the *Spaniards*: she was not aboue halfe laden with Mace, Cloues, and Cotton-yarne.

The ninth, here arriued a small Frigat from *Socadanna*, the Merchant was *Claes Simonfon*, his lading was Wax, Caulacca, and great store of Diamonds. The thirteenth, about midnight we had an Earthquake, it continued not long, but for the time it was very fearefull.

The thirteenth of December, here arriued two Iunckes of the *Flemmings* from *Ior*, by whom we vnderstood, that there was a Fleete of *Flemmings*, beeing eleuen ships before *Mallacca*. The Commander whereof was *Mattelefse* the younger. The ships names were as followeth: The *Orangia* Admirall, *Amsterdam* Viceadmirall, *Middleburgh*, *Mauritius*, *Erasmus*, *Great Sunne*, *Little Sonne*, *Nassau*, *Prouincies*, *White Lyon*, *Blacke Lyon*.

The twentie two of May, they came to an anchor before *Mallacca* with nine ships: for their Admirall before their comming thither, had sent the *Prouincies* and the *Erasmus* for *Achen*.

The fifth of Iune, they landed their men, but a little before their landing, the *Portugals* set fire of one Carracke and foure Iuncks which were in the Road. In Iuly, the *Prouincies* and *Erasmus* came to the Fleet at *Mallacca*. The twenty fifth of August, the Viceroy with a Fleete of sixterne great ships, were discouered by the *Little Sunne*, which was appointed to keepe watch at an Iland called *Cape Rochado*, who immediately came and certified their Admirall, finding him very much vnroutted, his Ordnance and men beeing ashore. But by the *Portugalls* calling of a Council, they gaue the *Flemmings* twenty foure houres time, to get his men and furniture aboard, and to fit himselfe before he came to them. Thus being readie, the *Flemmings* weighed, and stood out

Nou. 2. 1605.

Sir *Edward* set saile for the Straights of *Pallingban*.

A *Flemmish* Pinnaffe vpon discouery of the Iland called *Noua ginnea* *Paul Vanfoult* set saile.

Decem. 2. 1605  
A *Flemmish* Iuncke from *Patanny*.

Generall *Warwicke* arriued.

Ianuar. 2. 1605.  
A *Iaua* Iuncke set saile for *Temore* fraughted by *Chineses*.

May 23. 1606.  
Newes of the *Flemmings* losse of *Ternata*.

The *Flemmings* Pinnaffe pillaged by the Kings Fleete of *Bantam*.

The Kings Fleete returned.

Iune 15.  
*Nockhoda* *Tingall* frō *Banda*.

Mace sold for in *Bantam* an hundred and fiftie Rials, the Bahar foure hundred and fiftie Cattees.

The *Flemmings* returne from *Noua ginnea*.

August 6.  
The Moone Eclipsed in *Bantam*.

October 4.  
The *China* quarter burnt downe.

The West *Frisland* beaen from *Ternata*.

A Frigat of the *Flemmings* from *Socadanna*.

An earthquake in *Bantam*.

December 13.  
Intelligence giuen by the Iunckes of *Ior* of eleuen saile of *Flemmings* at *Mallacca*.

May 22.  
Iune 5.

The *Flemmings* discouered the Vice-Roy of *Goa* with a Fleete of sixteen saile of ships.



The Flemmings stand out of the Road, and meet with the Vice-roy, where they performe a good fight. Three Portugall ships burnt by the Flem. and three by themselves.

The Flem. finds the Vice-roy at the Nicubars, but they were so strong ashore, as they could not deale with them.

Mateleece departed for the Mollucas.

Julius and five Flem. more put to death at Bemermassen.

A ship called the Great Sunne arrived from Choromandel.

The places where the Flemmings hath left Factors vpon the coast of Choromandel.

The latitude of the Countrey.

In the Month of May much wind.

A Flem. from S. Lucia vpon the Island of Madagascar.

Capt. Middleton arrived in the Consent of London.

Mateleece arrived from the coast of China.

The ship Gelderland from Holland.

Admiral Paulus van Carle with 7. ships.

The Flem. assault the Castle of Mosambique.

out of the Harbour to them, where they beganne a good fight, which continued two one day: in which fight was burned the ship *Middleburgh*, the *Nassau*, and three *Portugals*. The *Orangia* hauing sprung a great leake, was faine to put into *Ior*, the King beeing friend and assistant, the Fleet following him, where he remained one moneth, and for *Mallacca* againe, where he met with sixe ships of the *Portugals*, of the which burnt three, and the *Portugals* themselves burnt three. From thence they departed for *Nicubars*, where they found the Vice-roy with seven ships, but they were haled so that they durst not deale with them.

The twentieth, he arrived here with sixe ships. The twenty ninth, he departed for *Lucas*.

The foureteenth of May, 1607. here arrived a *Malua* Iunke from *Grese*, by whom stood, that *Julius a Flemming*, and five more, which departed this Road the thirtieth ber, 1606. for *Soocadanna*, was put to death at *Bemermassen*, and all their goods taken of that place, the occasion (as it is reported) proceeded from the *Flemming*, who had foule speeches of the King, which he came to the hearing of, and thereupon sent for him and Master, and by the way gaue order to kill them.

The seuateenth of August, here arrived the *Great Sunne* from *Choromandel*, the *ter Isaacson*, by whom we vnderstood, that vpon the Island of *Selon*, they tooke a v of the *Portugals*, out of whom they had eightie Packs seuerall sorts of cloath, eight l of Sugar bound for *Malacca*. Item, that in the road of *Masulipatan*, where their Factor took a *Portugal* ship very richly laden with all sorts of Commodities fit for that Co greatly for their benefit, for that they were ignorant what Commodities were there: her lading was Cloues, Mace, Nut-megs, *China* Taffaties, Veluets and Dan brightest colours, but no white, *China* Porcelaine fine and course, but your great brims are the best. Item, the *Flemming* hath Factories in three seuerall places vpon but not farre the one from the other, viz. At *Masulipatan*, at *Pettapoli*, and *Balligertan* lieth in the latitude of seuateene degrees. It is a place of great plentie of v two Hennes for a Riall, two sheep for a Riall, an Oxe for a Riall. Item, in the m the wind at West, it is so extreame hot there, that you would thinke the wind w your breath, yet can you not by any meanes sweat till the Sunne be downe, and sweat very much: wherefore in this Moneth they goe not abroad in the day time night, for there haue been many smothered.

The seuenth, here arrived a small Pinnasse from an Island called *S. Lucia*, in twentie foure degrees and an halfe, about a mile from the Island of *Madagascar*, w forced in by a leake in the Carracke, which departed from hence the fourth of C they were forced to throw away three thousand sacks of Pepper, besides other C great value. They reported vnto vs, that it is a very good place to refresh in. Th no knowledge of Coyne: they bought a fat Oxe for a Tinne spoone, and a sheep f of Brasse: it is hard ground, and very good riding in seven and eight fathome. T of Nouember, 1607. Capitaine *David Middleton* arrived here in the *Consent of L*

The seuateenth, the *Flemmish* Admirall *Mateleece* arrived here from the C where he hoped to haue got ten Trade, but could not: he proffered them at *Can* thousand Rialls of eight for a gift onely, but they would not accept it; he was the ger of taking, by sixe Carracks which came out of *Maccan* of purpose for him: t cast off his Pinnasse, the which the *Portugals* tooke. He touched at *Cambaya* and bought nothing but victuals.

The seuateenth of December, 1607. here arrived the *Gelderland* from *Holland* betweene *S. Laurence* and the maine: their first place of refreshment was at *Ma* Islands of *Gomora*, where they set vp a fine Pinnasse. It is a good harbour, but ther to be had. From thence to *Calicut*, where in their way they tooke a small Boat with Rice and people of diuers Nations. The Towne of *Calicut* lieth by the S thought to be five *English* miles long. The *Sambrin* which is their King, came down he was very rich in apparell, hauing a Crowne of Gold ouer his Turbant, a naked hand, which is the manner there, he gaue the *Flemmings* good words, offering to Factory there: but they durst not trust him, the *Portugal* being so great with him.

The twenty seuenth, here arrived Admirall *Paulus van Carle*, with seven very one *Portugall* Frigat. They refreshed at *Cape de Lope Gonsaluo*, which lieth vpon *Ginnie*, where they found very good water and fish; they continued here sixe we wind at South-east by East. From hence to an Island called *Annabon*, vpon the fa

The thirtieth of March, *Stilo nouo*, we (say they) came to anchor in the road letting fall our anchor in eightene fathomes, the Castle shooting very hotly at swered them not againe, but made all the speed we could aboard of two great G and a Frigat which ride hard by vs, laden with Calicoes, course blue cloth with some with red spots, the which for the most part we tooke out, and set the great



inued two nights and  
d three *Portugal* ships.  
ing beeing their great  
neth, and then set saile  
ne which the *Flemmings*  
y departed for the *Ni*.  
haled so close ashoare,  
departed for the *Mo*.

se, by whom we vnder- 10  
he thirtieth of Nouem-  
oods taken by the King  
g, who had vsed certein  
on sent for the Merchant

andell, the Captaine Pe-  
y tooke a very great ship  
th, eight hundred Bades  
their Factory lieth, they  
or that Coast, which was 20  
ties were most vendible  
ts and Dammaskes of the  
your great Basons with  
places vpon that Coast,  
and Balligat. *Mesulpa*-  
entie of victualls, thirty  
s, in the moneth of May,  
ne wind would take away  
owne, and then you shall  
he day time, but in the 30

*Lucia*, in the latitude of  
*Madagascar*, where they were  
outh of October, 1606.  
es other Commodities to  
fresh in. The people haue  
nd a sheep for a smal peece  
home. The foureteenth  
Consent of London.

from the Coast of *China*, 40  
hem at *Canton* an hundred  
he was there in great dan-  
e for him: they made him  
t *Cambaya* and *Pahang*, but

from *Holland*. They came  
was at *Mayot*, one of the  
our, but there is little cattel  
small Boat of *Mecca*, laden  
h by the Sea-side, and is 50  
ng, came downe vnto them,  
bant, a naked Sword in his  
ffering to let them leaue a  
reat with him.

h seuen very good ships, and  
ich lieth vpon the Coast of  
here six weekes, hauing the  
ypon the same Coast.  
r in the road of *Mosambique*, 60  
ery hotly at vs, but wee an-  
two great *Guzerate* shippes  
e cloth with white spots, and  
set the great ships on fire, but  
the

the Frigat we kept. The thirtie one, we mustred our men, finding nine hundred ninetie six,  
all well and in perfect health.

The first of Aprill, we landed seuen hundred men, and seuen peeces of Artillerie, viz. eight  
Demy-Cannons of Brasse, two Demy-Culuerings of Iron, and battered vpon the Castle, but to  
little purpose: wherefore we brought our trenches so neere the enemye, as we could heaue stones  
into them. And the same night we began to make our mine, but there fell so much raine, that  
we were constrained to giue it ouer. Here they heaued fire-pots downe from the walls vpon vs,  
which scalded our men very much, and perceiuing hereof, failed out vpon vs, to our great detri-  
ment. Thus hauing been here sixe weekes ashoare, our men beeing hurt and sicke, wee brought  
our Ordnance and men aboard, hauing lost in all fortie men, we set saile out of the Roade, the Ca-  
10 file shooting very hotly at vs, so that they sunke the sterne Mast of our Fleete, which was a very  
tall ship: and other of our ships had thirtie shot through their sailes and hull. The Gunner was  
an *Englishman*.

Fortie Flem.  
saile.

From hence we went for *Mayotto*, which is one of the Ilands of *Gomora*, to refresh our men.  
Here we bought sixe hundred twenty Oxen, thirty five Sheepe, and Goates, to the great com-  
fort of vs. These people haue knowledge of Coyne, and would deale with vs for no Commodi-  
tie but Rialls. The King made a decree, that no man should sell vs any Cattell, vntill the Kings  
were sold, the which he would not sell vs vnder three Rialls of eight the piece; but his peoples  
cattell we bought for a Riall of eight the piece, but sheepe and Goats cheaper. Here we mustred  
20 our men againe, hauing bin here six weekes, & found our selues nine hundred & forty strong: wher-  
fore it was determined to goe againe for *Mosambique*, to assault the Castle once againe. But com-  
ming into the Roade, we found three Carracks riding there, which were newly come from *Por-  
tugal*, whereupon it was held best, not to goe in againe, but to ply off and on, to see if they would  
come forth; but they did not, wherefore we stood away alongst the shoare some thirtie leagues  
off the land for *Goa*: where at a Towne called *Seperdowne*, we landed all the *Guzerats* which wee  
had out of the ships at *Mosambique*. At this place is good refreshing and cheape, twentie hennes  
for a Riall, one hundred and fiftie Egges for a shilling, and as much fresh fish as would serue all the  
ships companie for a day, for a Riall of eight. It lieth in eighteene degrees to the North of the  
line, and is not far from *Chaul*: we rid in seuen fathomes clay ground. The people are *Moores*, and

Mayot a good  
place to re-  
fresh at.

30 great enemies to the *Portugals*: it affords no Marchandise but a little Pepper. From hence hard  
by the Ilands of *Commodo* to the North of *Goa* seuen leagues, we took a Carracke which was come  
from *Lisbone*, her lading was most Rialls of eight, currant *Spanish* coine; all which we tooke out,  
and set her on fire. The Captaine we tooke with vs, his name was *Ieronymus Telbalditto*. At *Goa*  
we remained a Moneth at anchor, hoping to haue met with the Carrackes which we had seene  
at *Mosambique*, but they came not: wherefore we set saile, and went for *Calicut*, purposing to  
haue spoken with the *Sambarine*, but by reason of tenne Gallies, which were come from *Goa*  
and lay there, we went not ashoare, fearing some Treason. We sent him a Present, which was  
two pieces of Iron Ordnance, and one piece of Brasse, we sent our Caske ashoare to fill with wa-  
ter, but we could find none that we durst drinke. From hence we shaped our course for Cape  
40 *Commerin* to looke for water, but could get none: wherefore wee directed our course for the  
straights of *Mallacca*, but finding the winds and Current contrary, we came directly for *Bantam*,  
hauing been out of *Holland* twenty one Moneths and an halfe.

Seperdowne a  
good place to  
refresh at.

A Carracke ta-  
ken hard by  
the Ilands of  
*commodo*.

Ten Gallies in  
the Road of  
*Calicut* of the  
*Portugals*.  
The *Flem.* giue  
the *Sambrine* of  
*Calicut* a Pre-  
sent.

The thirte one of December, he departed this Roade with seuen ships, and one Frigat to spend  
some time in the straights of *Mallacca*, in hope to haue met with the *Mackaw* shippes, but  
could not.

*Paulus van Carls*  
set saile for the  
straights of  
*Mallacca*.  
*Paulus van Carls*  
returned.  
*Mattaleese* set  
saile for *Hol-  
land*.

The fourth of January, 1607. he arriued in the Road here, leauing his ships riding at *Poolo*  
*Tindoo*. The fifth, he departed hence for the *Molluccas*.

The eighteenth, Admirall *Mattaleese* the younger set saile for *Holland*: his lading was twelue  
thousand sackes of Pepper, foure hundred sackes of Nutmegs, Sugar, Ebony wood, and some  
30 raw Silke.

This yeare, 1608. arriued here many Iunkes of *China*, and other places, which I forbear to  
mention.

The nineteenth of August, arriued a *Flemmish* ship called the *Erasmus* from *Amboyna*, hauing  
in her some seuen hundred Bahars of Cloues, which she laded at *Huto*.

A *Flem.* ship  
from *Amboyna*.

The first of September, arriued a small Pinnasse of the *Flemmings* from *Mackian*, by whom we  
vnderstood of two ships called the *China* and the *Doone* were cast away, riding at anchor afore  
*Mackian*, with very litle wind at West, which makes such a Sea, that it is not possible for ships  
to ride there, by reason it is foule ground, and very deepe water, as seuentie and eightie fathoms.  
Item, that they had taken *Mackian* and *Tassafal* without the losse of a man, and had left in each  
place, one hundred and twenty *Flemmings*: in like manner they had strengthened the Cattle at  
60 *Malayo*.

A *Flem.* Pin-  
nasse from  
*Mackian*.

*Mackian* and  
*Tassafal* taken  
without losse  
of one man.  
A *Flem.* Pin-  
nasse for *Soc-  
danna*.

The tenth, departed a Pinnasse of the *Flemmings* for *Socadanna*, to fetch away the Merchants  
whom they heard could get in no part of their debts, left there by *Claves Simonson*, and that they  
were very sicke.



A Flemish  
ship from Ban-  
da.

The Hay from  
Choromandell.

The Dragon  
from Priaman.

A Present gi-  
uen the King  
of Bantam.

The Gouver-  
nour and his  
Ierotooles killed.

A Flem. Pin-  
nasse from Soo-  
codanna.

Five saile of  
Flem. bound  
for Holland.

A Flem. Pin-  
nasse from Ma-  
lacca.

A Pinnasse of  
the Flemings,  
for Soocodanna.

W. Keeling set  
sayle for Eng-  
land.

He returned  
backe.

He departed.  
He returned  
meeting with

the Hector in  
the Straights.

A Flem. from  
Holland which  
had met with

two English  
ships in 31. de-  
to the North

of the Cape of  
Cop Premeras.

A Flem. Pin-  
nasse set sayle  
for Malacca.

The Dragon for  
England.

The Hector for  
Banda.

Two ships and  
a Pinnasse from  
Choromandell.

Three Flem.  
ships for Banda.

A Fleet from  
Holland, being  
twelve saile.

Seven Flem.  
for the Molluc.

A meeting at  
the Court by  
the Flem. pro-  
curement.

Our House es-  
caped burning  
I was sent for  
to the Court.

The three and twentieth, arrived the ship *Zeland* from *Banda*, halfe laden with *Nutmegs*, her burthen was an hundred and fiftie last. The five and twentieth, arrived *Choromandell*, her lading was diuers sorts of *Mallayo* cloth, and cloth *Cherra Iaua*.

The second of October, arrived the *Dragon* from *Priaman*, wherein was *Generall*. The seventh, the *Generall* went vp to the Court, and deliuered the King our with a Present, which was five Peeces, one *Bason* and *Ewer*, one *Barrell* of powder.

The thirteenth in the morning very early, the *Gouernour* and his *Ierotooles* were *Pungauas*, the *Sabandar*, *Admirall*, *Key depatty* *Utennagarra*, &c. who assembled the night at *Keymas Patties* house, and beset the Court, first laying hold of the King and then they ranne into the *Gouernours* Court, thinking to haue found him in there. He was on the backside his bed, where they found him, and wounded him first on the head, then upon he fled to the Priest, called *Keyfinkkey*, who came forth and intreated them for his life, but they would not be perswaded, but perforce ran in, and made an end of him.

The eighteenth, arrived the *Flemmings* Pinnasse from *Soocodanna*, and brought Merchants, leauing the Countrey much indebted vnto them.

The sixth of Nouember, set saile the Vice-Admirall of *Paulus van Carle*, with *Holland*: their lading was *Cloues*, *Mace*, *Nutmegs*, *Pepper* and *Diamonds*. The eighth, arrived a small Pinnasse of the *Flemmings* from *Malacca*, by whom wee vnderstood of three ships which rid there, and that in their Voyage they had taken two Carrackes.

The ninth of Nouember, 1608. *Samuel Plummer* departed this Roade for *Soocodanna* mayne there.

The fourth of December, being Sunday in the afternoone our *Generall William Keeling* departed this Roade for *England* in the *Dragon*. The sixth, hee was forst backe by the *West-winds*. The tenth, hee departed from the *West* point. The thirteenth, hee hauing met with the *Hector* in the Straights of *Sonda*. They were very weake, the most part toucht with the *Scuruie*. The *Portugalls* of *Damas* had betrayed the *Surat*, taken nineteene of their men, and nine thousand *Rials* in Cloth as it cost them. They came for *Bantam*, they tooke a small Frigate of *Collumba*, out of which they tooke packes of Cloth, contayning in all eightie three Clothes, thirteene pieces pouling sent for the *Ilands* of *Banda*.

The sixteenth of December, arrived a small ship from *Holland*, by whom wee vnderstood of two ships which they met withall to the North of the Cape *Bona Speransa* in the *Tropiques*. They made them to be *English* ships, but whether they were bound the same way, but the smaller shippe bore the Flagge in the maine-top. This shippe had beene in the Voyage eight monethes and ten dayes, they refreht at one of the *Ilands* of *Comorins*, where they had great store of *Bees* and *Goats* for old *Knives* and *Tin*.

The two and twentieth, she set saile for *Malacca*, to their fleet which lay there to giue ouer their siege.

The three and twentieth, departed the *Dragon* for *England*: *Captaine*, *Gabriel*.

The first of Ianuary, 1608. our *Generall William Keeling* set saile in the *Hector* for *Banda*.

The seventh, arrived two shippes and a Pinnasse of the *Flemmings* from *Choromandell*, with Cloth the which some part they had taken, and the rest bought. They had taken two Carrackes, one a Carricke at *Mosambique*.

The fifteenth of Ianuary, 1608. departed the great *Sunne*, and the two ships with her from *Choromandell*.

The third of Februarie, arrived *Admirall William Verhoofe* with twelue saile from *Malacca*.

The fourteenth, the *Admirall* with seven ships departed for the *Mollucces*.

The ninth of March, the *Flemmings* caused a meeting at the Court of all the *Iauans* to tell the King that they had received Letters from their King, which did make much difference betweene them and the *Portugalls*. Wherefore they thought good to certifye them, To this end that if the *Portugalls* should come thither vnder colour of Trade, and so set vpon them for their Countrey, they could not take their part, but they could haue done, by reason the King of *Holland* and *Portugall* were at the *Iauans* fell all into a great laughter, smoking them, that their pretence was feare into them of the *Portugall*, doubting the King would if they came, giue them Trade, which would be the ouerthrow of the *Flemmings*. The *Gouernour* gave them no answer, but willed them to take their course.

The twentieth, It pleased God to deliuer vs from a great danger, for a *Chinese* ship to our Ware-house tooke fire and was burnt downe, but ours escaped.

The one and twentieth, I was sent for to the Court by *Pangran Areanour*. I went and carryed with me a Present which was one Peece, one *Mallayo* piece *Morey*, one piece *Mallayo* *Pintado*, one *Bandaleere*, one roll of *Match*,



en with Mace and Nut-  
h, arrived the *Hay* from  
*ra laua*.  
as General *William Ke-*  
King our Kings Letter,  
all of powder.  
oolies were killed by the  
embled themselves ouer  
e King and his Mother;  
him in the bed, but he  
firt on the head, where-  
ed them for his life, but  
m.  
nd brought away their  
*Carle*, with five saile for  
ds. The eighth, arrived a  
od of thirteene saile of  
rrackes.  
le for *Soocadanna*, to re-  
erall *William Keeling* de-  
t backe by foule weather  
thirteenth, hee returned  
y weake, their men for  
betrayed their Boates at  
as it cost there. *Item*, as  
which they tooke eleuen  
ces poulings, which were  
whom we vnderstood of  
peransa in thirtie two de-  
bound they were not cer-  
shippe had beene on her  
ides of *Comora*, called *Pulo*  
ues and Tinne Spoons.  
ch lay there, to will them  
aine, *Gabriell Towerfon*.  
the *Hector* for the Ilands  
from *Choromandell*, laden  
. They had taken five pri-  
wo ships which came from  
twelue saile of good ships  
olluccoes.  
t of all the *Punganas*, To  
did make mention of peace  
d to certifie so much vnto  
nder colour to trade with  
ke their parts as aforetime  
ugall were friends. Where  
eir pretence was to strike  
came, giue them peaceable  
uernour gaue them no an-  
for a *Chineses* house next vn-  
ran *Areaumgalla* the Gouver-  
, one *Mallee Gochaer*, one  
of *Match*, the which he ac-  
cepted

cepted very kindly, he told me he had sent for me, hearing that there were two men in chaines in our house for debt, and he would know by whose order I kept them. I told him by the order of the King we had taken them vp, and hoped that he would not take them from me before I were satisfied my debt, or some part, and that it was due by them, I shewed their Bills: hee said, hee thought they were indebted, but that the King gaue vs leaue to chaine them vp, he knew to the contrary, wherefore he would haue them loosed, but with much intreatie, I perswaded that he gaue me leaue to keep them til *Tanyonge*, which ought foure hundred twenty Rials & a half, should pay one hundred, and *Buingoone* which ought five hundred Rials, & one hundred sacks of Pepper, should pay twentie bagges of Pepper, and one hundred Rials in money, according as hee had before agreed and giuen me his Bill. Wherefore hee sent one of his slaues home with me to tell the Pri-  
soners thereof, willing them to resolute and pay me.

The foure and twentieth, I was sent for to the Court, and the *Flemmings*: hee demanded of the *Flemming* whether it was their Countrey manner to take vp a man for debt without telling of the King, the *Flemming* said no, whereupon he willed me presently to let them out, cleane forgetting his promise three dayes before, the which I charged him with, but all would not pre-  
uaile; wherefore he sent one of the Kings slaues and tooke them out of the house. The which strict course I hold to be taken against vs, by the instigation of the *Flemmings*, wrought by *Lack-  
moye*, to the end we should not trust the *Chineses*: so that by this course they must needs come to him, & he being fitted with all sorts of Commodities from the *Flemming*, will wholly ouerthrow  
our Trade, in respect wee cannot trust but at hazard, for there is no Iustice to bee had.

The three and twentieth of Aprill, 1609. here arrived a small Pinnasse of the *Flemmings* from *Soocadanna* and *Ternata*: by whom wee vnderstood that Admirall *Pauls Vankerle* was taken at *Ternata*.

The one and twentieth of May, 1609. A Pinnasse of the *Flemmings* set saile for *Bemermassin*, vpon a league made betweene them. And with purpose to search euery Creeke and corner of the Iland. For they haue heard there is much Gold there and Bezars, the which is to bee traded for with Beads and other Haberdasher-ware.

The fixe and twentieth of August, 1609. arrived Captaine *William Keeling* from *Banda*, ha-  
uing laden there twelue thousand foure hundred eighty foure Cattees one halfe quarter of Mace, fiftie nine thousand, eight hundred fortie fixe Cattees of Nutmegs, which stood them in nine, ten and eleuen Rials the Bahar, the Cattee there weighing thirteene and an halfe of our *English* Ounces. The smal Bahar Mace is ten Cattees, or one hundred Cattees of Nutmegs: & the great Bahar is one hundred Cattees of Mace, or one thousand Cattees of Nutmegs: so that if a man be indebted vnto you ten Cattees of Mace, and will giue you one hundred Cattees of Nut-  
megs you cannot refuse it.

The fourth of October, 1609. Captaine *Keeling* set saile from *Bantam*, hauing taken in the rest of his lading, which was foure thousand nine hundred bagges, three Cattees of Pepper, in the which ship called the *Hector*. I came for *England* hauing beene in the Countrey foure yeares, nine monethes, eleuen dayes.

40

*Certaine Rules for the choise of sundry Drugges, as also from whence they may be had, as followeth.*

**L**ignum *Aloes*, is a wood so called by vs, but of the *Mallayens*, it is called *Garroo*. The best commeth from *Mallacka*, *Syam*, and *Cambaya*. The best is that which is in large round stickes and very massie, of blacke colour intermixed with Ashe-coloured veines. In taste some-what bitter and odoriferous, and being burnt, it becommeth like vnto Pitch in bubbles. If a splinter thereof be laid vpon a fire-coale, for if it be good, it will not leaue frying till it bee quite consumed, casting forth a most delectable Odour.

**B**enjamin, is a Gumme called by the *Mallayens* *Minnian*. The best sort commeth from *Syam*, which is very pure, cleere and white, with little streakes of *Amber* colour. The other sort which is not altogether so white, but is also very good, commeth from *Sumatra*. And a third sort which commeth from *Priaman* and *Barrowse*, is very course like Horse-bread, not vendible in *England*, but well esteemed in *Bantam*.

**C**iuet, the best is that which is of a deepe yellow colour some-what inclining to the colour of Gold, not whitish, for that is vsually sophisticated with Grease, yet if it bee newly taken, it is naturally whitish, and will in continuance of time become of a yellowish colour.

**Muske**, there are three sorts, blacke, browne and yellow, of which the first is naught, the second is good, the last best: which ought to be of colour like the best Spicknard, that is, of a deep  
Amber colour, inclosed with one onely skinne, and not one ouer another, as it is oftentimes to be seene, not ouer-moist which maketh it waightie, but in a meane, hauing some haire like bristles, but not ouer-many, cleere of stones, leade, or other trash intermixed, and of so strong and fragrant a smell, that to many it is offensiue, and being tasted in the mouth, it pierceth the very braine with the scent, and ought not ouer-soone to dissolue in the mouth, nor yet to re-  
mayne

The Gouver-  
nours order.  
I was sent for  
to the Court,  
and willed to  
deliuer the Chi-  
neses vp.

A Pinnasse of  
the *Flemmings*  
from *Soocadanna*  
A Pinnasse of  
the *Flemmings*  
for *Bemermassin*.

The *Hector* set  
saile from  
*Bantam*.

Also from  
*Sumatra*, *Potana*,  
*nie*, *Cauchau*,  
*chene*.

Burrowse yeel-  
derh Tyurall,  
called in *Eng*-  
lish *Buris*,  
worth there a  
Riall the Cat-  
tee, and heere  
ten shillings  
the pound, it is  
kept in Grease.



mayne very long vndissolued in any hand, it must not be kept neere to any sweete lose the sent.

*Bantam Bezer-  
massin, Sonca-  
danna Maccaf-  
ser, Insula las  
vacas, which is  
at the entrance  
into Cambaya.*

*Bezar*, there are heere of two kinds, the one brought from the West, the *East-Indies*, whereof the *East-India Bezar* is worth double the price of the other, both are diuers, some round, others long like Date-stones, others like Pidgeon like the Kidneyes of a young Goate, and others in forme of a Chef-nut, but all are blunt at the ends, not picked, and no lesse varietie is also to be seene in the co are of light redde, others of colour like Honey, many of a darke Ash-col of the Ciuet-Cat, but for the most part of a waterish-greene. The *East* consist of many peelings and scales, as it were artificially compacted together, i skinnies and peeles of an Onion, each inclosing other, bright and splendent, as i lished by Art, the one peeling being broke off, the next is more splendent or bri former, these peelings are some thicke, some thinne, according to the largenesse o the larger the stone is, the better for sale. This is a certaine way to make tryall the direct waight of the stone, then put him into water, and let it stand for the heures, then see if he be not crackt, wipe it dry, and weigh it againe, if it weigh a matter more then he did at the first, then build vpon it, it is not good. Thus h selfe many times in *Bantam*, and haue had diuers turne to Chalke with a little st dle, which hath weighed a Taile *Iaua*, which is two Ounces. The most Cou from *Socodanna*, which is vpon *Borneo*. These names in the Margent, are t whence they may be had.

*Amber*, there is hereof, if you regard the colour, many sorts, as blacke, whi gray, of all which the blacke is vually the basest, and the gray the best, of whic best clenfed from filth or drosse, pure of it selfe, of colour inclining to a white, colour intermixed with veines, some Ash-colour, other whitish, being put into ter, it ought to floate aloft. The which, although some which is sophisticated m is certaine, that none which is pure will sinke in the water. The greatest qua from *Mosambique* and *Sofala*.

*Of all the chiefe and principall Townes for Trade in these parts, with thei and situations, and also what commodities they doe affoord, and what is t*

**B** *Antam*, a Towne situate in the Iland of *Iaua Maior*, standeth in the latitud to the South of the Equinoctiall, and hath three degrees variation West. great resort of diuers Nations, in sundrie sorts of commodities. For of it selfe tle but victuals, Cotton wooll and Pepper, whereof the quantitie may be at a ha the moneth of October) some thirtie or thirtie two thousand sackes, each sacke nine Cattees and an halfe *China*, and each Cattee twenty one Rials and an halfe is called a Timbang, and two Timbanges is one Peecull, three Peeculls is a small Peeculls and an halfe a great Bahar, which is foure hundred fortie fiue Cattees and there is a Coclack, by the which the *Iauanes* most commonly deale, because t perfect in the vse of the Beame; it containeth seuen Cattees and a quarter, and s a Timbang (water measure) the which is one Cattee and a quarter, greater then t should be no difference, but that the weigher, which is alwayes a *Chinesa*, doth g men leaue to get) for according as he fauours, he can fit them with a great or a his pleasure. *Item*, there commeth in the moneths of December and Ianuary to Iunckes and Prawes laden with Pepper from *Cherringin* and *Iauby*, so that in th there is alwayes Pepper sufficient to lade three good shippes. *Item*, the King hat owne, but what commeth from *China*, which is called Cashes, and is made of t it is round and thin, with holes to string them on, a thousand Cashes vpon Pecoo, which is of diuers values, according as Cashes rise or fall, wherewith th make their accounts, which is as followeth: ten Pecooes is a Laxsau, ten Lax ten Cartees is an Vta, ten Vtaes is a Bahar.

*Item*, you are to vnderstand, there are two manner of wayes of the stringin one called Chuchuck *China*, the other Chuchuck *Iaua*, of which the *Iaua* is t should be two hundred Cashes vpon a Tacke, but for the *China* Tackes you shal dred and sixtie, or an hundred and seuentie: fiue Tackes should make a Pecoo; two hundred Cashes vpon a Pecoo, or an hundred and fiftie, which will rise to you deale for much; but by the law of the Countrey they are to be iust a thou a string, or to giue Basse, which is allowance.

*Item*, vpon the departing of the Iunckes, you shall buy thirtie foure and thi for a Riall, which before the next yeere you may sell for twentie two and tw so that there is great profit to be made, but the danger of fire is great.

*Item*, the weight vsed to weigh Bezars, Ciuet and gold, is called a Taile, w

*The Iaua Al-  
phabet is twen-  
tie letters the  
Beallaye is foure  
and vengue.  
Bantam Bantam,  
Coclack of  
Bantam.*

*Deceit in the  
weigher.  
Iunckes from  
Cherringin and  
Iauby.  
In the fine of  
Ianury three  
shippes may find  
lading of Pep-  
per in Bantam.  
China Cashes.  
The best Ca-  
shes in Bantam  
called Chu-  
chuck Iaua.*

*Basse called al-  
lowance vpon  
Cashes.  
Profit to bee  
made in in-  
grossing of  
Cashes.*



any sweet Spices, least it

ft, the other from the  
he other. The formes of  
Pidgeons Egges, some  
but all for the most part  
in the colours, for some  
ke Ash-colour like that  
The East-India Bezars  
ether, in manner of the  
dent, as if they were po-  
nt or brighter then the  
genesis of the stones, and  
ake tryall of Bezars; take  
nd for the space of foure  
if it weigh neuer so small  
Thus haue I proued my  
a little sticke in the mid-  
most Counterfeites come  
nt, are the places from

acke, white, browne, and  
ft, of which choole what is  
a white, and of an Ash-  
g put into a bowle of wa-  
iticated may doe, yet this  
eatest quantitie commeth

with their seuerall names  
what is there desired.

the latitude of sixe degrees  
on West. To this place is  
of it selfe it affoordeth lit-  
y be at a haruest (which is in  
each sacke containing forty  
and an halfe English, a sacke  
alls is a small Bahar, and foure  
e Cattees and an halfe. Item,  
le, because they are not very  
quarter, and seuen Coolackes is  
reater then the Beame (there  
hinefa, doth giue his Counci-  
a great or a small measure, at  
d Ianuary to this place, many  
so that in the fine of Ianuary  
the King hath no Coine of his  
is made of the dross of Lead,  
ashes vpon a string, called a  
herewith they know how to  
sau, ten Laxsaues is a Cattee,

f the stringing of Calhes; the  
the Iava is the best, for there  
ckes you shall find but an hun-  
ke a Pecoo; so that you lose  
h will rise to a great matter, if  
be iust a thousand Calhes vpon

foure and thirtie five Pecooes  
e two and twentie for a Riall,  
reat.

ed a Taile, which is two Rialls  
of

of eight and a quarter, or two ounces, English. Item, a Mallaya Taile is one Riall of eight and a halfe, or one ounce and one third part English. Item, a Taile China is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Riall of eight, or one ounce and one fift part English, so that ten Tailles China is sixe Tailles Iava, exactly. Item, the English commodities vendible heere, are as followeth: English Iron, long and thinne barres, sixe Rials the Pecull: Lead, in small pigges, for five and twentie or sixe and twentie peeces, five Rials and a halfe the Pecull: Powder, fine round cornd, the barrell five and twentie Rials: Peeces square, sanguined, the peece ten Rials, of sixe foot long: Peeces square, damasked all ouer, fiftene Rials, of sixe foote long and a halfe: Broad-cloth of ten pound the Cloath, of colour Venice red, a Gasse, which is three quarters of a yard, three Rials of eight: Opium Misferee, which is the best, eight Rials the Cattee: Amber, in great beads, one Wang and a halfe Taile Mallaya, sixe Rials of eight: Corall, in large branches, five and sixe Rials, the weight of the Taile Mallaya: Rials of eight, the principallest commodities you can carry.

Item, in the Moneths of February and March, heere commeth three or foure Iunkes from China, very richly laden with Silkes raw and wrought, China Calhes, Purfeline, Cotton cloath of diuers fashions and prices, as followeth, viz. Raw-silke of Lamking, which is the best, an hundred and ninetie Rials the Pecull: Raw-silke of Canton, which is courser, eightie Rials the Pecull: Taffata in bouls, an hundred and twelue yards the peece, fortie six Rials the Corge, twenty peeces: Veluets all colours, thirteene yards the peece, twelue Rials the peece: Damaske all colours, twelue yards the peece, sixe Rials the peece; white Sattins, twelue yards long the peeces, eight Rials: Burgones, ten yards long the peece, fortie five Rials the Corge: Sleue-silke, the best made colours, three Rials the Cattee: Muske the best, two and twentie Rials the Cattee: Sewing Gold the best, fiftene knots, euery knot thirty strings, one Riall: Veluet Hangings imbroydered with gold, eightene Rials; vpon Sattins, fourteene Rials: white Curten stufes, nine yards the peeces, fiftie Rials the Corge; white Damask Flat, nine yards the peeces, foure Rials: Sugar white the Pecull, three Rials and a halfe, very drie: Sugar Candy very drie, five Rials the Pecull: Purfeline Basons the peeces, two Rials, very broad and fine: Callico cloath, course, white and browne, fiftene Rials the Corge: Course Purfeline, Drugges, and diuers other commodities they bring, but because they are not for our Countrey, I doe omit. Beniamine very good and white, five and thirtie, and thirtie Rials the Pecull: Lignum-Aloes, eightie Rials the Pecull: Allum, which is as good as the English, and comes from China, two Rials and a halfe the Pecull. Choromandell Cloath is a principall commoditie heere, the most vendible sorts are called Goobares; Pintadoes of foure and five couets: Fine Tappies of Saint Thomas, Ballachos, Iava Girdles, alias Caine-Goolong, Callico Launes, Booke Callicos, and Callicos made vp in rowles, white. Item, a Goober is double, and containeth twelue yards, or sixe Haftaes single. Item, Ballachos, course and fine, containing two and thirtie or foure and thirtie Haftaes, but the finest are alwayes longest.

Item, the fine Tappies of Saint Thomas, sixe Haftaes. Item, Moorees is a fine sort of cloath, but not very much vied heere, for it is deare and short, containing sixteene Haftaes, at two Rials and a quarter. Item, Booke Callicos, if they be not corted, are two and thirtie Haftaes. Item, all sorts of Mallayan cloath are generally eight Haftaes long, wherefore it is called, Cherra Mallaya. Item, generally all sorts of Cotton cloath, which is broad, and of good length, is well requested heere.

Item, Callico Lawnes, white and red, are two and thirtie Haftaes. Item, a Hafta is halfe a yard, accounted from your elbow to the toppe of your middle finger. Item, the Kings Customes heere, are as followeth: The Kings Custome called Chukey, is eight bagges vpon the hundred bagges, rating Pepper at foure Rials of eight the sacke, what price soeuer it beares: Billa-billian is, if any ship arrive in the Roade, laden with cloath or such like; the King is to be made acquainted therewith, and with the sorts, quantitie, and price thereof, before you may land any part: then hee will send his Officers, and such sorts, as he likes, he will haue at the halfe of your price, or somewhat aboute, as you can agree: for if you prise your cloath at twentie Rials for Corge, hee will giue you but fiftene or sixteene Rials a Corge: but the Flemmings course hath been to giue him seuen or eight hundred Rials at a time for a shippes lading, to cleare them of the dutie and trouble. But by the custome of the Countrey, this dutie is vpon sixe thousand sackes of Pepper, sixe hundred sixtie sixe Rials, if you lade Pepper, otherwise to take so many thousand sackes of the King, at halfe a Riall, or three quarters of a Riall vpon a sacke, more then the price currant is in the Towne.

Item, if you shall haue prouided afore-hand sufficient lading to dispatch your shippes, yet you are to pay for this dutie as aforesaid, or else they will not permit you to lade.

Item, Rooba, Rooba, is a duty for anchorage, and is vpon sixe thousand sackes five hundred Rials of eight. Item, the Sabandars duty is vpon sixe thousand sackes two hundred fiftie Rials. Item, the Waighers dutie is one Riall vpon an hundred sackes. Item, the Ierotoolis or Waighers belonging to the Custome-house, their dutie is one Riall for an hundred sackes.

Iortan, is to the Eastwards of Iacatra, it is called Serebaya. It affoordeth of it selfe victuals, and great store of Cotton-wooll, and spun yarne. There commeth many Iunkes from Iauby, whose lading

The weight v-  
fed in weigh-  
ing of Bezars,  
Cruet and  
Gold, with the  
content of their  
seuerall Tailos.  
English com-  
modities vend-  
ible in Ban-  
tam.

February and  
March, the  
time of the  
coming of the  
China Iunkes  
for Bantam, and  
what commo-  
dities they are  
laden with.

Commodities  
from China.

Beniamine,  
Lignum Aloes  
to be bought at  
Bantam.

Commodities  
vendible in  
Bantam.  
Content of  
cloath Chera  
Iava, which  
comes from  
Choromandell.

Generally,  
Cotton cloath  
requested in  
Bantam.

Customs.  
Billa-billian or  
Labba, is vpon  
six thousand  
sackes, six hun-  
dred sixty sixe  
Rials, and so  
higher or  
lower, accor-  
ding to the  
burden of your  
shippe.

Rooba.

No customs.



lading is Pepper; also there are small Prawes of the Towne, which goe to *Banda*; so that there are some few Mace and Nuts to be had there.

*Mackassar*, is an Iland not farre from the *Celebes*. It affordeth great store of Bezar stones, which may be had reasonably: also Rice and other Victualls great plentie. There are Iunkes also which trade to *Banda*, so that a small quantitie of Mace and Nuts is there to be had also.

*Balee*, is an Iland to the East-wards of *Mackassar*, standing in eight degrees and an halfe to the South of the Equinoctiall. It hath of it selfe great store of Rice, Cotten-yarne, slaues, and course white Cloth, well requested at *Bantam*. The commodities for this place are the smallest sort of blue and white beads, Iron and course Purfeline.

*Tymore*, is an Iland which lieth to the East-ward of *Baly*, in the latitude of tenne degrees, for-<sup>10</sup> tie minutes. This place affordeth great store of *Chindanna*, by vs called, white Saunders; the greatest logges are accounted best, it is worth at *Bantam* twentie Rials of eight the Peecul, at the coming of the Iunkes: Waxe in great cakes, worth at *Bantam* eightene, nineteene, twentie, thirtie Rials the Peecul, as the time serues. Item, you must be verie carefull in the choosing of it, for there is great deceit therein; wherefore you must breake it, to see whether it be mingled or not.

The Commodities which are carried thither, are Chopping-kniues, small Bugles, Porfeline, coloured Taffataes, but no blackes, *China* frying-Pannes, *China* bells, and peeces of siluer beaten flat and thin as a wafer, of the bredth of a hand. Item, there is great profit made of this trade, for the *Chineses* haue giuen to our men which aduentured with them thither, foure for one.<sup>20</sup>

*Banda* lieth in the latitude of five degrees to the Southwards of the Equinoctiall. It affordeth great store of Mace and Nutmegs, with Oyle of both sorts: it hath no King, but is gouerned by a *Sabandar*, which ioyneth with the *Sabandars* of *Nero*, and *Lentore*, *Puloway*, *Pulorin*, and *Laba-tacca*, Ilands neare adioyning. These Ilands in former times haue been vnder the gouernement of the King of *Ternata*, but at this present they gouerne of themselues. Item, on these Ilands is haruest thrice a yeare, viz. in the Moneth of Iuly, October, and February. But the gathering in Iuly is the greatest, the which is called, the Monson *Arepootee*.

Oyle of Mace  
4. Rials a quart,  
at *Bantam* 5. or  
6. Rials a quart

Mon. on *Are-  
pootee*. From  
*Parlo Swango*, a-  
lias, the deuils  
Iland comes  
the foule called  
*Casuarie*.

Lignum Aloes.  
Ophion misse-  
ree which is  
soft like wax.

Item, the manner of dealing for their price, is as followeth. A small Bahar is tenne Cattees Mace, and an hundred Cattees Nuts; & a great Bahar Mace, is an hundred Cattees, and a thousand<sup>30</sup> Cattees Nuts, and a Cattee is five pound, thirteene ounces and an halfe *English*, the prices variable. Item, the Commodities requested in these Ilands, are *Choromandel* cloth, *Cheremallaw*, viz. *Sar-rasses*, *Pintados* of five Coueyts, fine *Ballachos*, blacke *Girdles*, *Chellyes*, white *Callico*es, broad cloath *Stammell*, Gold in coyne, viz. *Rose-nobles* of *England* and the *Low Countreys*, *Royalls* of eight. Item, you shall haue that there, for seuentie Rials in Gold, which will cost you ninetie in Rials, *China* Basons fine large, and without brims, *Damasks* of light colours, *Taffataes*, *Veluets*, *China* Boxes, or *Counters* gilded, Gold chaines, *Plate cups* gilded, *Head-peeces* bright *damasked*, *Peeces* for shot, but not many *Sword blades* brand and backt to the point. Item, *Cambaya* cloth, *Callico*es blacke and red, *Callico lawnes*, &c. Item, Rice is a very good commoditie to carrie thither.

The Ilands of the *Moluccos* are five, viz. *Molucco*, *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Gelolo*, *Mackean*, and are<sup>40</sup> vnder the Equinoctiall line. These Ilands afford great store of Cloues, not euery yeare, but euery three yeares. The Cattee there is, three pound five ounces *English*, the Bahar two hundred Cattees. Item, nineteene Cattees *Ternata*, makes fifty Cattees *Bantam* exactly.

The commodities vendible for these places, are *Choromandel* cloth, *Cheremallaw*, but fine; and *Siam* girdles, *Salolos*, fine *Ballachos* and *Chelleys* are best requested. Item, *China* Taffata, *Veluets*, *Damaske*, great *Basons*, varnished *Counters*, Broad cloath crymson, *Opium* and *Beniamin*, &c.

*Siam*, lieth in the latitude of foureteen degrees & a halfe to the Northward of the Equinoctial. It affords great store of very good *Beniamin*, and many rich stones, which are brought thither fro *Pegu*. Item, a Tayle is two Rials of eight and a quarter. Item, here is much Siluer in bullion, which<sup>50</sup> commeth from *Japan*, but Rials of eight are in more request, for two Rials and a quarter in coine, will yeeld two and an halfe in bullion. Broad cloth *stammell* colour, Iron, and faire looking glasse are well requested, all manner of *China* Commodities are there better cheape then at *Bantam*.

Item, the *Guzerat* Iunkes come to *Siam* in the moneths of Iune and Iuly, touching first at the *Maldues*, and then at *Tenassere*, from whence they may goe ouer land to *Siam* in twentie dayes. Item, at *Tenassere* there is alwayes five and an halfe, and sixe fathomes water.

*Borneo*, lieth in the latitude of three degrees to the South of the Equinoctial. It affordeth great store of Gold, Bezar stones, Wax, Rotans, *Cayulacca*, and *Sanguis Draconis*. Item, at *Bemer-massin*, a Towne situated on this Iland, is the principallest trade for the Commodities afore-said.<sup>60</sup> Item, the Commodities requested there, are as followeth, *Choromandel* cloth of all sorts, *China* Silkes, *Damasks*, *Taffataes*, *Veluets*, all colours but blackes, Broad cloth, *Stammell*, and Rials of eight. Item, Bezar stones are there bought by the Tayle, which is the weight of one Riall and an halfe of eight, for five or sixe Rials the Tayle, which is one Ounce, and the third part *English*.

*Soocodanna*, is a Towne situate vpon *Borneo*, in the latitude of one degree and an halfe to the South



South of the Equinoctiall, and is North-east from *Bantam* one hundred and sixtie leagues. There is in the entrance of the harbour five fathomes, and at low water three fathomes, a Faulcon short of the shore, Ozie ground.

To this place is great Trade in Iunkes and Prawes, for it yeeldeth great store of Diamonds, the which are accounted the best in the world. There is store to be had at all times, but specially in the moneths of January, Aprill, Iuly and October, but the greatest quantitie in January and Aprill, at which times they are brought downe the Riuer called *Laué* by Prawes. The manner of getting of them, is as you diue for Pearle. The reason why more quantitie is gotten in one Moneth then in an other is, for that in Iuly and October, there falleth so much raine, that it riseth nine fathomes, which causeth such a streame that they can hardly diue, and in the other moneths there is but foure, or foure fathomes and an halfe, which is held the best depth for their diuing.

Item, Commodities vendible and in request here at *Soccodanna*, are *Mallacca* Pintados, verie fine *Sarrassa*, *Goobares*, *Poulings*, *Chera Iana*, *Callico Lawnes*, *China* Silkes light colours, sewing Gold, sleaue Silke, Broad cloth, *Stammell*, all sorts of small Bugles, Bugles which are made in *Bantam*, of colour blue, and in fashion like a Tunne, but of the bignesse of a Beane, and cost at *Bantam* foure hundred a Riall of eight, worth at *Soccodanna*, a Masse the hundred, the Masse beeing three quarters of a Riall of eight, *China* Cashes, Rials of eight, but principally Gold, without which you can doe little, for you shall haue a stone for one Rial in Gold, which you shall not haue for a Rial and an halfe, or a Riall and three quarters in silver.

Item, you are to vnderstand, that it is the best course when you are bound for this place, to goe for *Bemermaffen* first, where you may barter the Commodities aforesaid for Gold, which you shall haue for three Cattees Cashes the *Mallacca* Taile, which is nine Rials of eight, as I haue bene credibly informed, it hath been worth of late years. And bringing it to *Soccodanna* you shall put it away for Diamonds, at foure Cattees Cashes the Taile, which is one and three quarters and halfe quarter of a Riall in weight, so that you shall gaine three quarters of a Riall of eight vpon a Taile. But the principall gaines must be in the Diamonds.

Item, you must vnderstand, that there are Diamonds of foure waters, which is called *Varna*, viz. *Varna Ambon*, *Varna Loud*, *Varna Sackar*, *Varna Bessée*. The first is white, green, yellow, and neither greene nor yellow, but a colour betweene both. But the white water is the best.

Their Weights are called *Sa-Masse*, *Sa-Copang*, *Sa-Boosuck*, *Sa-Pead*. Item, foure *Coopangs* is a Masse, two *Boosucks* is one *Copang*, and one *Pead* and an halfe is a *Boosuck*. Item, there is a *Pahaw* which is foure Masse, and sixteene Masse is one Taile, and by this weight, they doe not onely weigh Diamonds, but Gold also.

Of *China* wares, raw Silke the best is made at *Lanking*, and is called *Howsa*, worth there eighty Rials the *Peecul*. *Taffata*, called *Tue*, the best made at a small Towne called *Hocchu* worth thirtie Rials the *Corge*. *Damaske* called *Towne*, the best made at *Canton*, worth fiftie Rials the *Corge*.

Sewing Silke called *Coufwa*, worth one hundred Rials the *Peecull*. Imbrodered Hangings called *Poe*, the best ten Rials the piece. Sewing Gold called *Kimfwa*, is sold by the *Chippau*, which is a bundle, each *Chippau*, contayning ten Papers, and in each Paper is five knots sold for three Pawes, two Rials of eight, and the best hath thirtie sixe threds in a knot. *Sattins* called *Lyn*, the best one Riall the piece. Great *Basons* called *Chopau*, worth three by the Riall. White Sugar called *Petong*, the best one halfe Riall the *Peecull*. *Purfeline* of the small sorts called *Poa*, the best one Riall the *Cattee*. Pearle Boxes called *Chanab*, the best five Rials the piece. *Veluets* called *Tangoiounck* of nine yards long, five Rials the piece. Sleaue Silke called *Iounckes*, the best one hundred and fiftie Rials *Peecull*. Muske called *Saluo*, seven Rials the *Cattee*. Cashes sixtie *Pecoos*, the Riall.

Item, Broad-cloth called *Toloney*, *Safocke*, which is three quarters of a yard, worth seven Rials of eight. *Loking Glasses* very large, called *Kea*, worth ten Rials the piece. Tinne called *Sea*, worth there fifteen Rials the *Peecull*. Waxe called *La*, fifteen Rials the *Peecull*. Muskets called *Canching*, the *Barrell* twentie Rials. *Japon Sables* called *Samto* worth eight Rials the piece. Elephants teeth the greatest and best two hundred Rials the *Peecull*, and small, one hundred Rials the *Peecull*, called *Ga*: White Saunders called *Toawheo*: The best in great logges for tie Rials the *Peecull*.

Item, the Custome of Pepper inwards, as one Taile vpon a *Peecull*, and out-wards no Custome.

Item, it is very straightly looked into that they carry no munition out of the Land in any sort.

Item, in the moneth of March, the Iunkes bound for the *Mannelies*, depart from *Chauchu* in Companies, sometime foure, five, ten, or more together, as they are readie.

Item, there lading out-wards is raw and wrought Silkes, but farre better then those which they carrie for *Bantam*.

Item, betweene *Canton* and the *Mannelies* is ten dayes sayle.

Item, in the beginning of Iune they returne from the *Mannelies*, there lading is Rials of eight, and there is not lesse then fortie sayle in a yeare, which are bound thither, there force is nothing, so that you may take them with your ships Boate.

Item,



Item, in this year, 1608. Pepper was worth in *China* fixe Tades and an halfe the Peecull, and at the same time in *Bantam* worth two and an halfe Rials the Tinbang.

*A note of requestable Commodities vendible in Iapan, together with their prices there Current, being Masses, and Canderines, each Canderine contayning the  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a Masse: viz.*

**B** Road-clothes of all sorts, viz. Blackes, Yellowes and Reds, which cost in *Holland* eight or nine Guilders the *Flemmish* ell, two ells three quarters is worth three, foure too five hundred. Note that cloth of a high Wooll is not requestable, but such as is low shorne most vendible. Fine Bayes of the colours afore-said vendible: not according as the *Portugalls* were, but well cottoned. 10

Sayes. Rashe. Bouratts single. Bouratts double: Silke Grogarams. *Turkey* Grogarams. Chamlets. Diuo Gekepert. Weersctynen. Caniant. Gewart *Twijne*. Veluets. Muske sold in weight against Siluer. *India* cloth of sorts requested. Sattins. Taffataes. Damaskes. *Holland*-cloth from fiftene to twentie Stiuers the *Flemmish* ell, and not aboue. Diaper. Damaske the better it is wrought with figures or branches. Threed of all colours. Carpets for Tables. Gilded Leather painted, with Pictures and Flowres, the smallest worke best. Painted Pictures, they delight in lasciuious Stories of Warres by Sea and Land, the larger the better worth, one, two, to three hundred. Quick-siluer the hundred Cattees, from three to foure hundred. 20

Vermillion, the hundred Cattees, worth from three to fixe hundred. Painting for Womens faces, the hundred Cattees twentie eight. Copper in Plates, one hundred twentie five. *Flemmish* weight worth from ninetie to an hundred. Lead in small Barres, the hundred Cattees worth from sixtie to eightie eight. Lead in sheetes best requested, the thinner the better, one hundred pounds *Flemmish*, to eightie. Tinne in logs fine, one hundred and twentie pound, *Flemmish* three hundred and fiftie. Iron, twentie five Ounces *Holland*, worth foure. Steele the hundred Cattees, worth from one to two hundred.

Tapistrie. Ciuet the Cattee, worth from one hundred and fiftie to two hundred. *China* roots the hundred Cattees or Peecull worth fortie. *China* sowing Gold the Paper, three masse, three Powder Sugar of *China*, the hundred Cattees or Peecull worth fortie to fiftie. Sugar Candie the Peecul, or one hundred Cattees, worth from fiftie to sixty. Veluets of all colors, eight els the piece, worth from one hundred & twenty, to one hundred and thirtie. Wrought Veluets like fabricke, worth from one hundred & eighty to two hundred. Taffataes all colours, & good Silke worth the piece, from foure and twentie, thirtie, to fortie. Sattin of seuen or eight ells long, the piece worth from eightie to one hundred. Figured Sattin, worth from one hundred and twentie to one hundred and fiftie. Gazen of seuen pikes or ells, worth from fortie to fiftie. Raw Silke the Cattee, of twelue pound *Flemmish*, worth from thirtie to fortie. Vntwilted Silke of eight and twentie pound *Flemmish*, worth from thirtie five to fortie. Twisted Silke, worth from eight and twentie to fortie. 40

Drinking Glasses of all sorts. Bottles, Cans and Cups, Trenchers, Platters, Beere Glasses, Salts, Wine Glasses, Bekers gilt, Looking-glasses of the large st fort, *Masconie* Glasse, much Salt, Writing Table-bookes, Paper-bookes, Lead to neale Pots, *Spanish* Sope well requested, it is sold for one masse the small Cacke. Amber in beades, worth one hundred and fortie, to one hundred and sixtie. Silke stockings of all colours. *Spanish* Leather, Neates Leather, with other sorts of Leather vsed for Gloues, worth from fixe, eight, to nine. Candiques of *China*, worth from fiftene to twentie. Candiques of the same place blacke, the former being blew, from ten to fiftene. Wax for Candles one hundred pounds *Flemmish*, worth from two hundred, to two hundred and fiftie. Hony the Peecull, worth sixtie. Samell of *Cochinchina*, the Peecull, one hundred and eightie. Pepper the Peecull, if there come not much, worth one hundred. Nutmegs the Peecull, twentie five, Camphir of *Barous* or *Borneo*, the pound hollaus, from two hundred and fiftie to foure hundred. Sanders of *Solier* the Peecull, worth one hundred. Callomback wood good and weightie, the pound worth from one, two, three to five. Sapon, or red wood the Peecull, from twentie to twentie fixe. Elephants teeth the greater, the better worth from foure, five, fixe, seuen, to eight hundred. Renosceros horne, the *Tanan* Cattee worth thirtie. Harts hornes gilded the piece, three, foure, or five hundred. Roch Allome esteemed good ware, and enquired after: that which cost but three Guilders, hath beene sold for one hundred Guilders, but not euery mans money. 50

Note, that the *Chineses* will commonly trucke for your Siluer, and giue you Gold of twentie three Carrackes: from fiftene to twentie the Ounce Siluer, but some times there commeth much, and other some times little. 60



*A Memoriall of such Merchandize as are to be bought in Iapan, and the prices as they are there worth.*

**H**Empé very good, one hundred Cattees beeing one hundred and twentie pound *Holland*, worth from sixtie five to seuentie. Eye colours for dying blew, almost as good as Indico, made vp in round cakes or pieces, and packed one hundred cakes in a Fardell, worth the Fardell, fiftie to sixtie. Dying for white, turning to red colour, made in Fardles or Bales of fiftie Gautins Malios worth five to eight. Rice very white and good, cased, worth the Fares, eight, three fifth parts. Rice of a worser sort, the Bale worth seven, three tenth parts.

At *Edo, Saccaio, Osacaio* and *Meacom*, is the best Dying for all sorts of colours whatsoever your desire, viz. Red, Blacke and Greene, and for gilding Gold and Siluer, and is better then the *Chinese Varnish*.

Brimstone in great abundance, cost the Peecull, seven. Salt-peeter dearer in one place then another, worth one and an halfe. Cotton-wooll the Peecull, ten.

## CHAP. III.

<sup>20</sup> *Relation of Master RICHARD COCKES Cape Merchant, Of what past in the Generals absence going to the Emperours Court. Whereunto are added diners Letters of his and others for the better knowledge of Iaponian Affaires, and later Occurents in those parts.*

## §. I.

*The Kings care, unreadinesse of ours, Iaponian Superstitions, strange tempest.*



He seuenth of *August*, all things being in a readinesse, our Generall in company of Master *Adams*, departed from *Firando* towards the Emperours Court of *Iapan*, and tooke with him Master *Tempest*, *Peacocke*, Master *Richard Wickham*, *Edward Saris*, *Walter Carwarden*, *Diego Fernandos*, *John Williams a Taylor*, *John Head a Cooke*, *Edward Barton the Chirurgions Mate*, *John Iapan Iurebasso*, *Richard Dale*, *Cox Swaine*, and *Anthony Ferre a Sayler*, with a Caualeere of the

The old King sent 100. *Tais* in *Iapan* money for our Generall to spend on the way, which I put to account by our Generals order as money lent.

<sup>40</sup> Kings for Guardian and two of his Seruants, and two Seruants of *M. Adams*. And so they departed in a Barke or Barge of the Kings, which rowed with some twentie Oares on a side, and had thirteene Peeeces of Ordnance shot off at departure.

I went to complement with the two Kings, (as being sent from the Generall) to giue them thanks for providing so well for him for his Iourney; they tooke it kindly. And I verily thinke the old King tooke notice of some of our mens euill behauiour this last night. For he willed me to put the Master in minde to looke well to them aboard, and that I should haue a care on shoare, that matters might be as well managed in the Generals absence, as when hee was heere present, otherwise, the shame would bee ours, but the dishonour his. Wind a stiffe gale at North-east, most part of the day but calme all night.

<sup>50</sup> The ninth, a *Iapan* Boy called *Iuan*, came and offered me his seruice, hee speaking good *Spanish*, asking me nothing but what I pleased, and so to serue nine or ten yeares, and to goe with me for *England*, if I pleased. I entertayned him, the rather, because I did find the *Iuribasso Murgell*, which Master *Adams* left with me to bee something stubborne, and loued to runne abroad at his pleasure, leauing mee without any one that could speake a word. I bought him two *Iapan* Garments cost me foureene Mas, hee is a Christian and most of his Kinred dwell at *Langa-saque*: only one dwelleth heere, who came with him and passed his word for him. Hee serued a *Spaniard* three yeares at *Mánillas*.

<sup>60</sup> The thirteenth, I shewed our commodities to certaine Merchants of *Maioco*, but they bought nothing, only their chiefe desire was to haue had Gun-powder. *Semidone* went aboard the ship to accompany certaine strange Caualeeroes, and afterward hee brought them to see the *English* House. I gaue them the best entertaynement I could.

The nineteenth at night, began the great Feast of the *Pagans*, they inuiting their dead kindred, banquetting and making merry all night with candle-light at their graues: this Feast endured three dayes, and as many nights. And very strict command was giuen from the King, that euery

Pagan Feast at *Firando*, being a kind of *Candemas*, *Aljowles*.



every house should grauell the street before their doores, and hang out candle-light in the night: in doing whereof I was not slacke; and as I was informed, a poore man was put to death, and his house shut vp, for disobeying therein. The *China* Captaine furnished me with a couple of paper Lanternes very decent. And I was informed the Kings would ride about the streets, and come to visite me: so I made readie a banquet, and expected them vntill after midnight, but they came not at all.

On the twentieth, one and twentieth, and two and twentieth, I sent presents to both the Kings (being informed that it was the vse of the Countrey) of Wine and banquetting stuffe; as likewise to *Nabesane* the yong Kings brother, and to *Semydone*, the old Kings Gouvernour, and *Unagense*, which were well accepted. Some Caualers came to visite our house, and receiued the best entertainment I could giue. 10

Loosenesse of  
some.

On the three and twentieth, we made an end of landing our Gun-powder, being in all ninety nine barrells, of which I aduised the Generall by letter, to reserue conuenient store for our selues, if he sold the Emperour the rest. We landed diuers other things, which things the Master thought good to send ashore, because our men begin to filch and steale, to go to Tauernes and Whore-houses. The Purser, Master *Melsham* and my selfe, dined at *Semydone* this day: and the Master and Master *Eaton* were likewise inuited, but did not goe: he vsed vs kindly.

End of the  
great Feast.

This day the great Feast made an end, and three companies of Dancers went vp and downe the Towne with flags or banners, their musicke being Drummes and Pans; at the sound whereof they danced at euery great mans doore, as also at all their Pagods and Sepulchres. 20

Masking and  
dancing.

The foure and twentieth at night, all the streets were hanged with candle-light, for that the yong King and his brother, with *Nabesane*, *Semydone*, and many others went with a Maskarado, or to dance at the old Kings house: the yong King and his brother were mounted on horse-back, and had Canopies caried ouer them; the rest went on foote, and the musicke was Drummes and Kettles, as aforesaid; and *Nabesane* winded a Phife: I was informed they meant to visite the *English* House at their backe returne: so I sate vp vntill after midnight, hauing a banquet in readinesse, and in the end they returned confusedly, and out of order; so I thinke there was some discontent, once none of them entred into the *English* house: Captaine *Brower* went along by the doore, but would not looke at vs, and we made as little account of him.

The seuen and twentieth, we landed other three peeces of Ordnance, viz. all whole Culuerin, all which fixe peeces are Iron Ordnance. The old King came downe when they were about it, and seeing but twentie men, offered them seuentie or an hundred *Japans* to helpe them; but very quickly, in his sight, our men got them ashore, which he marvelled at, and said an hundred of his men would not haue done it so soone; so hee sent for a barrell of wine, and certaine fish, and gaue it to our people for labouring so lustily. 30

The eight and twentieth, I receiued two letters from our Generall, by the Gouvernour of *Shimonoseke*, dated the nineteenth and twentieth of this moneth, with two other from Master *Peacock*, and Master *Wickham*: this Gouvernour came not ashore at *Ferando*, but deliuered the Letters aboard to the Master, and so went directly for *Langasque*, and promising to returne hither shortly. A' so I carried a letter to the old King *Foyne*, which the said partie brought: Master *Melsham* and *Harnando* accompanied me: the King gaue a Cattan to Master *Melsham*, and another with a *Spanish* Dagger to *Harnando*, and gaue both me and them certaine bunches of Garlick, and gaue vs leaue to drie our Gun-powder on the toppe of the Fortresse; offering vs of his people to helpe ours, if they thought good. And I receiued aland into the *English* House two and twentie barres of lead, and put into our new lodge and hundred an' twentie fiue Culuerin shot, round, and langrell. And as wee were going to Supper, the old King came and supped with vs, being very merry, and tooke such fare as we had, in good part. 40

Septemb. 1.  
A Mask.

The first of September, the old King, with all the Nobilitie, made a Maskerado; and this night following went to visite the yong King his Grand-child, with musicke as aforesaid, all the streets being hanged with Lanternes; and I was informed he meant to visite our *English* House at returne: so I made readie for him, and stayed his returne till after midnight, but he passed by with the rest of the company, and entred not into the House. I thinke there was not so few as three thousand persons in company with him, which I make account was the occasion he went by, because he would not trouble vs. 50

Taxe for Forts

The second, *Semydon* and others, being appointed by the King, measured all the houses in the street; our *English* house being measured amongst the rest: I vnderstand it was for a generall taske to bee paid for making Fortresses by the Emperours appointment. I entertained them to content.

The fourth, we had newes the Queene of *Spaine* was dead, and the King a Suter to the Princes *Elizabeth* of *England*. 60

The sixt, a Cauallero, called *Nombosque*, came to visite our *English* House, and brought mee a present of two great bottells of wine, and a basket of Peares. I gaue him the best entertainment I could, and he departed content.

The seuenth in the morning, much raine, with wind encreasing all day and night variable, from the



the East to the South, and in the night happened such a storme or Tuffon, that I neuer saw the like in all my life: neither was the like seene in this Countrey in mans memory, for it ouerthrew about an hundred houses in *Firando*, and vncovered many other; namely, the old Kings house, and blew downe a long wall which compassed the young Kings house, and carryed away boughes or branches of trees: & the Sea went so high, that it vndermined a great Wharte or Key at the *Dutch* House, and brake downe the stone-wall, and carryed away their Staires, and sunke and brake them two Barks, as also fortie or fiftie other Barks were broken and sunke in the Roade. It brake downe our Kitchen wall at the *English* House, which was newly made, and flowed into our Ouen, and brake it downe, and blew downe the tyles, and vncovered part both of the house and kitchen, and the house did shake, like as if there had beene an Earthquake; I neuer passed night in all my life in such feare, for the barbarous vnuly people did runne vp and downe the streets all night with fire-brands, that the wind carried great coales quite ouer the tops of houses, and some houses being carryed away, the wind whirled vp the fire which was in them, and carried it into the ayre in great flakes, very fearefull to behold; so that the greatest feare I had was that all would haue been consumed with fire: and I verily thinke it had, had it not been for the extreame raine which fell (contrary to the true nature of a Tuffon) being accompanied with lightning and thunder. Our shippe roade at an anchor with fve Cables, and as many Anchors, whereof one old Cable burst, but God be thanked no other hurt done: our long Boat and Skiffe were both driuen from the shippe, yet both recouered againe: And as it is said, it did more hurt at *Langasque* then heere, for it brake aboute twentie *China* Iunckes, and the *Spanish* ship which brought the Embassadour from the *Manilleas* or *Philippinas*.

A mighty Tuffon or Tempest, with the strange effects thereof.

Polish superstitions.

Merchants of *Miaco*.

Of many misdemeanours, I permit some to passe the Presse that the cause of so many deaths in the *Indies*, might be found rather to be imputed to their owne then the Elements distemper, and for a caueat to others which shall send, or be sent into *Ethiopicke* Regions; yet doe I conceale the most and worst.

Vnrulinesse of some Mariners

September, 17. 1613.

*Bastian* the Bawd angry that his guests were disturbed. The Kings Mistrice.

The twelfth, two Merchants of *Miaco* came to our *English* house, vnto whom I shewed all our Commodities; they laid by two broad-cloths, viz. a Stammel and a Blacke, the best they could find, and offered seuen Tais *Japan* money the yard: also they saw our *Priaman* Gold, and offered eleuen Tais *Japan* plate, for one Tais Gold: but went away without doing any thing. *Francis Williams* beeing drunke ashore, did strike one of the old Kings men with a cudgell, which gaue him no occasion at all; nor spake a word to him. The man came to the *English* house and complained, being very angry (and not without cause) giuing me to vnderstand, that he would informe the King his Master, how he was misused by our people. He had three or foure in Company with him, who did see him abused, and that he which did it, was newly gone aboard the ship. I gaue them faire words, and desired them to goe aboard, and find out the partie, and they should see him punished to their contents; and to that effect, sent *Miguell* our *Iurebasso* along with them: so they found out the said *Williams*, who would haue denied it, if the matter had not been too manifest; but he stood stiffely against it with oathes; yet the Master caused him to be brought to the Captaine in their presence, which they seeing, intreated for his pardon, knowing he was drunke, but he was so vnuly, that he tooke vp a crow of Iron to haue stricken the fellow in presence of the Master, vsing the Master in very bad termes.

The thirteenth, I vnderstood, that *Foyne* the old King of *Firando* was sicke, whereupon I sent *Miguel* our *Iurebasso* to visit him, and to carry a Present of one great bottle of the Generals sweet wine, and two boxes of Conserues, Comfits, and Sugar-bread, offering him my Seruice, beeing very sory to heare of his sicknesse, and that I would haue come my selfe, but that I knew company was not pleasing to sicke men. He tooke my Present in very good part, and returned me many thanks; wishing me not to let to aske for any thing we had need of, either for the ship, or ashore, and he would giue such order, as we should be furnished.

The foureteenth in the morning betimes, the Master came ashore, and told me that most part of the ships company had lien ashore all night without asking him leaue, notwithstanding the great wind which had continued all night, and the ship on ground. So he willed me to let *Miguell* our *Iurebasso* goe along with him to seeke them out, which I was content he should doe, and would haue accompanied him my selfe, but he was vnwilling, telling me it was needlesse. But *M. Melsham* the Purser went along with him, and he found diuers drinking and doimeering; he bestowed blowes amongst some of them, and notwithstanding the Master had commanded *Lambart* and *Colphax* to retire aboard, yet they staid ashore all day, notwithstanding the great need was aboard about ships businesse, diuers *Japans* being hired to helpe them: and *Lambart* and *Colphax* being drunke, went into the field and fought, *Lambart* being hurt in the arme, and remained drunken ashore all night, as *Boles* did the like, and so had done two or three nights before, and quarrelled with *Christopher Euans*, about a whoore.

The seuteenth of September, I was giuen to vnderstand the *Bastian* which keepeth the whoore-house gaue it out, that if I came any more into his house to seeke for our people, he would kill me, and such as came with me. Whereupon I went and complained to the young King, because the old was sicke: and at my request, the King made Proclamation, that no *Japane* should receiue any of our people into their houses after day light was done, vpon great paine, and that it should be lawfull for me, or any other that accompanied me to goe into any *Japans* house to seek for our men, without any molestation; and that they themselues should aide and assist me: and if the doore were not opened at my comming, I might lawfully breake them downe: and a fount



diour was sent to *Bastian* to signifie vnto him, he should take heed he did not molest or disturbe me in my proceedings: for if he did, he should be the first that should pay for it. This angered our people in such sort, that some of them gaue it out, they would drinke in the fields, if they might not bee suffered to doe it in the Towne; for drinke they would, although they sought it in the country.

The Kings care  
of good Go-  
uernment.

The sixe and twentieth, *Nouasca dona* came to visit me at the *English* house, and brought me two bottles of wine, seuen loaves fresh bread, and a dish of flying fish, and as he was with me, the old King came by the doore, and said, he met two men in the street as he came along, which hee thought were strangers, and none of our people, wherefore he willed that *Swanton* and our *Inre-* 10  
*basso* might goe along with one of his men, and he would shew them to them, which they did, and found it was *Iohn Lambart* and *Iacob Charke*, who were drinking water at a doore in the streete as he passed by. I was glad the King looked so neare after them; for it caused our men to haue a better care of their proceedings.

Death and bu-  
riall of *W. Pau-*  
*ling*.

The seuen and twentieth, *M. William Pauling* Masters mate, hauing been long sicke of a consumption, died at the *English* house, whereof I aduertised the old King by *Miguel* our *Inre-*  
*basso*, desiring a buriall place for him among the Christians, which he graunted me. So we put the dead corps into a winding sheete, and cossind it vp, letting it rest till morning. Then the Master, and diuers others of the ships company, came to the *English* house, to accompanie the dead corps to the graue, and then were we giuen to vnderstand, that of force we must transport it by water, as 20

Boskes Supersti-  
tion, and no  
lesse in the  
people.

farre as the *Dutch* house, onely because the *Bose* (or Priests) would not suffer vs to passe through the street (with the dead corps) before their Pagod or Temple: so the Master sent for the Skiffe, and conueied the dead body by water to the place aforesaid, we going all by land, and met it, and so accompanied it to the place of buriall, the Purser going before, and all the rest following after, the coffin being couered with a Holland sheet, and vpon that a Silke quilt, we being followed with many of that countrey people, both young and old. And after the corps was entered, we returned all to the *English* house, and there made collation, and so our people returned aboard about ships businesse. But I had almost forgot to note downe, that we had much adoe to get any one of these countrey people to make the graue, that a Christian was to be buried in; neither would they suffer the dead corps to be conueied by water in any of their boates. The King commaun- 30  
ded that all the streetes in *Firando* should be made cleane, and channell rowes made on either side, to conuey away the water, the streetes being grauelled, and the channels couered ouer with flat stones; which worke was all done in one day, euery one doing it before his owne house. It was admirable to see the diligence euery one vsed therein: our house was not the last a doing, the Cap- taine *Chinesa* (our Land-lord) setting men a worke to doe it.

Good obedi-  
ence.

The thirtieth, certaine Merchants of *Miac* came and had sight of all our commodities, and laid out the best Stammell cloth we had, and offered twelue Tais a fat home for it, and so departed without doing any thing. We had extream winds both day & night, so that we thought another Tufon had beene come; for all the fishermen haled their boates on shoare, and euery one bound fast the couering of their houses: for a *Bose* (or Coniurer) had told the King (a weeke since) that this tempest would come. Our Chirurgeon being in his pots, came into a house where a *Bose* was 40  
coniuring for a woman, to know of her husbands or friends returne from Sea: so when he had done he gaue him three pence to coniure againe, and tell him when our General would returne for this place, which in the ende he assured him would be within eightene dayes; hee said, hee heard a voice answer him from behind a wall, both when he coniured for the woman, as also when hee coniured for himselfe.

Coniuring  
coufening  
Knaues.

The second of October, the Master sent me word that some of our ships company were runne away with the Skiffe, viz. *Iohn Bowles*, *Iohn Sares*, *Iohn Tottie*, *Christopher Euans*, *Clement Locke*, *Iasper Malconty*, and *Iames the Dutchman*. I was in way to goe to the King to get boats to send after them, but our *Dutch Inre-*  
*basso*, (entertained for ships vse) came running after mee, and told me our people were on the other side, making merry at a Tap-house: which speeches caused me to returne to the *English* house, and to get a boat for the Master to goe looke them out: but they prooued to be others; namely, *William Marmell*, *Simon Colphax*, and *Iohn Dench*, who had hired a Boat, and were gone ouer to an other Iland, because they could not haue swinge to walke by night in *Firando*. So in the meane time, our Run-aways had the more time to runne away. 50

Octob. 2. 1613.  
Seuen *English*,  
viz. five *English*  
and two *Flem-*  
*mings* which  
were bound for  
England run a-  
way to the  
Spaniards.

This night about eleuen a clock, the old Kings house on the other side the water was set on fire, and quite burned downe in the space of an houre. I neuer saw a more vehement fire for the time, it is thought his losse is great; and as it is said, he himselfe set it on fire, in going vp and down in the night with lighted canes, the coales whereof fell amongst the mats, and so tooke fire.

The Kings  
house burned.

The third, I went to visit the old King, giuing him to vnderstand by his Gouvernour, that I was very sorry for the mischance happened the night past, and that I pretended to haue come my selfe in person to haue holpen the best I could, but that I stood in doubt whether my companie would haue been acceptable, I being a stranger, yet assuring him that he should find me readie at all times, to doe him the best seruice I could, although it were with hazard of my life: he returned me many thanks; saying, the losse he had sustained was nothing. And in returning to the *English* 60  
house,



house, I met the young King going to visit his Grandfather. And before noone wee had word, that our Run-awayes were at a desert Iland, some two leagues from *Firando*, which I made knowne to both the Kings, desiring their assistance and counsel, how we might fetch them backe againe; they answered, that backe they would fetch them either aliue or dead: yet they would be loth to kill them, in respect we might want men to carry our ship backe for *England*. I gaue them thanks for the care they had of vs; yet withall gaue them to vnderstand, that although these knaues miscarried, yet we had honest men enough to saile the ship for *England*. In fine, the King made ready two boats full of souldiours to goe after them, with full determination to bring them backe either aliue or dead, which I made knowne to the Master, who desired verie much to goe along with them.

§. II.

*Lies of or on the Deuill, and vproares about fire. Deceit of Nangasack.  
Suspitions, Feasts, Spanish Occurrents.*

**T**He fourth of October, there was report giuen out, that the deuill had answered by their Oracle to their Bose or Coniurers, that the Towne of *Firando* should bee burned to ashes this night, so that cryers went vp and downe the streets all night, making such a noyse, that I tooke but little rest; they gaue warning that euery one should put out their fire, yet God be thanked, the Deuill was prooued a lyer therein: for no such matter happened.

Deuill a liar, or belied,

The fifth, the old King *Foyne Same* came to the *English* house, where I gaue him the best entertainment I could: he also told me, that our Fugitiues could not escape taking, and that hee had sent out two other men of warre after the two former. And as I was talking with him about these matters, there came a Caelero, and brought him a Letter from the Emperours Court, and said, that our Generall would be here at *Firando* within eight or tenne dayes; for that the Emperour had dispatcht him away before his comming from thence.

The King told me, that the Gouvernour (or King) of *Langasague*, called *Bon Din*, would bee here at *Firando* to morrow, telling me it were good our ship shot off three or foure Peeces of Ordnance as he passed by. This Gouvernour is the Empresses brother. And there is an other *Japan* Gouvernour, or King, in Towne, of a place called *Seam*.

The seuenth, our Master, *M. James Foster* returned from *Langasague*, and had brought the Skiffe with him, but all the men were gotten into Sanctuarie in the Towne, so that he could not come to speech of any one of them. I was informed, that *Miguell* our *Iurebasso* dealt doubly both with the Master and my selfe: for I lent him along to be linguist, and assist the Master, and diuers *Japans* came to me, telling me, that he both spake with our people, and gaue them counsell to absent themselves. Once I did perceiue how the world went, and doubted the priuy conueyance of our people, which was like to ensue, if this *Bon Din* the Gouvernour were not extraordinarily dealt withall: whereupon a Present was laid out.

Afternoone, the *Bon Din* passed along the street before our *English* house on foot, hee being accompanied with the young King (who gaue him the vpper hand) with aboue five hundred followers after them. I went out into the street, and did my dutie to them, and the *Bon Din* stood still when he came to the doore, and gaue me thanks for the Ordnance were shot off at his passing by our ship. I desired pardon of his Greatnesse, if I had neglected my dutie hitherto, which was by meanes of the small acquaintance I had in the Countrey, but that I meant to visit him at his lodging, or aboard his Iuncke, before he went; he answered me, I should be very welcome. So it was darke night before he came to his lodging. At which time I carried the Present abovesaid, which hee accepted of in very good sort, offering to doe our Nation any good he could at the Court, whither he was now bound, or else where. And so of his owne accord, hee beganne to speake of our Fugitiues, asking me if he brought them backe againe, whether they should be pardoned all for his sake for this fault? I answered him, it was not in my power to pardon them, but in our General, which no doubt (except it were one or two, which were the chiefe authors of this and other evils which deserved punishment) that the rest might easily goe free. He said, that his desire was for pardon for all in generall, without exception. I answered, that I knew our Generall would be contented with any thing, his Greatnesse and the two Kings of *Firando* would desire. To conclude, he told me, that if I would giue it vnder writing of my owne hand, in faith of a Christian, that all in generall should be pardoned for this time, and that I would procure the Generall to confirme the same at his returne, that then he would send to *Langasague* for them, and deliuer them into my owne custody: otherwaies he would not meddle in the matter, to be the occasion of the death of any man. I said I was contented with any thing it pleased his Greatnes to command, and so to giue the said writing vnder my hand, provided all our men might be brought backe. And so I returned to the *English* house, the *Dutch* comming after with an other Present, but we were before them.



The eight, *Semidone* passing by our doore, told mee that *Bon Din* had a Brother in companie, which expected a present, although it was not fitting it should be so much, as his Brothers. So vpon aduice with others I laid by a present for him, as followeth; & going to deliuer it, the *Flemmings* were before me with another, Captaine *Brower* himselfe being with it. Hee accepted very kindly of the present, offering his assistance to our Nation, either at Court, or in the Countrey. And soone after he came to the *English* House himselfe, accompanied with many *Caualeeres*, where they looked on all our Commodities, yet hee went away and bought nothing, but gaue mee a small Cattan, and I gaue him two Glasse Bottles, two Gally-pots, and about halfe a Cattee of great Cloues, picked out from the rest of purpose, hee being desirous to haue them for Physicall matters, as he told me. I made him and his followers a collation, and so they departed content. And soone after *Bon Din*, & the two Kings sent a *Caualeero* to me, to haue me to giue it in writing vnder my hand, that our Run-awayes should not receiue any punishment for this fact, so by counsell of others I condescended thereunto, and made a Writing in promise and faith of a Christian, they procure their pardon for this time of the Generall; if I had not done this, out of doubt, we should neuer haue got them againe, but the *Spaniard* would haue conuayed them to the *Manillies* or *Maluccoes*, I not doubting but the Generall will allow of what I haue done. And presently after this man was gone I had word, that the *Bon Din*, and his Brother would goe aboard to visit our ship, so I sent some banketting stuffe aboard, and went my selfe and met them, where they were entertayned in the best sort we could, and *Bon Din* gaue mee two Cattans for a present, and so they departed with seuen Peeces of Ordnance shot off for a fare-well. But forth-with his Brother returned aboard againe, desiring to haue one of the little Monkeyes for his Brothers children: so I bought one of the Master Gunner, cost me fīue Rials of eight, and sent him to *Bon Din*, and being readie to goe ashore, he was desirous to haue me goe along with him in his Boate, which I did, he hauing three Peeces of Ordnance for a fare-well, which as I vnderstood afterwards, was much esteemed of both Brothers, and being ashore hee would needs accompany me home to our *English* House, which I was vnwilling of, yet hee would of force doe it. So I made him collation againe in Captaine *Adams* chamber: and so hee and the rest departed well contented, (as it seemed) I offering to haue accompanied him backe to his lodging, but he would not suffer mee. And late at night *Foyne Same* the olde King sent a man to me to know the particular of the presents giuen to both the Brothers, and put it downe in writing, but for what occasion I know not. And I forgot to note downe how *Bon Din* went to the *Dutch* House to wash himselfe in the new Hot-house, and from thence it was that hee came aboard our ship.

The ninth, *Bon Din* sent one of his men to me to giue mee thanks for his kind entertaynment aboard, and by the same Messenger sent mee two Barrels of *Miaco* Wine for a Present. And soone after his Brother sent another man with two Barrels of *Iapan* Wine, with the like ceremonie: both of them being very earnest to haue a Prospective Glasse, and in the end I found an old one of Master *Eatons*, but soone after he returned me the said Glasse with thanks, not desiring at all to haue it.

The tenth, two of the *Gouernours* sonnes of *Langasque* (I meane another *Gouernour* which dwelleth in the Towne) came to see our *English* House, they are Christians. I entertayned them in the best sort I could, and shewed them our commodities, and after made them collation and gaue them Musicke, Master *Hownsell* and the Carpenter by chance being heere: and as wee were at it, old *Foyne* the King came stealing in vpon vs, and did as the rest did, and seeing the King and these *Langasquians* together, I willed our *Iurebasso*, to put out a word for the speedie sending backe of our Run-awayes: which they all promised, provided, that they should be pardoned for this fault, as I had formerly promised, which now againe I acknowledged. The old King desired to haue a piece of *English* Beeffe, and another of Porke, sod with Onions and Turnips, and sent to him to morrow.

The eleventh, I sent *Migell* our *Iurebasso* to the old King, with the Beeffe and Porke accommodated as afore-said, with a bottle of Wine, and sixe Loaves of white Bread: he accepted of it in very kind part, hauing in his company at eating thereof, the young King his Grand-childe, and *Nabifone*, his Brother, with *Semidone* his Kinsman.

A great Feast  
among the Pa-  
gans began  
this day, it be-  
ing told me it  
was like a Lent,  
or Pasques of  
the Papists.

The twelfth, I went to visit both the Kings, and found old *Foyne* asleepe, but spake with his *Gouernour*, and from thence went to the young King, and spake with him himselfe: they gaue me thanks for the kind entertaynment I gaue vnto these strangers; which they tooke as done vnto themselves. And towards night the old King sent to visit me, and to tell me he vnderstood these people which are departed, had taken away certaine commodities from me, and payd mee what they themselves thought good, and not that which I required, I returned him answer, that it was true that they had done so, but I know not whether it were the custome of this Countrey or no; for that I was giuen to vnderstand they vsed the like course both with *Chineses* and *Portugalls* at *Langasque*, and that that which they had taken from mee, was not worth the speaking of. I was answered, that although they did so with the *Chineses* at *Langasque*, which were a people defended not to trade into *Iapan*, yet could they not doe so to Strangers that



that had free priuiledge to trade, especially heere in this place where these fellowes had no command nor nothing to doe. I replyed, I would come and speake with his Highnesse my selfe, and informe him of the truth : and in the meane-time returned humble thanks, for the care hee had to vse Iustice to Strangers as well as home-borne. Captaine *Brower* sent me word that they had taken diuers sorts of commodities from him, and paid him what they list for it : he also sent an emptie Bottle, desiring to haue it filled with *Spanish* Wine, for that hee had intited certaine Strangers, and had none.

*Bon Diu* Brother injurious to the *English* and *Dutch*.

The thirteenth, I heard three or foure Gunnes, or Chambers goe off, which I thought had bin done to entertayne the King at the *Dutch* House : but they were shot out of a *China* Iuncke, which passed by this place, and so went for *Langasque*, and presently after the old King sent for me to come to dinner to the *Dutch* House, and Master *Eaton* with mee, and to bring a Bottle of Wine. Master *Eaton* had taken *Phylicke* and could not goe, but I went : wee had a very good Dinner at the *Dutch* House, the meate being well drest both after the *Iapan* and *Dutch* fashion, and serued vpon Tables, but no great drinking. The olde King sate at one Table, accompanied with his eldest Sonne, and both the young Kings Brothers (for the young King himselfe was not there, sending word he was not well) at the other Table. First, sate *Nabesone* the old Kings Brother, and then my selfe, and next me *Semidone*, and then the old Kings *Gouernour*, and next him *Zanzbars* Father-in-law, and diuers other *Caualeeroes* on the other side. Captaine *Brower* did not sit at all, but carued at Table, all his owne people attending and seruing on their knees, and in the end, he gaue drinke to euery one of his ghests, with his owne hands, and vpon his knees, which seemed strange to me, and when they had dined, all the Nobles went away, and Captaine *Brower* would needs accompany me to the *English* House. I asked him why he serued these people vpon his knees, they sitting at Table : he answered me it was the fashion of the Country, and if the King himselfe made a Feast, hee did the like for the more honour of his ghests. And before night the old King *Foyne* came to the *English* House, and visited all parts, and made collation, staying an houre talking of one thing and other.

A *China* Iuncke for *Langasque*.

Dinner with the *Dutch*.

The sixteenth, I was giuen to vnderstand that two Christians were come from *Langasque*, so I went to their lodging to see what they were, as also to vnderstand some newes from our men (or Fugitiues) I found the one of them to bee a \* *Flemming* borne in *Flushing*, (as hee told mee) and the other an *Italian* borne in the \* *Duchie* of *Venice*. They told mee that our seuen men (or Runawayes) were conueighed away secretly in a small Barke, which is gone for *Macow*, and that they were runne to get passage in our ship to returne into their Countries, they told me Master *Adams* knew them well. And they were very desirous to haue gone immediately aboard our ship, there to haue remayned, because they were Sea-faring men. The *Flemming* hauing serued the *Spaniard* three and twentie or foure and twentie yeares, and came a Masters Mate from *Agua pulca* for the *Manillas* or *Philippinas*, they had good store of money, and would haue sent it aboard our ship, or haue brought it to the *English* House : but I told them that in our Generals absence I durst not presume to giue them entertainment. Yet notwithstanding, I would doe them any fauour I could at his returne, and so sent *Migell* our *Iurebasso* to the King to let him vnderstand, that two such Strangers were come to Towne to seeke passage in our shippe, they being no *Spaniards*, nor yet Subjects to the King of *Spaine*. The King returned mee answere, that if they were such as I said they were, they were welcome: but if they were *Castillians*, or *Portugalls*, hee would permit none to stay in this place, his reason is, for that the *Spanish* Ambassador hath procured order from the Emperour of *Iapan*, that all *Spaniards* which are to be found in his Empire, shall retyre themselves into the *Philippinas*, but these being no *Spaniards*, are out of that number.

\* *George Peter* son a *Flush*.  
\* *Daman* *Mayn* a *Venetian*.

The seuenteenth betimes, the two strangers came to mee, desiring me to accompany them to the old King, the better to countenance them ; which vpon good consideration I did. They told me in the way, that our Fugitiues had reported at *Langasque* that more would come after them, and not any man of account stay to carry away the ship; the occasion they said was, for that they which had command ouer them, vsed them more like dogges then men : adding further, that if but twentie resolute *Spaniards* would take the matter in hand, with a small Boat or two they might easily take our shippe. The old King gaue vs all kind entertainment, and asked the strangers many questions about the warres betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Flemmings* in the *Moluccas*; the which they said the *Spaniards* were determined to pursue very hotly, and to that effect had great forces prepared. They also told the King, they thought verily all our Fugitiues were secretly conueyed from *Langasque* seuen daies past in a Soma, that departed from thence for *Macow*: but the King would not beleue them, saying, it was not possible that such a man as *Bon Diu*, hauing passed his word to bring them backe, should be found to be false of his promise. In fine, he was very well contented, that these two strangers should stay heere, and goe along in our ship, if it pleased the Generall to carry them. So the poore men returned to their lodgings with much content : and told me in the way, that we might make account we had not lost all our men, but recovered two, that would remaine as faithfull to the death, as the others had proued false. Adding further, that we needed not to wish any worse reuenge to our Fugitiues, then the bad entertainment they were sure to haue of the *Spaniards*, comming bare and beggerly as they did, in such base sort.

*Macow* a Town of *Portugalls* neere the Continent of *China*.  
*Migell* the *Iurebasso*, Capt. *Adams* his man was suspected of double dealing in this case of the Fugitiues : the circumstances, I omit.







Porke, which I sent him, and presently followed after my selfe to visite him, and carried him a small bottle of *Spanish* wine, and while I was there, *Semedone* and our Guardians father in law came likewise to visite him.

The King sent me word by *Mignour Iurebasso*, that he had a bad opinion of *Hernando Ximenes* our *Spaniard*, and that he went about to haue runne away when he was last at *Langasague*: but that I know is not so, for he had free libertie to goe when he would, without running away. Another complaint was also made of him, that he was a common Gamster, and had brought on diuers to play, and got their money: which report I doe rather beleue then the other; and I find by experience, these people are no friend, neither of *Spaniard* nor *Portugall*, and loue them of *Langasague*: the worse, because they loue them so wel. And I had almost forgotten to note downe, that the night past ill disposed people had thought to haue fired the Towne in three places, and in one place set a house on fire, but it was soone put out, and no hurt done; but the partie that did it was not found: out of doubt it is nothing but a villanie of these Coniurers and other base people, which are giuen to the spoile, hoping to get or steale away something when the Towne is on fire.

A shame to be-  
lye the Diuell  
so often.

The sixe and twentieth, Master *Melsham* being very sicke, *Zanzebar* came to visite him, and put him in mind to take the Physicke of this Countrey, and that it would presently stop his Flux; and brought a *Bonze* or Doctor with him, to administer it: Master *Melsham* was very desirous to take it, but that first our Chirurgion shoulde see it: and so he gaue him two pills yesterday, two in the night, and two in the morning, with certaine other seeds; but for ought I could see, it did him no good at all: God send him his heal. h. All our waste-clothes, pendants, Brasse shiuers, and other matters were sent aboard, and the ship put in order to receiue the Generall. Another house was set on fire the night past by villaines, but soone put out, and no hurt done. Our night-criers of fire doe keepe such a horrible noise (without forme or fashion) that it is impossible for any man to take rest.

Bonze Physi-  
cian.

The Captaine *Chinesa* being sicke, sent for some spiced Cakes, and a couple of waxe candles which I sent him, as I had done the like heretofore. Master *Melsham* now being weary of his *Iapan* Physicke, returned to our Chirurgion, Master *Warner*. Whereat *Zanzebar* and his Doctor tooke pepper in the nose.

### §. III.

#### *A strange Comædie acted by Kings and Nobles: Preventions for Night-cries and fires; Returne of the Generall from Court.*

**T**He thirtieth day, the Captaine *Chinesa* (our Land-lord) came vnto me, and told mee of a generall Collation which was made throughout euery house in the Towne, to send presents of eatable commodities to the Kings, for the more honor of a great Feast they haue to morrow, with a Comædie or Play: and so by his counsell (with aduice of others) I ordained two bottles of *Spanish* wine, two roasted Hennes, a roasted Pigge, a small quantitie Ruske, and three boxes banquetting stufte, to send to their Feast to morrow. And before night the yong King sent one of his men vnto me, to furnish them with some *English* apparell, for the better letting out their Comædie, namely, a paire of Stammel-cloath breeches. I returned answere, I had none such, neither did know any other which had: notwithstanding, if any apparell I had would pleasure his Highnesse, I would willingly giue it him. And within night both the Kings sent to me, to bring Master *Foster*, the Master, and be a spectator of their Comædie to morrow.

Another Feast  
with a Comæ-  
die.

The one and thirtieth, before dinner, I sent our Present aforesaid to the Kings by our *Iurebasso*, desiring their Highnesses to pardon the Master and my selfe, and that we would come to them some other time, when there were lesse people: but that would not serue the turne, for they would needs haue our company, and to bring Master *Eaton* along with vs; which wee did, and had a place appointed for vs, where we sate and saw all at our pleasures: and the old King himselfe came and brought vs Collation in sight of all the people: and after *Semedone* did the like in the name of both the Kings; and after diuers Noblemen of the Kings followers, made vs a third Collation. But the matter I noted most of all, was their Comædie (or Play) the Actors being the Kings themselves, with the greatest Noblemen and Princes. The matter was of the valiant deeds of their Ancestors, from the beginning of their Kingdome or Common-wealth, vntill this present, with much mirth mixed among, to giue the common people content. The Audience was great, for no house in Towne but brought a Present, nor no Village nor place vnder their Dominions, but did the like, and were spectators. And the Kings themselves did see, that euery one, both great and small, did eate and drinke before they departed. Their acting Musique and singing (as also their Poetry) is very harsh to vs, yet they keepe due time both with hands and feet. Their Musique is little Tabers, made great at both ends, and small in the midst, like to an Houre-glasse, they beating on the end with one hand, and straine the

Iunketting.

Their Play,  
in which the  
Kings them-  
selves were  
Authors, with  
their greatest  
Nobles.

Their acting,  
song and mu-  
sicke.

cords



Cusuma,  
Corea.

Dutchiealousie

Langaſaque bad  
people.Nouember. 1.  
1613.Forewarned  
forearmed:

Bishop in Japan

The Pagod is  
the Idol or I-  
dol-temple, or  
both.

cords which goe about it, with the other, which maketh it to sound great or small as they list, according their voices with it; one playing on a Phife or Flute; but all harsh, and not pleasant to our hearing. Yet I neuer saw Play wherein I noted so much, for I see their policie is great in doing thereof, and quite contrary to our Comœdies in Christendome, ours being but dumbe shewes, and this the truth it selfe, acted by the Kings themselues, to keepe in perpetuall remembrance their affaires. The King did not send for the *Flemmings*, and therefore I accounted it a greater grace for vs. At our returne to the *English* house, I found three or foure *Flemmings* there, one of them was in a *Japan* habit, and came from a place called *Cusuma*, within sight of *Corea*. I vnderstand, they sold Pepper, and other Commodities there, and I thinke haue some secret trade into *Corea*, or else are very likely to haue. I hope, if they doe well, we cannot doe amisse, *M. Adams* being the man that put them forward vnto it, and no doubt will bee as forward for the good of his owne Countrey, as for Strangers. *Hernando Ximenes* was with *Captaine Brower*, and saw the two men which came from *Cusuma*, and did but aske him from whence they came; whereat *Captaine Brower* was angry, telling him he would giue him no account thereof. And towards night, I vnderstood that two *Spaniards* were come from *Langaſaque*, and lodged at *Zanzibars*, and sent for our *Iurebassa* to come to them; but I would not let him go so soone. After, *Zanzibar* and they came to the *English* house, the one of them beeing *Andres Bulgaryn*, the *Genowes*, which passed by this place the other day; and the other is called *Benito de Palais*, and is Pilot Maior of the *Spanish* ship, which was cast away on the Coast of *Japan*, and is the same man which came from *Langaſaque*, to visit *M. Adams* at his being here. They told me they were come of purpose to visit their friends; namely, my selfe first of all, with many other words of complement, and then entered into speeches of our Fugitiues; saying, it was not the Fathers (as they call them) which kept our people secret, or went about to conuey them away; but rather they of *Langaſaque* themselues, who they reported to be very bad people. In fine, I stood in doubt that these fellows are come of purpose, to inueigle more of our people to doe as the others haue done, and thereof aduised the Master, to haue a care both to ship and boats, as also to take notice of any such as went about to keepe them company: for that it is good to doubt the worst, for the best will saue it selfe.

The first of Nouember at night, two houses were set on fire on the other side the water, but fire was soone put out, but the villaines that did it could not be found. I sent *M. Foster* the Master a letter, aduising him to take care of ship and boats, as also to looke vnto the behaiour of our people, for that I doubted these two *Spaniards* were but come as Spies, to see what we did, and to intice some other of our people to do as the former did. Also, I aduised him how I vnderstood the said *Spaniards* did pretend to inuite him to dinner this day; but I wished him to take heed they gaue him not a *Higo*: he returned me answer, that he esteemed them such as I tooke them for, and therefore would haue a care to the maine chance. But soone after he came ashore, and the *Spaniards* came to the *English* house, and with much intreaty, got *M. Foster*, and *M. William Eaton* to goe along to dinner with them to *Zanzibars*, and the other two *Spaniards* and *Hernando* did the like. But these two *Spaniards* came vnto me, and bade mee tell the Master or any other that went with them, to take heed they did not eate nor drinke any thing, but such as they did see the others taste before them; for that it was no trusting of them, of which I aduised both the Master, and *M. Eaton*. Also I sent *Mignell* our *Iurebassa*, to both the Kings (and other Nobles) to giue them thanks for our kind entertainment yestherday, *Hernando Ximenes* told me that *M. Adams* had goods in his hands, belonging to this Pilot Maior the *Spaniard*, and that his chiefe coming was, thinking to haue met *M. Adams* here, and doth meane to attend his coming to haue an accompt of those matters. As also they brought Letters of recommendation from the Bishop, and other Fathers to the other two *Spaniards* (or strangers) to perswade them to returne backe to *Langaſaque*: but I thinke it is not their determination so to doe.

The second, some villaines set an house on fire in the Fish streete; and it was soone put out, and the partie escaped: and it is generally thought to be some base people or Renegados, which lie loytering vp and downe the Towne, and came from *Miaco*, and three are much suspected, but no prooffe as yet found against them. But there is order giuen, to make Gates and Partitions ouer euery streete in diuers places, and watch to be kept at each place, and no man be suffered to walke in the night, except he be found to haue earnest businesse. Another villaine got into a poore widowes house, thinking to haue robbed her, but she making an out-cry, hee fled vp into the wood, ouer against the *English* house, where the Pagod is; and soone after, the wood was beset round about, with aboue fise hundred men, but the theefe could not be found. At night, as we were going to bed, there was an out-cry on a sudden, that theeues were on the top of our house, setting it on fire; but our ladders being ready reared, both my selfe and others were not long a going vp, but found nothing, but that all our neighbours houses were peopled on the tops on a sudden, as well as ours. And it is to be thought it was nothing but a false laram, giuen of purpose to see how euery one would be found in a readinesse. Yet at that very instant there was a house set on fire, but soone quenched, it being a good way from our *English* house.

The night past, three houses were set on fire in diuers parts of the Towne, but all put out at begin-



beginning, so that no hurt was done. So now order is giuen, to take notice in euery house what people are in them, whether strangers or others; and such as are found to be suspected are to be banished out of the Countrey; and gates or bars made to shut vp the passages or ends of streets, and watch set in diuers places, without crying and making a noyse vp and downe streets in the night, as hath been for a time heretofore without either forme or fashion: yet notwithstanding all this, a villaine about tenne a clocke in the night, set a house on fire neare vnto the Pagod, ouer against our *English* house: but he was espied by the watch, who pursued him with all speed, but he got into the wood about the Pagod, which forthwith was beset round about, with aboute five hundred armed men, and the old King *Foyne* came in person with many other Noble men, assisted in the pursuit; yet I verily thinke, the villaine did runne vp and downe amongst the rest, crying, Keepe theefe, as well as the best.

Order to prevent Fire-knaues, and Night-cryes.

The fourth, the night past there was fire put in diuers places more, one in the Towne and another in the Countrey, besides the House neere ours, as I said before. Order is now giuen, to haue secret watch in diuers parts of the Towne euery night, and no man to goe out in the night except vpon vrgent occasion, and then to haue a light before them, to the end they may be seene. If this decorum be duly kept, our House burners will play least in sight. I told the Kings, and others hereof aboute a weeke past, and now it is put in execution.

The fifth, this morning I receiued two Letters, the one from *Domingo Francisco* the *Spanish* Ambassadour dated in *Ximonaesque* five dayes past, and the other from *George* the *Portugall*: the Ambassadour went ouer Land from thence for *Langasque*, and sent his Seruant with the Letters, vnto whom I shewed such Commodities as he enquired for, and referred him off for others till our Generall returne writing him a Letter in answer of his, the Copie whereof I kept: his man tooke liking of two peeces of fine *Semian* Chowters, and eight peeces of white Bastas, and paid seuen Tais the piece for Chowters, and two Tais the piece for Bastas. There came a *Spanish* Frier or Iesuite, in the Boat with the Ambassadours man, & desired to see our ship, which I willed our Master to let him, and to vse him kindly, which he did. For as the olde saying is, It is good sometimes to hold a Candle to the Deuill, &c. Master *Eaton*, *Hernando* and my selfe dined with *Unagense*, and were kindly entertayned.

A Iesuite:

The sixth, this day about ten a clocke, our Generall and all his company arriued heere from the *Japan* Court, Master *Adams* being in company with him. And presently the Generall sent me with *John Iapan* our *Iurebasso*, to visit both the Kings, and thanke them for their kindnesse in so well accommodatting him with a Boate, as also for the care they had of the ship, and the rest in his absence, and that he would come on the morrow to visit them, being now weary of his long Voyage. They tooke this visitation kindly, saying, they would be glad to see him at their Houses. Also certaine Merchants of *Miaco* which came from *Langasque*, came to our *English* House, and had sight of all our commodities, and amongst the rest, took liking of ten peeces of Castedy nill, and made price for them at three Tais the piece, which is in all thirtie Tais, and so sent them to their lodging, as other Merchants before had done the like, and so returned mee money to my content, but these sent mee nothing but a Paper, and consigned mee to receiue my money of *Semidone*, who was newly gone out of Towne on a Voyage, our Generall meeting him on the way: but I returned these Merchants word, that I would haue my payment of them, or else my Merchandize backe againe, but they made answer, I should haue neither the one nor other; neither would the Host of the House where they lodged passe his word for payment, so I was forced to goe to both the Kings to seeke for Iustice, but first sent word aboard, that if the Boate of *Miaco* weighed anchor to goe away, that they should man out the Skiffe, and stay her, which they did, and made her to come to an anchor againe, and in the meane-time I spake to the Kings, but the younger said that *Semidone* was a man able enough to pay me. And then I answered and asked him, that if *Semidone* did not, whether he would, and he told me no, and while we were talking of it, old *Foyne Same* came in and told me he would take order that I should haue content: yet his order had come too late, if our Pinnasse had not stayd them. So in the end the Host where they did lodge, passed his word for payment.

Capt. *Saris* his returne from the Emperours Court.

Merchants of *Miaco* ply the Merchants.

Captaine *Brower* and all his Merchants came to the *English* House to visit our Generall, and *Nobisana* sent him a young Porke for a Present, saying, hee would come himselfe and visit him within a day or two.

*George* the *Portugall* sent the Generall a Present of *Japan* Figs and Chestnuts.

Here follow certaine Letters, the first sent from the Emperour to the Prince of *Orange*, the rest from the *English* in *Japan*, and principally from Master *Cocke*, wherein the *Japonian* Affaires and various Occurrents for diuers yeares are expressed.

The



The Copie of a Letter sent by the Emperour of Iapan, vnto the King of Holland, by the Ship called the Red Lyon, with Arrowes, which arriued in the Texel, the two and twentieth of Iuly, 1610.

I Emperour and King of Iapan, wish to the King of Holland, who hath sent from so farre Countries to visit me, greeting.

I reioyce greatly in your writing and sending vnto me, and wish that our Countries were neerer the one to the other, whereby wee might continue and increase the friendship begunne betwixt vs through your Maiesties presence, whom I imagine in conceit to see, in respect I am unknowne vnto your Maiestie, and that your love toward me is manifested through your liberalitie in honouring mee with foure Presents, whereof though I had no need, yet comming in your name I receiued them in great worth, and hold them in good esteeme.

And further, whereas the Hollanders your Maiesties Subiects desire to trade with their shipping in my Countrey, which is of little value and small, and to traffique with my Subiects, and desire to haue their abiding neere vnto my Court, whereby in person I might helpe and assist them; which cannot bee as now through the inconueniencie of the Countrey: yet notwithstanding I will not neglect, as already I haue beene, to be carefull of them, and to giue in charge to all my Gouvernours and Subiects, that in what places and Hauens in what part soeuer they shall arriue, they shall shew them all fauour and friendship to their Persons, Ships and Merchandize: wherein your Maiestie or your Subiects need not to doubt or feare ought to the contrarie. For they may come as freely as if they came into your Maiesties owne Hauens and Countries; and so may remayne in my Countrey to trade. And the friendship begunne betwixt mee and my Subiects with you shall neuer bee impayred on my behalfe, but augmented and increased.

I am partly ashamed that your Maiestie (whose Name and Renowme through your valorous Deeds is spread throughout the whole World) should cause your Subiects to come from so farre Countries into a Countrey so unfitting as this is, to visit me, and to offer vnto me such friendships as I haue not deserved. But considering that your affection hath beene the cause thereof, I could not but friendly entertayne your Subiects, and yeeld to their requests: whereof this shall serue for a testimonie, That they in all places, Countries, and Ilands vnder mine obedience may trade and traffique, and build Houses seruiceable and needfull for their Trade and Merchandizes, where they may trade without any hinderance, at their pleasure, aswell in time to come as for the present, so that no man shall doe them any wrong: And I will maintayne and defend them, as mine owne Subiects.

I promise likewise, that the persons which I understand shall bee left heere, shall now and at all times be held as recommended vnto me, and in all things to fauour them, whereby your Maiestie shall find vs as your Friends and Neighbours.

For other matters passed betwixt me and your Maiesties Seruants, which would bee too long heere to repeate, I referre my selfe vnto them.

Firando in Japan, the tenth of December 1614.

TO this day I haue not had time to perfect up my old bookes of Accounts, by meanes of the dispatching away our people, some to one place, some to another, and then the new building of our house, and after that the buying of a Iuncke, and repairing of her, which is now ready to depart for Syam, and hath been any time this ten dayes lying at an anchor at Cochi, a league from Firando, where your ship rode at your departure from hence, expecting but a faire wind to set forward on her voyage: shee is called the Sea Aduenture, being about some two hundred Tunnes, in whom Master Adams goeth for Master, and Master Wickham and Edward Sayer for Merchants, by meanes of the death of Master Peacock slaine in Cochinchina, and likelihood of casting away Walter Carwarden, returning backe from thence, for to this houre we haue no newes of him, nor the Iuncke they went in, as I haue at large aduised the Worshippfull Company, &c. Since your departure from hence, the Emperour hath banished all Iesuits, Priests, Friers and Nunnes out of Iapan, and pulled downe, and burned all their Churches and Monasteries, soaping them away, some for Amacau in China, and the rest for Manillias. Foyne Same the old King of Firando is dead, and Vshandono his Gouvernour, and two other Seruants cut their bellies to beare him company; their bodies being burned, and ashes entombed by his. Heere are warres like to ensue betwixt Ogusho-same the old Emperour, and Fidaia-same the yong Prince, sonne to Tico-same, who hath fortified himselfe strongly in his Castle or Fortresse of Osakey, hauing eightie thousand or an hundred thousand men run awayes and banished men, mall-contents, which are rettyred out of all parts vnto him, & vntoalled themselves for three yeares. The old Emperour himselfe is come downe against him in person with an armie of three hundred thousand souldiers, and is at the Castle of Fushma: their fore-runners haue had two or three bickerings already, and many slaine on each part. All Osakey is burned to the ground, but only the Castle. So Master Eaton is gone to Sackey with his goods; yet not without danger, for part of that Towne is burned too.

Trade at Syam.

M. Peacock  
slaine in Co-  
chinchina.

Iesuits bani-  
shed.

Foyne Same  
dead.  
Ciuill Warres  
in Iapan.  
Osakey.

Fushma.

Osakey burnt.  
Sackey.

Such



Such a Tempest or Tuffon hath lately happened at Edoo, that the like was neuer scene in that place, the sea overflowing all the City, drining the people up into the mountains, defacing and breaking downe all the Noblemens houses, which you know were beautifull and faire. So let this much suffice for newes in Iapan. Most terrible Tuffon.

And now for Sales of our goods: the Emperour tooke our Ordinance, with a good part of our Lead, and ten barrels of powder, and two or three Broad-cloathes, and a good part of our other Broad-cloathes are sold, namely, Blacke, Haire-colour, Synanon-colour, at fiftene, fourteene, thirteene, and twelue Taies, the Tattamy: but they will not looke on a Venice-red, nor a Flame-colour, neither are Stamels in such request as heretofore: they enquire much after white and yellow Broad-cloth. The Hollanders haue sold most of their Broad-cloth at base rates, which maketh vs to doe the like. And for our Cloath of Cambaya, they will not looke on our red Zelas, blew Byrams, nor Duttis, which are the greatest part of that you left with vs, only some white Bastas are sold at fourteene and fiftene Masse a peece: And Cassedys mill, Alleias, broad Pintados, Chader Pintados, with such spotted, striped and chequered Stuffles, most looked after, and sold at profit. We haue also sold neare halfe our Bantam Pepper for sixtie fine Masse the Peecull, and all the rest had been gone before now, had it not been for this rumour of warres. I stand in great hope we shall procure Trade into China, by meanes of Andrea, the Captaine China, and two other of his brothers, which labour in the matter, and make no doubt but to bring it to effect, for three ships a yeere to come and goe to a place neare Lanquin, to which place we may goe from hence in three or foure dayes, if the wind be good. I haue written hereof at large to the Worshipfull Company, as the like to my Lord Treasurer. Hope of Trade in China.

Some little sicknesse I haue had, but now I praise God it is past. Master Wickham, Master Eaton, Master Neallson, and Master Edward Sayer, haue all foure been very sicke, but now well reconered all, except Master Eaton, who is troubled with the Fluxe and a tertian Ague, God send him his health, for I cannot too much praise that man, for his diligence and paines taken in the Worshipfull Companies affaires. Jacob Speck, who was thought to be cast away in going from hence to the Moluccas, is now returned to Firando, Captaine of a great ship called the Zelandia, with a little Pinasse, called the Iaccatra: the cause of his so long missing was, for that the ship wherein he went from hence, passed to the Eastward of the Philippinas, the same way we came, yet by currents and contrary winds (as they say) they could not fetch the Moluccas, but were driuen to the Westward of the Iland Celebes, and so passed round about it through the Straights of Desalon, and so backe to the Moluccas, &c. The Chinaes doe much complaine of the Hollanders robbing and pilfering their Iuncke, for (as they say) they haue rifled and taken seuen. The Emperour of Iapan hath taken some distaste against the Hollanders, for he refused a Present they lately sent up to him, and would not speake to them which brought it: as he did the like by another Present the Portugalls sent him, who came in the great ship from Amacau, this yeare, to Langalague; he refusing both the Present, as also to speake to them which brought it. You thought at your being heere, that if any other ship came out of England, we might sell our Goods without carrying up any Present to the Emperour: but now I find it to be otherwise, for euery ship which commeth in must carry a Present to the Emperour, as a custome: neither can we set out any Iuncke, without procuring the yearely License of the Emperour, otherwise no Iapan Mariner dare goe out of Iapan upon paine of death, only our owne shippes from England may come in, and goe out againe when they will, and no man gain-say it. Hollanders distasted by Chinois and Iapan: Portugalls not accepted. Presents a custome for euery ship.

We cannot yet by any meanes get Trade from Tushma into Corea, neither haue they of Tushma any other priuiledge, but to enter into one little Towne (or Fortresse) and in paine of death not to go without the walles thereof, to the Landward, and yet the King of Tushma is no Subiect to the Emperour of Iapan. We could vent nothing but Pepper at Tushma, and yet no great quantitie of that, and the weight is much bigger then that of Iapan, but sold at a better rate. I am giuen to understand, that up in the Countrey of Corea, they haue great Cities, and betwixt that and the Sea mightie Bogs, so that no man can tranell on Horse-backe, nor very hardly on foote; but for remedie against that, they haue great Waggons or Carts, which goe upon broad or flat wheeles under saile, as ships doe. So that obseruing Monsons, they transport their goods to and fro in these sayling Waggons. They haue Damaskes, Sattins, Taffeties, and other Silke stuffles made there, as well as in China: it is said that Ticus-same (otherwise called Quabicondono) the deceased Emperour, did pretend to haue conveyed a great armie of Souldiers in these sayling waggons, to haue assaulted the Emperour of China on a sudden in his great Citie of Paquin, where hee is ordinarily resident, but he was prevented by a Corean Noble-man, who poisoned himselfe, to poison the Emperour, and other great men of Iapan, which is the occasion the Iapans haue lost that, which some two and twenty yeares past they had gotten possession of in Corea. Iames Turner the fiddling youth, left a wench with child beere, but the whore, the mother, kill d it so soone as it was borne, although I gaue her two Taies in plate before to nourish it, because shee should not kill it, it being an ordinary thing here. Master Foller, the Masters whistle and chaunc is found, and Master Adams hath it, and will be answerable unto him for it. I did thinke to haue sent you a Iapan Almanacke in another Letter to the same effect as this, dated the fine and twentieth Vltimo, and sent by Sea-aduventure, by way of Syam, but forgot to put it in, yet now commeth here inclosed: I pray you let this Letter suffice to Master George Sais your brother, and the rest of my louing friends; and with heartie Commendations in generall, I leaue you all to the holy protection of the Almighty, resting alwayes Corea Bogges and sailing waggons. Paquin:

Your euer louing friend at command,  
RICHARD COCKS.

To



To the Worshipfull THOMAS WILSON Esquire, at his House at the Britaine-Burse, at the Strand, giue these.

**Hollanders acts in Moluccas.**  
**Spaniards and Portugals feare.**  
*S*r, my last unto you was of the first of December 1613. dated in the Isle of Firando in Iapan; and sent by Captaine Iohn Saris, in the ship called the Cloaue: wherein I aduertised you, how unkindly the Hollanders dealt with vs in the Maluccas. Since which time, there is not any matter of moment to aduise you of, more than I haue touched in another Letter to my good Lord Treasurer. The Hollanders giue it out heere, That it is very likely our East-India Company of England, and that of Holland shall be ioyned all in one: which if it proue true, it is thought an easie matter to drine both Spaniards and Portugals out of these Easterne parts of the world; or else utterly to cut them off, or debarre them from all Trade. For you will hardly beleue how the Hollanders already haue daunted the Spaniards and Portugals in these parts, especially in the Maluccas, where they daily encroach upon the Spaniards, which are not able to withstand their proceedings: but now stand in much feare, that in short time they will also take the Philippina: from them. Also the Portugals, which trade from Ormus to Goa, and so for Malacca and Macao in China, stand daily in feare to be surprised by them.

**Hollanders rob the luncques of China.**  
**Hollanders sea force.**  
*O*ne thing there is, the issue whereof I cannot well conceiue: and that is the robbing of the luncques of China, daily practised by the Hollanders in these parts: the goods whereof cannot choose but amount to great matters, and suffice to set out and maintaine a great Fleete, which is worthy of consideration. And if it should happen, that the King of Iapan should fall out with the Hollanders, and debarre them from Trade into his Dominions, (as it may fall out that he will:) then is it likely the Hollanders will make prize as well of Iapans as Chinaes. For out of doubt, their Forces at sea in these parts are sufficient to doe what they lust, if they haue but a victualling place to retire unto. And they are of late growne very stout, and mocke at them, which, all the world knoweth, were their masters and teachers. And it is very certaine that they haue gotten possession of diuers Fortresses in the Maluccas, and those parts: yet on my knowledge the people of those parts doe rather encline to the Spaniards, then to them: although at the first, they were glad of their arrivall, by meanes of the intollerable pride of the Spaniards. But now time telleth them, that the Spaniard brought them store of Rialls of plate; and in their proud humors were liberall, which was easie for them to doe, in respect they had wherewithall to doe it. But the poore Hollanders, which scrue in these parts for souldiers, both by sea and land, haue such bare pay, that it will hardly find them clothing to their backs, and meate for their bellies: Their Commanders alledge, that all the benefite which hapneth, either by reprisall or conquest, is for the States, and Winthebbers, as they call them. So that what will come of this in the end, is hard to iudge.

**Iesuits play the Factors, Agēts, and Beggers in these parts, as by all Indian relations may appeare.**  
**Fame of the English in the remote East.**  
*B*ut letting these matters passe, I am verily of opinion, that, if it be not for the misdemeanour of the Hollanders, we shall obtaine a Trade in China: for our demand is but for three ships a yeare to come and goe; and only to leaue Factors sufficient to doe the businesse, without bringing in any Iesuits or Padres, as they tearme them, which the Chinaes cannot abide to heare of, because heretofore they came into these parts in such numbers to inhabite, that now they will not endure it, and were alwayes crawing and begging without shame, which is a common saying among the Pagans.

**Force of Tempests in Iapan.**  
*O*ne thing there is, which putteth me in good hope, and that is the good report and fame, which our English Nation hath gotten in these parts, since our Arrivall: which, as I am giuen to vnderstand, is come to the knowledge of the Emperour of China: and how the chiefe King of Iapan hath receiued vs, and granted unto vs very large priuiledges. As also, how that the English at all times, haue held the Castilians, as they call them, to hard meate, both by sea and land. These things the Chinaes themselves tell me: and that the Emperour and other great men in China, delight to heare reports of our Nation. But I had almost forgotten to note downe, how some China Merchants put out a question to me, to know, if we had a trade in China, whether the King of England would debarre the Hollanders from robbing and spoiling of their luncques? Which question was downe full unto me: yet I answered them, that his Maestie would take such order, that the Hollander should not misuse them.

**Ill successe of some English in Cauchin-China.**  
*O*f late heere is come newes from Edoo, a Citie of Iapan as bigge as London, wherein the chiefe of the Nobilitie of Iapan haue beautifull houses, that by meanes of an exceeding Tiffon or tempest, all or the most part of them are defaced; the whole Citie being ouer-flown with water, and the people forced to flye up into the mountaines, a thing neuer heard of before: and the Kings Palace being stately builded in a new Fortresse, the tyles being all gilded on the out-side, were all carryed away with a whirlewind, so that none of them are to be found. The Pagans attribute it to some Charmes, or by Coniurations of the Iesuits lately banished: but the Papist Iaponians doe rather ascribe it to the punishment of God, for the banishing of such holy men.

*A*nother matter there is, which I thought good to aduertise you of, and that is of a disaster lately hapened to vs in Cauchin-China: To which place we sent a quantitie of goods and money, to the value of seuen hundred and thirtie pound sterling, as it cost in England. Master Tempest Peacock, and Master Walter Caerwarden, going for Merchants in a Iapan luncque, carryed the Kings Maesties Letters of England, with a Present of worth for the King of Cauchin-China, and arrived at their Port of Discharge, called Quinham: deliuered his Maesties Letters, and the Present, which were taken in good part, and they entertained with kind speeches, and large promises. The Hollanders seeing we aduertured to that



that place, would needs doe the like, and tooke fraught in other Iunkes, and were likewise well entertained at first. But in the ende, Master Peacocke and the chiefe Merchant of the Hollanders, going on shoare, both in one boat, to receiue certaine summes of money of the King for broad-Cloath, and other Commodities sold him, were treacherously set upon in the water, and their boat ouerturned, they beeing killed in the water with harping yronlike filbes, with their Interpreters and other followers which were Iaponians: Walter Carwarden beeing aboard the Iunke, escaped and came away. But from that day to this, wee can heare no newes, neither of him, nor of the Iunke, wherefore we feare hee is cast away.

The common report both of the Chinas and Iapans is, that the King of Cauchin-china did this, to be reuenged on the Hollanders, for burning a Towne of his, and putting his people to death without mer-  
 10 cie. The originall grew, from a great quantitie of false Dollers or Rials of eight, sent to Quinham by the  
 10 Hollanders, certaine yeeres past; and there put away for Silkes, and other China stufes, with the Mer-  
 10 chants of that place. But the falshood of the money beeing espied, they laid hands on the Holland Factors,  
 and I thinke, some one was put to death in reuenge: whereupon the Holland ships comming on that Coast,  
 landed their men, and burned a Towne, putting Man, Woman, and Child to the sword. This was the  
 chiefe occasion (as report goeth) that this mischance is happened now; M. Peacocke being slaine, because  
 he was in company with the Hollanders. Here inclosed, I send you a Iapan Almanacke, whereby you may  
 see their order of Printing, Figures, and Characters. And so I leane you to the holy protection of the Al-  
 mighty. Resting alwaies

Your Worships to command,

RICHARD COCK.

From Firando in Iapan. December 10. 1614.

December 5. 1615.

10 Sir, I receiued a Letter from you by the hands of Captaine Copendall, Captaine of the Hofiander,  
 which arrined here in Iapan the twentie ninth of August, 1615. wherein I understood of your safe  
 arrivall at the Cape Bona Esperanza homeward bound: wherein your Worship gaue mee to understand, of  
 the losse of some of your Company; yet I make no doubt, but by the grace of God, you are safely arrivied in  
 30 England long before this time. I sent you a Letter, dated the last of November, 1614. by the Hollan-  
 30 ders ship called the old Zeeland, wherein I gaue you to understand of the death of M. Peacocke, and  
 Walter Carwarden betrayed in Cauchinchina, which was not a little grieve to vs all. besides the losse of  
 the Companies goods. This last yeere past, M. Wickham, M. Adams, and my Selfe, beeing bound in a  
 Iunke which we bought for Siam, hauing great stormes and foule weather, sprung leakes in her, and were  
 faine to beare up for the Islands Leuckes, where we stayed so long, and could not stop our leakes, we lost our  
 Monson, and came to Firando againe. This yeere we haue trimmed her againe, and at this present readie  
 to set sayle againe for Siam. My greatest hope in these parts is, that we shall haue a trade into China, for  
 we haue great possibilities, and I make no doubt but ere long, to see a Factory established there, by meanes  
 that the Captaine Cheny and his brothers haue made. We haue had here the last Summer great troubles  
 40 of Warres, betwixt the Emperour and Fidata Sama, which we doe not know whether hee bee slaine or fled,  
 40 but the Emperour hath got the victory, with losse of men of both sides, the summe of foure hundred thousand.  
 Thus hauing no more newes to write, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty. From Firando  
 in Iapan.

Forty thou-  
 sand Iaponians  
 lost in Ciuill  
 warres.

Your Seruant alwaies to command,

EDMOND SAYER.

Firando in Iapan. December 4. 1616.

30 W Orshipfull Sir, my humble dutie alwaies remembred: hauing so fit an oportunitie, I could not  
 choose but trouble your Worship with these few lines, I being but newly arrivied heere in Firando,  
 of a hard and tedious Voyage from Siam, which went in a Iunke of the Right Honourable Companies, M.  
 Adams being Master, and my selfe Factor in her, hauing bought more goods then we could lade, we fraigh-  
 ted an other Iunke for Iapan: M. Benjamin Fary being principall of the Factory of Siam, thought it fit for  
 me to goe in this Iunke for Iapan, for the safegard of the Worshipfull Companies goods: wherein I tooke my  
 Voyage, the yeare beeing far spent, that we were from the first of Iune, to the seuenteenth of September,  
 betweene Siam and Shachmar, with much torments and foule weather, hauing lost twenty of our men with  
 sicknesse and want of fresh water. The greatest occasion of this first, was for want of a good Pilot, for we had  
 a China Pilot, which had no understanding of Nauigation: for when he was out of sight of the Land, hee  
 knew not where he was, nor what course to take: then he falling sicke, was not able to creepe out of his Cab-  
 60 bin, I beeing forced with the small skill I had, to doe my best, and with the helpe of God brought the Iunke  
 safe to Shachmar, where we arrivied the seuenteenth of September, hauing but five men able to stand on  
 their legges, comming so late to Firando, that I could not goe this yeere to Siam, but the Companies Iunke  
 is gone with M. Wil. Eaton, and two English Pilots, whose names are Robert Burges, and Iohn Burges.

Your Worships seruant till death,

EDMOND SAYER.

M m m

Firando



Firando in Iapan. February 15. 1617.

Captaine Saris, My last Letter unto you, was the fifth of January, 1616. sent by way of Bantam, in the ship Thomas, which went from hence that yeere, with an other small ship called the Aduice: in which Letter I wrote you at large, of all matters which occasion then offered: as also of the receipt of two Letters of yours, the one dated in London the twenty fourth of November, 1614. and the other the fifteenth of August, 1615. Since which time the ship Aduice is returned againe into Iapan, and arrived at Firando, the second of August last past. By which conuaince I received a Letter from the Honourable Company, dated in London the thirtieth of January, 1615. Wherein they write me, &c.

Capt. George Barkely.

There are some which can tell you, that Captaine Barkely lying on his death bed, escaped a scowring of loosing sixe thousand Rialls of eight; and had he died before it was found out, paid out for Custome of Pepper, it may be some other man might haue had the credit of paying it. It is a common Proverbe, that it is a small matter for men which lie at Bantam, to be rich if they live but a little time: for as the old saying is, No man dieth without an heire.

Wee haue beene this yeare againe, before the Emperour of Iapan, but cannot get our Priuiledges enlarged, but trade onely at Firando and Langalacque, and our English shipping to come for Firando onely.

Trade in Cutchinchina unlucky.

M. Edmond Sayer went this last yeare for Cochinchina, with a Cargeson of some one thousand eight hundred Tays Goods and money: and being ready to come away, was cozened of sixe hundred and fifty Tays by a China & others, of whom he had bought Silke for the Worshipfull Company, and weighed out the Money, attending to receive the Silke, the Money lying by till it came, he and an other being in the room where it lay: but those false people made a hole through the Cane-wall, and stole out the Money, they not seeing when it was done. I am sorrie for the mischance, but he hopeth to recouer it againe this yeare, having left a man to follow the suite, and returneth backe this Monson in a China Iunke, with a Cargeson of two thousand Tais in Plate to bestow in Silke, and one Robert Hawley goeth with him for mortalities sake, and M. William Adams goeth Pilot for the Chines. God send them a prosperous Voyage, and to recouer the money lost.

Our Iunke, the Sea Aduenture, made an other Voyage the last yeare to Siam, M. William Eaton going Merchant in her, and is returned againe in her thither this yeare, God send them a prosperous Voyage.

Fight of Hollanders and Spaniards.

The Hollanders sent a Fleete of ships the last yeare from the Moluccas to the Manillias, to fight with Spanish Fleete: but they kept in for the space of five or sixe moneths, so that the Hollanders made account they durst not come out at all: and therefore separated themselves, to looke out for China Iunkes whereof they tooke and rifled some say twentie five Iunkes, others say thirtie five: once they tooke great riches, and all under the name of Englishmen. But in the end, the Spanish Fleete came out, and set upon five or sixe of their ships, burning and sinking the Admirall, and two other Holland ships, the rest escaping: but the Spaniards separating themselves to seeke out the Hollanders, the Viceadmirall of them fell with two fresh Hollanders on the morning, who fought with her all day, and made her to runne on ground, and set her selfe on fire, because the Hollanders should not take them: the which two ships, and one of them which was at former fight, came after to Firando, with two other great Hollanders from Bantam, to looke out for the Amacau ship, but missed narrowly of her, so that five great Holland ships, the least of them as big as the Cloue, came into Iapan this yeare, one of which, called the Red Lyon (which was she which rid by us at the Moluccos) was cast away at Firando in a storme, with a China Iunke they brought in for Prize, but all the Merchandise recouered, although wet. The Emperour letteth them make good price of all. They sent away the Blacke Lyon for Bantam, a ship of nine hundred Tunnes, full laden with Raw Silke, and other rich China stufes. Another, called the Flushing, of seven or eight hundred Tunnes, is gone for the Moluccas, full laden with provision and money: and the Sunne, a ship of sixe or seven hundred Tunnes, with the Gallias of aboue foure hundred Tunnes, are left to scowre the coast of China, to take what booty they can, and returne the next Monson: the Gallias is gone out already, but the Sunne attendeth the going out of the Amacau ship from Langalacque, to be doing with her. She was going out heretofore, but coming in sight of the Gallias, (the wind seruing her) returned into Langalacque againe, so I thinke she will hardly goe out this yeare: and as I said before, they haue robbed all the Chines in the name of Englishmen, which hath done much hurt to our proceeding, to get trade in that place; so that we were forced to send new supplies, to giue the Gouvernours in China to vnderstand, that they are Hollanders which did it, and not Englishmen. In fine, I haue aduised the Worshipfull Company at large of all, of which I make no doubt but you will heare: And so I commit you to God, resting

Hollanders wronging the English name.

Your louing Friend assured at command,  
R. C. COCK.

The Coppie of my Letter the last yeare, I send you here inclosed.

## A piece of another Letter of M. Cockes.

There came two Friers in that ship as Embassadors from the Viceroy of new Spaine, with a Present for the Emperour, but he would neither receive the Present, nor speake to them which brought it, but sent



sent M. Adams to tell them, they should auoide out of his Dominions, he hauing formerly banished all of their coate, and remained still in the same opinion. It is said, that Fidaia Same had promised the le- suites entrance againe, if he had got the victorie, and been settled in the Empire, which if it had taken effect, out of doubt both Hollanders and we had been turned out of Iapan. And therefore better as it is.

Also, the last yeere when we set out our Lunke, we entertained a Spaniard, called Damian Mari- na, and was the same man which thought once to haue gone along with you, in Company of George Pe- terfon. This Damian was a good helme man: and therefore entertained, and an other Spaniard, cal- led Iuan de Lieuana went with them as a Passenger: but the Lunke loosing her Voyage, they returned 10 to Langasque, where soone after arriued the Carracke from Amacau; and understanding that these two men had gone in our shipping, they laid hands of them, and put them in chaines aboard the great ship, condemning them to death, as Traytors to their Prince and Countrey, in seruing the English their enemies. Which comming to my knowledge, I tooke their defence in hand, and by authoritie from the Emperour got them set at libertie, to the great spight and hearts grieffe of both Spaniards and Portu- gals, these two men going Passengers in the Holiander for Bantam, &c. We haue had extreame trou- bles in Iapan, by meanes of these warres, in posting or transporting of our goods from place to place, to saue it. I long to heare from you of your safe arrivall, &c.

M. Adams is gone againe in the lunke for Siam, accompanied onely with M. Edmond Sayer; and M. Neallson is very sicke, but M. Wickham, and M. Eaton well: I pray you deliuer the enclo- 20 sed to my brother.

Yours, most assured at command,

RICHARD COCK.

### Naugasaque in Iapan, the tenth of March 1610.

30 IT is now almost three yeeres last past since I wrote your Worship any Letter, and is by meanes of the unlooked for & unruly proceedings of the Hollanders against our English Nation in all these parts of the World, not sparing vs in these Kingdomes of Iapan, contrarie to the large Priuiledges which the Em- perour of Iapan hath giuen vs, that the Iapans shoul'd not meddle with vs. But these Hollanders this yeere hauing seuen ships great & small in the Harbor or Port of Firando, haue with sound of Trumpet pro- claymed open War against our English Nation, both by Sea and Land to take our English ships & goods, and kill our persons as their mortall Enemies, which was done by one Adam Westarwood, their Ad- mirall or Lord Commander (as they tearme him) and openly proclaymed aboard all their shippes. Also they came to braue vs before our owne doores, and picking quarrels entred into our House, thinking to haue cut all our throates, yet wotunded but two persons, and had it not bene for the assistance of the Iapa- 40 nesses our Neighbours, which tooke our parts, they had killed vs all, they being a hundred Hollanders to one Englishman: and not contented with this, they tooke our Boat going out about our businneses, where- in there was one Englishman which they carryed Prisoner into their owne House, threatening to haue kil- led him, putting him in great danger of his life, by meanes of a Company of drunken Consorts which were about him, threatening him to stab him with their Knives. The young mans name is Richard King and sonne to Captaine King of Plimmouth. And besides this, two other of our Barkes going besides their ships within the Towne and Harbour of Firando, they bent a Peece of Ordnance against them, which tooke false fire, but they shot at them with Muskets, but missed the Englishmen, and killed a Iapan: Yet for all this there is no iustice executed against them by the King of Firando, although the Em- perour hath commanded him to doe it.

Hollanders abu- ses of the Eng- lish in those parts, are here published for knowledge of the Easterne Affaires, and Occurrents, as it is meet in a Historie. But neither were these Nationall but personall Crimes, and done in time and place of pretended Ho- stilitie, and now I hope sa- tisfaction is, or shall be made. Neighbour- hood of Re- gion, Reli- gion and Cu- stomes; are easily violated by Drink, Co- uetousnesse & Pride, the three Furies that rayfed these Combu-

50 Also may it please you to understand, that two of these shippes which they brought into Firando this yeere, are English ships which they tooke from Englishmen in the Indies, as also they tooke two other this yeere from them, riding at an anchor in the Roads of Patania, where wee haue a Factorie, and not doubting any such matter: in which broyle, they killed Captaine \* Iohn Iordaine, our Chiefe President for the right Worshipfull Companie in the Indies, with diuers others, and carryed the ships and goods quite away, but sixe of the Mariners which were in the English ships which they tooke, escaped from them and came to the English House, they sending to me to haue them sent backe againe: unto whom I answered, I would first see their Commission, how they durst presume to take our shipping and goods, and kill our Kings Maiesties faithfull Subiects as they did: so then they went to the Tono or King of Firando;

60 bussions. This Historie hath related the worth of many Worthy Hollanders; if it yeelds a Close-stooke for Westarwood (as Ever- ments rather than true Dutch) or a Graine-Tub or Swil-tub for some braue Brewers and Bores, that embrewed with Nobler bloud then themselves haue, preferre their brutish passions to Gods Glorie, Religion, and publike Peace, let it be no imputation to the Nation (which I loue and honour) but to such baser spirits as haue (like Scorbuteall humours in the long Voyages, and their lon- ger peace and want of wonted employments) bene bred as Difeates to their, and infections to our bodie. My intent is to preter- others with their Acts, my selfe with Prayers that all may be amended. \* This Iohn Iordaine is said in the time of treatie to haue bene treacherously slaine.



\* And who  
was the happy  
instrument of  
their delivrie,  
from that  
which they ac-  
count flauerie,  
but the English?

Vnchristian,  
vnciuill, inhu-  
mane, immane,  
Deuillish Im-  
petic.

Brag of a  
Hollander.

Persecution

Fushima de-  
stroyed.

Fidaia Samma  
sonne of Tico  
Sama.

desiring to haue their \* English slaues (as it pleased them to call them) delivered vnto them, but they had answer, they must first demand them of the Emperour, and looke what he ordaines should be fulfilled. Yet in the meane time, they held not the English-men to bee slaues vnto them. This was the chiefe occasion which made them to picke quarrels against vs, to haue killed vs all, but I hope in God, his Maie-  
stie by the Solicitation of our right Honourable, and right Worshipfull Employers, will not suffer his true and loyall Subjects to lose their shipping, liues and goods, in such order as they doe by such an vnthank-  
full and theeuish Rabble of them, which are assembled together in these parts of the world, who make a daily practice to rob and spoile all both friends and foes, and I trust that you your selfe will be a Solicitor in this so iust a cause, against so common an Exemie.

This Adam Westerwood their Lord Commander, set my life at saile, offering fiftie Rials of eight, to any one that would kill me, & thirtie Rials for each other Englishman that they could kill. but hitherto God hath preserued me and the rest in this place, although they wounded two or three, yet they are not dead. And this proceedings of their Lord Commander, was told me secretly by some of their owne people (willing me) and the rest to take heed of our selues. They also informed mee of the Noble Parentage of their Lord Commander Westerwood, telling that his Father is a Close-stooke-maker at Amsterdam, or thereabouts, and the best of their Captaines either Shoemakers, Carpenters, or Beere-brewers Sonnes, God blesse such an Honourable and Worshipfull Generation, I meane, God blesse mee from them. And so to make an end of this matter, I was this yeere aboue at the Emperours Court at Miaco, to make complaint of the abuses offered to vs within his Dominions, contrary to the Priuiledges his Maie-  
stie had giuen vs, and I had very good words and promises that wee should haue Iustice, and the Tono or King of Firando commanded to see it performed. but as yet nothing done, although I haue many times earnestly sued for it.

And at my being at Court, and at the Emperours Palace, Portugals and Spaniards being there at the same time, to doe their duties to the Emperour, as they doe euery yeere when shipping commeth. There was a Hollander in the Court, (which had liued in Iapan almost twentie yeeres, and speaketh the Iapan Language well) this fellow, in my hearing and others, beganne to extoll their King of Hoiland, to be the greatest King in Christenome, and one that held all the others vnder, he little thinking that we had vnderstood what he said: but I was not behind hand to tell him that he needed not to lye so loud, for that they had no King at all, in Holland, but were gouerned by a Count, or rather they gouerned him. But if they had any King at all, in whom they might boast it was the Kings Maie-  
stie of England, who hitherto had bene their Protector, otherwayes they had neuer bragged of their States, at which speeches, both Spaniards, Portugals, and others did laugh apace, and so the Hollanders mouth was stopped, &c.

And now for newes in these parts, may it please you to vnderstand that this Emperour is a great Enemy to the name of Christians, especially Iapans, so that all which are found are put to death, I saw fifty fine martyred at Miaco, at one time when I was there, because they wold not forsake their Christian Faith, & amongst them were little Children of five or sixe yeeres old burned in their mothers armes, Crying out, Iesus receiue their soules. Also in the Towne of Nauasaku, there was sixteene more martyred for the same matter, whereof five were burned and the rest beheaded and cut in pieces, and cast into the Sea in Sackes of thirtie fathome deepe: yet the Priests got them vp againe, and kept them secretly for Reliques. There is many more in Prison in diuers other places, as also beere, which looke howely when they shall die, for very few turne Pagans. Also this last yeere before Christmas, the Emperour hath displaced one of the greatest Princes of Iapan, called Fushima Tay, of sixtie or seuentie Mangocas, and turned him into a Corner, in the North parts of Iapan, where hee hath but a small portion in respect of that was taken from him, and this must hee doe or cut his belly. It was thought there would haue bene much trouble in Iapan about it, for all Fushima Tayes Subjects were in Armes, and meant to haue held it out to the vttermost, having fortified the Citie of Fushima, and gotten prouision into it for a long time, but the Tay himselfe and his Sonne being in the Emperours Court, he commanded them to write to their Vassals, to lay downe their Armes and submit themselves to the Emperours pleasure, or else forth-with to cut their bellies. So life was sweete vnto them, and all rendered vnto the Emperour, and those pardoned which had taken vp Armes in the defence of the Tay. And the Emperour hath giuen his Dominions being two Kingdomes, to two of the Emperours owne Kinsmen, and now this yeere the Emperour hath pulled downe his Castle at Fushima, which I thinke was farre bigger then the Citie of Rochester, a very beautifull and gallant thing, wherein I saw him this yeere, and all the stores are carried to Ofackay, and that old ruined Castle which Ticus Samma built, and Ogotha Samma pulled downe, must now bee built againe, three times bigger then it was before, so that all the Tones or Kings, haue each one their taske set them to doe at their owne proper charge, not without much grudging, they hauing leaue after so many yeeres, to returne to their owne Lands, and now on a suddaine, are all sent for againe to come to the Court, which angreth them not a little, but they must, will they will they; in paine of belly-cutting. Yet at this very instant, heere is a secret muttering, that Fidaia Samma the Sonne of Ticus Samma is aliue; and in the Daires House at Miaco. but I thinke it hath bene reported diuers times heretofore that hee was aliue, and in other places but proued vntrue, yet here are some rich Merchants at Miaco, hereat present, which are afraid, and are readie to goe up on a suddaine, for feare the Emperour should burne Miaco, if it be true, he be aliue, and out of doubt if he be aliue, it may turne the Emperours Estate upside downe, for hee is no Marshall man, but a great Politician: once, howsoeuer it bee, it cannot bee worse for vs then it is, &c. And as I aduised you in my last, of the pulling downe of all the Churches in Iapan, yet there were some



remnants standing in Naugafaque till this yere, and the Monasterie of Misericordia not touched, neither any Church-yard nor Buriall place, but now by order from the Emperour all is pulled downe, and all Graues and Sepulchres opened, and dead mens bones taken out, and carried into the Fields by their Parents and Kindred to be buried else-where. And streets made in all their places, where both Churches or Church-yards were, except in some places, where the Emperour hath commanded Pagods to be erected, and sent Heathen Priests to live in them, thinking utterly to roote out the memory of Christianitie out of Iapan. For there were certaine places a little without the Citie of Naugafaque, where diuers Fathers and other Christians were martyred, in the time of Ogoshia Samma, where their Parents and Friends had planted greene Trees, and set up Altars neere each Tree, unto which place many hundreds went euery day to pray, but now by command from the Emperour, all the said Trees and Altars are quite cut downe, and the ground made euen, such is his desire to roote out the remembrance of all such matters.

And in Anno 1618. in the moneths of Nouember and December, heere were two Comets scene over all Iapan, the first rising in the East, being like a great fiery beam rent to the South-wards, and there within the space of a moneth vanished away. The other did also rise in the East, being a great blazing Starre, and went North-wards, and within a moneth vanished quite away about the Constellation of Charles-wayne, or Vrsa Maior. The Wiffards in these parts doe prognosticate great matters thereof, but hitherto nothing of moment hath happened, but the deposing of Frushma Tay, aforesaid.

Comets which appeared also in the parts.

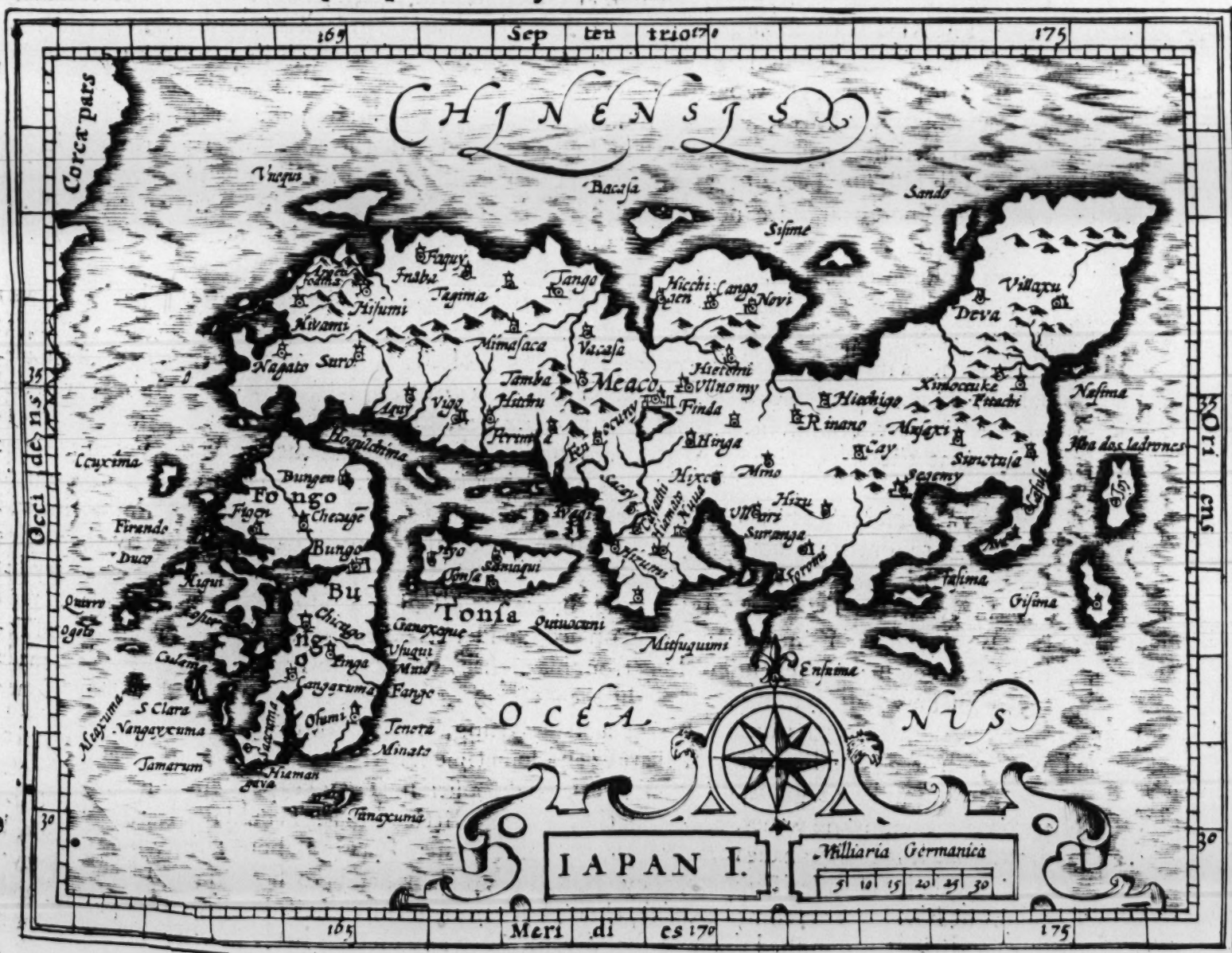
But I am ashamed to write you the newes the Portugals and Spaniards report, and some of them haue shewed me Letters to verifie it, and is of a bloudie Crosse scene in the Ayre in England, against which an English Preacher speaking in the Pulpit was strooke dumbe, which Miracle, as they terme it, caused our Kings Maiestie to send to the Pope, to haue some Cardinals and Learned men to come into England, for that he meant all England should turne Roman Catholikes. I pray you pardon me for writing such fopperies which I doe, to the intent to haue you laugh a little, yet I assure you, heere are many Portugals and Spaniards, will not be perswaded to the contrary. I know not what else to write, but I hope by the next shipping which commeth for this place to come towards England, where God grant I may find you in good health, &c.

Ex vincte Leonem. You may guesse of their Tales of Miracles at home & abroad, by this.

Your Worships at command,  
RICHARD COCK.

To the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Wilson, &c.

I haue heere added for the Readers profit and delight this Map of Iapan, published by I. HONDIVS.





## CHAP. IIII.

Observations of WILLIAM FINCH, Merchant, taken out  
of his large Journall.

## §. I.

Remembrances touching Sierra Leona, in August 1607. the Bay, Countrey, Inhabitants, Rites, Fruits and Commodities.

10

This should  
haue followed  
next after Ma-  
ster Hawkins,  
with whom he  
went into the  
Mogolls Coun-  
treys, if I then  
had had it. But  
better a good  
dish, though  
not in duest  
place of ser-  
uice, then not  
at all: neither is  
he altogether  
borne out of  
due time, which  
comes in due  
place (whiles  
we are yet in  
India) and in  
time also, be-  
fore the Mogoll  
affaires recei-  
ued any later  
access: or bet-  
ter maturitie:  
and for that cir-  
cumstance fail-  
ing, thou shalt  
find it supplied  
in substance,  
with more ac-  
curate obser-  
uations of Men,  
Beasts, Plants,  
Cities, Deserts,  
Castles, Build-  
ings, Regions,  
Religions, then  
almost any o-  
ther, as also of  
Waies, Wares,  
Warres.  
Christianitie  
at Sierra Leona.  
Their apparell.  
They are also  
Gallants and  
fashion-mon-  
gers.  
Townes and  
houses.  
Their hous-  
hold-stuffe and  
riches.  
Their Armes.  
Their feature  
and condi-  
tions.  
Circumcision.



He Iland which we fell with, lyeth some ten leagues to the South of the Bay, the latitude is eight degrees, it hath no inhabitants, nor did I learne the name. It hath some Plantans, and by report good watering and wooding for ships. Some league from the shoare is a dangerous breach of a rocke, scarcely at high water to bee discerned. The Bay of *Sierra Leona* is about three leagues in breadth. On the South is high land, full of trees euen to the Sea-side, hauing diuers Coues, in which wee caught plentie and varietie of fish. On the further side of the fourth Coue is the watering place, of excellent water continually running: at which place, on the rockes, we found the names of 20 diuers English men which had bin there; amongst the rest, of Sir Francis Drake, which had bin there seuen and twentie yeeres before, Thomas Candish, Captaine Lister, with others. About the middest of the Bay, right from the third Coue lyeth a land, neere about which, is not about two or three fathome; in most places else eight or ten close to the shoare. It floweth East South-east, and higheth fixe or eight foote, a strong tide of ebbe; the latitude eight degrees and a halfe North.

The King keepeth his residence in the bottome of the Bay, and is called by the *Moorres*, *Borea*, or Captaine, *Caran*, *caran*, *caran*. Hee hath other pettie Kings vnder him, whereof one, called Captaine *Pinto*, a wretched old man, dwelleth at a Towne within the second Coue: and on the other side the Bay, Captaine *Boloone*. *Boreas* Dominions stretch fortie leagues into the land; he hath tribute of Cotton-cloath, Elephants teeth and gold: he hath power to sell his people for 30 slaues, (which he proffered vnto vs) and some of them are by Portugall Priests and Iesuits made Christians, and haue a Chappell, wherein are written in a table, such dayes as they are to obserue holy. The King, with some about him, are decently cloathed in Iackets and Breeches, and some with hats, but the common sort go naked, saue that with a Cotton girdle about their waste, they couer their priuities; the women couer theirs with a Cotton-cloath, tacked about their middles and hanging to the knees, wrapped round about them; the children goe starke naked. They are all, both men and women, rased and pinked on all parts of their bodies very curiously, hauing their teeth also filed betwixt, and made very sharpe. They pull off all the haire growing on their eye-lids. Their beards are short, crispe, blacke, and the haire of their heads they cut into allyes 40 and crosse pathes; others wear it iagged in tufts, others in other foolish formes; but the women haue all close to the flesh.

Their Townes consist of thirtie or fortie houses, all clustered together (yet each hath his own) couered with reed and enclosed with mud-walls, like our houels or hog-sties in England, hauing at the entrance a matre in stead of a doore, locked and bolted, not fearing robbery, where the house-hold holds correspondence to the house. In stead of a carued bed-sted, they haue billets of wood laid ouerthwart, vpon which, in stead of a fether-bed, they spread a matre or two. Some are so proud, that they haue their (Arras) hangings also of mattes about the walles, yet most about their beds betwixt them and the wall. Their other furniture, is two or three pots of earth to keepe water in, and to boyle such meate as they can get, a gourd or two to fetch Palme-wine, and a halfe gourd for his quaffing cup, earthen dishes for their loblolly, a basket or two by the walles for his *Maria* to gather cockles, with a snap-sacke for himselfe made of rindes of trees to carry his prouant, with his Tobacco and Pipe, and thus is their house furnished. When they goe abroad each weareth one of those snap-sackes on his shoulder, wherein he carrieth his prouision and Tobacco (which in no wise must be long from his mouth) with his do-little sword by his side, made by themselves of such iron as is brought them; hauing also his bow and quiuer full of poysoned arrowes, pointed with iron in forme of a Snakes-sting, or else a case of Iauelins or Darts, pointed with iron of a good breadth and sharpe; and sometime with both. They are bigge and well set men, strong and courageous, of a ciuill-heathen disposition. They keepe themselves for the most part vnto their owne wiues, of whom they are not a little iealous. I could not learne their Reli- 60 gion what it is: they haue some Images, yet know there is a God aboue: for when wee asked them of their wooden Puppets, they would lift vp their hands to heauen; more they knew not: but howsoeuer it comes to passe, their children are all circumcised. They are very iust and true, and theft is punished with present death. When any dieth, a little thatched shed is set ouer his



his funerall hearfe, vnder which in earthen pots they continually keepe fresh water, and in earthen platters set diuers meates, sticking about them some three or foure bones.

To the South of the Bay, some fortie or fiftie leagues distant within the Countrey, inhabiteth a very fierce people which are man-eaters, which sometime infest them. The *Moors* of *Sierra Leona* feed on Rice, of which they haue no great quantitie, sowing only what is needfull, in places neare to their houses, where they haue burnt vp the wood, not hauing otherwise so much free ground: they sow also another little seed which they call *Pene*, of which they make bread, not much vnlike to Winter-sauory seed. They haue some few hennes about their houses, but no other flesh, except sometime they get a Fawne of the wilde Deere, running in the Mountaines (not many) or some fowle. They feed also vpon Herbs, Cockles, Oysters, whereof they haue great store growing on the rockes and trees by the sea-side, but of a flash taste. They take much good fish with waues and other deuices. They feed also much on rootes, and plant about their houses many Plantan-trees, Gourds, Potatoes, Pompions and *Guinne*-Pepper. But Tobacco is planted about euery mans house, which seemeth halfe their food: the boll of their Tobacco-pipe is very large, and stands right vpward, made of clay well burnt in the fire. In the lower end thereof they thrust in a small hollow cane, a foot and halfe long, thorow which they sucke it, both men and women drinking the most part down, each man carrying in his snap-sack a small purse (called *Tuffio*) full of Tobacco, and his Pipe. The women doe the like in their wrappers, carrying the Pipe in their hands. Vnto their Tobacco they adde nothing, but rather take from it: for I haue seene them straying forth the iuyce of the leaues, being Greene and fresh, before they cut and drie it (making signes that otherwise it would make them drunke) then doe they shread it small, and drie it on a sherd vpon the coles. We beheld in a certaine Iland neare (and no where else) halfe a dozen of Goats, but could not get a taile of one all our time.

Funerall.

Their food.

Oysters on trees.

Tobacco-pipe.

Little fish.

Fruits, Woods of Limmons, Palmito wine.

Plummes.

Beane trees of venomous nature, wherewith they poyson their arrowes.

Catoe trees, Cola, a fruit of much efficacy.

Potatoes. Cotton.

Cambe, a wood to dye Red. Mats

They haue innumerable sorts of fruits, growing wilde in their woods; whole woods of Limmon trees, especially a little on this side the watering place neare the Towne, and some few Orange trees. Their drinke is for the most part water; yet the men deuour much *Palmito* wine, which they call *Moy*, giuing little or none to the women. It is strange to behold their manner of climbing these trees, which haue neither boughes nor branches, saue only on the top, being also of great height and bignesse: with a withe he graspeth his body and the tree together, and so bearing backe his body, and lifting vp his withe before him, he foots it vp with such speed and certaintie, comming downe againe also so orderly, bringing his gourd full of wine on his arme, that it was admirable. They haue diuers sorts of Plummes, one like a wheaten Plumme, whole some and sauoury: a blacke one also, as bigge as a Horse-plumme, much esteemed, hauing an aromaticke sauour: *Mansamillias* like to a wheaten Plumme, very dangerous, as are likewise the boughes of the tree, full of sappe, perillous to the sight, if it should happely flye in. They haue *Beninganions* about as bigge as a Limmon, reddish on the rinde, very wholesome: another fruit called *Beguill*, as bigge as an apple, with a rough knottie skinne, which being pared, it eateth like a Strawberry, being like it also in colour and graine, of which wee did eate many: there is store of wilde grapes in the woods, of a wooddie and bitterish taste. They eat the nuts roasted which fall from the *Palmito* tree: they vse small store of Pepper and graines, this in Surgerie, that in Cookery. They haue certaine fruits growing sixe or eight together on a bunch, each as long and bigge as a mans finger, of a browne yellowish colour, and somewhat downie, containing within the rinde a certaine pulpie substance of pleasant taste; I know not how wholesome. There grow in the woods trees like Beeches, bearing fruits like Beanes, of which I obserued three kinds: one great and tall, bearing a cod like a Beane-cod, which hath in it foure or fve square Beanes, almost like the seed of a Tamarinde, enclosed with a hard pill like a shell, within which is a yellow kinnell, a dangerous poison vsed by the *Negros*, to enueneome their arrowes; they call the fruit *Ogon*. The second is lesse, his cod crooked byas-wise, of a thicke rinde, sixe or seuen inches in the bending, and halfe so much in breadth, containing fve large beanes of an inch long. The third is large, hath short leaues like the former, the fruit much bigger, on a strong wooddie stalke, thicke and massie, a little indented on the sides, nine inches long, and fve broad: within which are fve long beanes, larger then the other, called by them *Quenda*, which they affirme also to be dangerous.

I saw Trees like Willowes, bearing fruits like Pease-cods. They haue a fruit called *Gola*, which growes vp further in the Countrey, inclosed in a shell; it is hard, reddish, bitter, about the bignesse of a Wal-nut, with diuers corners and angles: this fruit they much set by, chewing it with the rinde of a certaine Tree, then giuing it to the next, and he hauing chewed it to the next, so keeping it a long while (but swallowing none of the substance) before they cast it away, to which they attribute great vertue for the teeth and gummies, these *Negros* being vsually as well tched as Horses. This fruit passeth also amongst them for monie, this happie-haplesse-people knowing none other. They plant also Potatoes, and higher within Land, Cotton, called *manma*, wherof with a Spindle they make a good Threed, and weaue it artificially, making cloth thereof a quarter broad, to make couerings for their members, and being sewed together, jackets and Breeches. They haue another Wood called *Cambe*, wherewith they dye their Purles and Mats.



- Limon Tree.** Mats red. The Limon Tree much resembleth a Crab-Tree, and is exceeding full of prickles, carrying a slender leafe like a Willow, abounding with fruit as our Crab-trees, beginning to ripen in August, and continuing on the Trees till October; whither they beare twice a yeere I know not.
- Plantan Trees or Reeds.** The Tree which beareth Plantans is of a reasonable height, the bodie about the bignesse of a mans thigh, and seemeth to be an annuall Plant, and in my iudgement might better bee accounted amongst Reedes then Trees; the bodie not being of wooddie substance, compact of many leaues, wrapped close one vpon another in manner of an Artichoke stalk, adorned with leaues in stead of boughes from the very ground, which are for the most part about two ells long, and some ell broad, hauing a very large rib in the middle thereof. The fruit is a bunch of ten or twelue Plantans, each a span long, and almost as thicke as a mans writ, some-what crooked or bending inwards, growing on a leaue stalke on the mids of the Plant, at the first greene, growing yellow as they ripen, and tender: the rinde being stripped off, the substance within is also yellowish, pleasant in taste. Beneath the fruit on the same stalke hangs downe a leaue tuft, sharpe-pointed, which seemeth to haue bene the flowre, which I know not whether it hath any seed or no. They call this fruit *Bannanas*, and haue reasonable plentie: they are ripe in September and October: we carryed some to Sea greene, which lay fixe weekes in ripening.
- Bannanas.**
- Guinny Pepper.** Guinny Pepper is not plentifull, it groweth in the Woods wilde, a small Plant like Priuet, or Pricke-wood, adorned with little slender leaues, bearing a small fruit like vnto our Barberie in forme and colour, greene at first, turning as it ripeneth, red; but not growing in bunches as Barberies, but heere and there two or three together about the stalke: they call it *Bangue*. Of their Pene whence they make their bread is spoken, a small slender herbe like grasse, the stalke full of Seed, not inclosed with any huske; the same I thinke which the *Turkes* call *Cuscus*, the *Portugals* *Ifunde*.
- Millet or Panike.**
- Palmito Tree.** The Palmito Tree is strait high, knottie (only in the rinde) the wood of a soft substance without boughes, except in the top, those also seeming rather Reeds then boughes, being all pithie within, inclosed with a hard rinde: the leafe long and slender in manner of Sword grasse, or the flagge of *Calamus*: the boughes are from the bodie of the Tree some yard or better in length, beset on both sides with sharpe and strong prickles, standing like the teeth of a Saw, but longer. It beareth a small fruit like to an *Indian Nut*, as bigge as a Chestnut, inclosed in a hard shell, and streaked with threeds on the out-sides, contayning a kernell of a hard hornie substance without taste. The people eat them roasted, and call the Tree *Tobell*, and the fruit *Bell*. The manner of extracting the Wine is this: they cut off one of the branches within some spanne of the head, a little opening the place by incision, and thereto make fast the mouth of a guord, which in foure and twentie houres will be filled with a cleere whitish water, distilling from the Tree of good rellish and strong, wherewith the people will be drunke.
- Oyster Trees.** There grow likewise within the Bayes great store of Oysters on Trees, resembling Willowes in forme, but the leafe broad and of thicknesse like Leather, bearing small knops like those of the Cypress. From this Tree hang downe many branches, (each about the bignesse of a good walking sticke) into the water, smooth, lithe, pithy within, ouer-flowne with the tyde, and hanging as thicke of Oysters as they can sticke together, being the only fruit the Tree beareth, begotten thereof, as it seemeth, by the Salt-water.
- Fishes.** Fishes they haue many of ordinary kind, and some which seemed to vs extraordinarie: Mulletts, Raies, Thorne-backes, Old-wiues with beetle Browes, Fishes like to Pikes, Gar-fishes, Caul-lions (like Mackerell) Sword-fishes with snowts a yard long, toothed on both sides like the teeth of a Saw, Sharkes, Dog-fishes; Sharkers, like a Sharke, but hauing a snowt flat and broad like a Shouell; Shoormakers, hauing on each side the mouth pendants like Barbels, and grunting like Hogges, &c. We caught in an houre fixe thousand of a kind, like Bleakes.
- Fowles.** Of Fowles are Pellicans, white, as bigge as Swannes, with a large and long bill; Hearnies, Curlews, Boobies, Oxe-eyes, with diuers strange kindes of water-fowles. On Land are great numbers of gray Parrets, as also store of *Guinny Hennes*, which are very hurtfull to their Rice. This is a beautifull Fowle, about the bignesse of a Pheasant, with parti-coloured feathers. I saw also among the *Negres* many Porcupine Quills, with other strange Fowles in the Woods, whereof we knew not the names. There are store of Monkeyes leaping to and fro the Trees, Lions, Tygres, Ounces on the Mountaines; heere are Elephants but no store; wee saw but three, for they are further within Land. The *Negres* told vs of a strange beast (which the Interpreter called a Carbuncle), oft seene, yet only by night, hauing a stone in his fore-head, incredibly shining and giuing him light to feed, attentue to the least noyse, which he no sooner heareth, but he presently couereth the same with a flme or skinne, giuen him as a naturall couering, that his splendor betray him not. The Commodities here are few, but are further vp, viz. Gold and Elephants teeth, which at certaine times of the yeare, the *Portugals* get of them for Rice, Salt, Beads, Bels, Garlick, French Bottles, Copper Kettles; low-prized Knives, Hats, Linen checkered like Barbers Aprons, Lattin Balons, edge-tooles, Iron barres, and sundry specious trifles, but for your Toyes they will not giue Gold in this place but Victuals.
- Wild beasts.**
- Carbuncle, a beast strange, if true.**
- This diligent Observer hath taken likes paines touching Soldania, but because wee touch there often,*



and haue alreadie giuen many Relations, we will double the Cape, and take a little view with him of Cape Saint Augustine.

## §. II.

*Of Saint AUGUSTINE and SOCOTORA, like Observations, with other notes taken out of his Iournall.*

10



His place is rather a Bay then Cape or Point, not hauing any land, much more bearing out then the rest, it lyeth in twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes of South latitude, hath variation fiteene degrees fortie minutes, hauing on either side breaches, which make it easie to be discerned, lying some league from the Mayne West South-west. Right from the Bay is deepe water to Sea-ward, but when you are entred, the ground is so shelue, that you shall haue one Anchor aground on the North in twentie two, and your other in about sixtie fathomes, and in some places more inward, not two foot at a low water, and ouer that, deepe againe neere the shoare, yet all soft Ozie ground. The land within a mile or two is high, stonie, barren, full of small Woods. In the bottome of the Bay runne two Riuer, the Land about them sunken, sandie Land: forth these Riuer, came so strong a fresh, that the flood neuer stils them, although it floweth at least two fathomes, wherewith the water is thicke and muddie. Great store of Canes come downe, of which wee had seene some store, twentie or thirtie leagues off at Sea. It lyeth open to a North-west wind, we caught heere Smelts of a foot long, and Shrimps of ten inches. The best fishing is on the sandie shoare of the low Land, neere which the Natiues catch many with strong Nets. A ledge of Rockes trending alongst, breakes off the force of the Sea. Within the Woods, we found on the low Land, infinite numbers of water Melons, which yeelded good refreshing: the Riuer nothing, saue hurt to one by an Allegator, the water not also very good, but wooding plentie.

S. Augustine.

Sheluy ground

Two Riuer.

The fishes.

The people.  
Near naked:  
neste.

Weapons.

Their cattell.

Strange beasts.  
Capt. Keeling  
in his Iournall  
calls it the Beauti-  
full beast.  
Bats huge.  
Fowles.Chamelions,  
they eat flies.Spicers silke  
weauers.

Strange trees.

The place seemeth not very populous. We saw not at any time about twentie together: the men are comely, lustie, tall and wel-set, of a tawnie colour, wearing no apparel, but a Girdle made of rindes of Trees to couer their priuities: the haire on their beards blacke, and reasonable long; on their heads likewise, which they pleate and frizzle very curiously, neither haue they bad sinels on their bodies. Behind on their Girdles are many Trinkets, fastned with Allegators teeth, some hollow to carrie Tallow to keepe their Darts bright, which are their chiefe Weapons (of which each carries a small bundle) and a faire Lance artificially headed with Iron, and kept as bright as Siluer. Their Darts are made dangerously with holes on each side backe-ward. They carry about them certaine Kniues, like Butchers Kniues, artificially made. They therefore regard no Iron, nor will barter for any thing but Siluer, for which we bought a sheepe for twelue pence, a Cow for three shillings and sixe pence, they asked Beads into the bargaine, for which yet alone they would giue nothing, saue a little Milke brought downe in gourds, excellent sweet and good.

Their Cattell haue great bunches on their fore shoulders, like a Sugar-loafe in fashion and quantitie, which is a grissie substance, and good meat; their beefe not loose, like that of *Soldania*, but fast and good, little differing from *English*; as also their sheep, which haue tayles weighing twenty eight pounds a peice, therefore vsually cut off from the Ewes, least it should hinder their breeding. In the woods neere about the Riuer, is great store of beasts, as big as Munkies, a h-coloured, with a small head, long taile like a Fox, garled with white and blacke, the furre very fine. Wee killed some with Peece, not being able to take them aliuie. There are Bats as big bodied almost as Conies, headed like a Foxe, with a hairie furre in other things like Bats. We killed one, whose wings extended an ell in length: their cry is shrill and loud. Here are Hernes plentie, white, blacke, blew, and diuers mixed colours; many bastard Hawkes; birds of infinite varietie of colour, hauing for the most part crests on their heads, like Peacocks. There are store of Lizards and Chamelions, which agree to *Plinies* description; onely it is airie, that they lue of aire without other meat: for hauing kept one aboard but a day, we might perceiue him to hunt for flies, in a very strange manner. Hauing espied her setting, he suddenly shootes a thing forth of his mouth (perhaps his tongue) lothsome to behold, the fashion almost like a Bird-bolt, wherewith he takes and eates them, with such speed, that a man can scarcely discern what he doth; euen in the twinkling of an eie. In the woods on the hills are many great Spiders, which spin their webs from tree to tree, it being very excellent strong silke of a yellow colour, as if it were died by art. I found also here great Wormes, in manner of our Grubs, with many legges, which are enclosed within a double cod of white silke, hanging on the trees.

There groweth great store of herbe Aloes, and also Tanterind trees by the waters side. Here was also store of a very strange Plant, which I deeme a wild Coco-nut, sel some growing to the height of a tree, of a shrubby nature, with many long prickled stalkes, of some two yards long. At the ende of each foot-stalke, standeth a lase about the bignesse of a great Cabbage leafe, sharp round halfe the leafe, like sword grasle. From the tops thereof amongst the leaues, come forth many



many woodie branches, as thicke set commonly with fruit as they can stand, one by another (I haue seen fortie together clustering on one branch) about the bignesse of a great Katherine pear, and like it in colour being ripe, at the first greenish, fashioned almost like a sheepes bell, with a rinde bearing forth neere the head, flat at the top, and smooth; within which rinde is contained a hard substance, almost like the Coco-nut-shel, in which is included a round white kernell, of a hard gristly substance, yet to be eaten: and within that (for it is hollow) is about a spoonefull of pleasant sweet water and coole, like milke, or that rather of the Coco-nut.

Here groweth also another as big as a Pear tree, thicke set with boughes and leaues, like those of the Bay-tree, bearing a great foot-ball fruit (such is the round forme) sticking to a strong stalk, diuided by certaine seames into foure quarters. The rind of it beeing cut greene, yeelds a clammy substance, sauouring like Turpentine. The rind is very thicke, with which I found diuers parcels packed together, almost like the substance that groweth on trees, but harder, rather like a piece of browne woody Agarike, being thirteene in number, couched neatly together, within each of which is contained another great kernell of a darkish white colour, hard, bitter, and vnpleasant of tast.

*Socotora.*

In *Socotora*, the *Guzerats* and *English* build them houses for the time of their stay, sleight with stones (the whole land seemeth nothing else) and pieces of wood laid ouerthwart, couered with Reed and Date branches to keepe out the Sunne, for raine in that time they feare not. About the head of the Riuer, and a mile further into the land, is a pleasant Valley replenished with Date-trees. On the East side is *Dibree* a little Towne, little inhabited, except in their haruest of Dates.

*Dibree.*

Strange winds

The King of  
*Cussem* in *Arabi-  
bia* ha h here  
foure Iles.

*Irmanas* two.

*Abba del curia.*  
*Socotora.*

In this Valley the wind bloweth with such violence in Iune and Iuly, that it is strange; yet within a flight shot off towards the Town of *Delisba*, ouer against the road, you shal not haue a breath of wind. About an hundred yeers since, this land was conquered by the King of *Cauxem* (or *Cussem*, as the *Arabs* pronounce it) a King of no great force, able to make two or three thousand souldiors: he hath this, and the two *Irmanas*, and *Abba del curia* subiect to him. The two *Irmanas*, or two Brethren, are stonie, small, barren, hauing nothing but Turtles or Tortoises, not inhabited. *Abba de la curia* is large, hath store of Goates, and some fresh water, not aboue three or foure inhabitants, as we were certified. The Kings sonne *Amor Benzaid* resideth at *Socotora*, which he ruleth during his fathers pleasure. They haue trade to the Iles of *Comoro*, and to *Melinde*, for which he hath heere two good Frigats, wherewith they fetch Rice and Melo from the maine, which is their chiefe food.

The *Arabs*  
there.

Their armes.

Persons.

Apparell.

The *Arabians* here are in manner slaues to the *Snakee* or Prince, are all souldiours, and attend on him when he commands; some of them are shot. Moreover, euery of them weares a kind of wood-knife, or crooked dagger on their left side, without which they dare not bee seene abroad. They haue also thin, broad, painted Targets. Their dagger handles and chapes, the better sort set forth with Siluer, the other with Red Latten. They are tawney, industrious, ciuill in gesture: the women are some of them reasonable white, much like to a Sun-burned countrey maid in *England*. The men are of stature like ours, well proportioned in their limmes, wearing their haire most of them long, binding a cloth or Turbant about the same like the *Turkes*, and a cloath wrapped about their middles, which hangeth downe to their knees; not wearing vsually other apparell, except sometimes a paire of sandals on their feet, fastened with thongs; carrying their sword naked on their shoulders, or hanging from the shoulder in the sheath by a strap, or else on their arme; and thus they march vp and downe. They loue Tobacco, but are loth to giue any thing for it.

Their women.

Galantry.

Their children

Popish argu-  
ment of faith.

Diuers of them sling a Pintado or other cloth in manner of an *Irish* mantle ouer their shoulders, and others make them shirts and surpleses of white Calico: some weare a paire of linnen breeches vnder, like the *Guzerates*. But their women goe altogether in these smockes hanging downe to the ground, of red, blew, or for the most part of a light black colour, being died Calicoes: and ouer their heads they put a cloth, with which (when they lust) they hide their faces, making very dainty to be seene, yet are scarcely honest. And though the men be very poore, and haue but to defend necessitie, yet their women (whereof some keepe foure, five, or sixe, as many as they are able) are so laden with Siluer, and some also with some Gold, that I haue seene one not of the best, which hath had in each eare at least a dozen of great Siluer rings, almost like Curtaine rings, with as many smaller hanging in them: two Carkanets or chaines of siluer about her necke, and one of Gold bosses; about her wrists, tenne or twelue Manillias of Siluer, each as big as ones little finger, but hollow, one about another, on one arme: almost euery finger laden with rings, and the small of her legs with siluer rings like horselockes. And thus adorned, they cannot stirre, but they make a noyse like Morris-dauncers. They are kept closely by their iealous husbands. They delight in Christall, Amber, or Currall beads, but haue little to buy them, but will either beg them, or make a swap with you in priuate. The young children (except of a few of better sort) go naked till they come to some age. They are married at tenne, or twelue yeares olde. They call themselves *Musselmen*, that is, *Catholikes*, or true beleeuers, according to their false faithlesse faith of *Mohomet*: yea they alledge this reason for themselves (let Iesuite-Catholikes acknowledge their owne) the great multitude of them, and the small number of vs, all the world, say they, be-  
ing



ing of our Religion, and but a handfull of yours. They eate their meat on a Mat spread on the ground, but neither vse Spoones nor Kniues (hands are the elder) in vnmannely manner: they drinke vsually water, yet in secret can be content to be drunke with wine. They make in the time of yeare some wine of Dates, pleasant and strong.

Their diet.

Thus much for the Conquerours. They call the conquered *Caffars* (misbeleeuers, or if you will heretikes) and subiect them to great slavery, insomuch that some remaine in the Mountaines, liuing in a wild liberty like beasts, the other not suffered to haue any weapons. They are well shaped, more swart then the *Arabs*, weare nothing on their heads, weare their haire long, I suppose neuer cut, staring as if they were frighted. About their middles they weare a cloath wrapped about them, made of Goats haire, or course wooll, wouen by themselves, on their feet slight sandals. Their women goe all in smocks of coloured Calico, or course cloth hanging to the ground, on their heads vsually nothing: in imitation of the *Arabs*, haue Manillas of earth painted or of yron, about their armes and legs, beads in stead of Karkānets, painting their faces with yellow and blacke spots, loathsome to behold. For Religion, they are meere Heathen all of them, as the *Arabians* certified vs, obseruing no rites of Marriage, but vse their women in common. Their naturall language is much different from the *Arabique*, which yet the most learne. They liue very miserably, and many of them are famished with hunger. Flesh they are not permitted to kill, so that they are forced to liue of fish which they take at Sea, and by their share of Dates, not hauing wherewith to buy Rice, except with the vse of their womens bodies to the *Gazerales*, while they remaine there. Such as haue the keeping of the Cattell, maintaine themselves with the milke.

The Native Sc. colorants.

Gallant fashions.

Religion and life, most miserable if the *Arabs* their enemies be to bee credited.

Their merchandise.

Aloes or *semper-vivum*, the time and making thereof.

A hundred & three, or a hundred and two pound, five ounces and a halfe. Dates two harvests. Wine of Dates

Haruest and diuision.

Ciuil Cats.

Cattell and victuals.

*Eshac* a kind of Capers.

*Coho*. Other notes and remembrances.

I could learne of no Merchandise the Iland yeeldeth, but Aloes, *Sanguis Draconis*, and Dates, and as they say, on the shoare of *Aba del curia*, blacke Ambergreese. Of Aloes, I suppose they could make yearly more then Christendome can spend, the herbe growing in great abundance, being no other then *Semper vivum*, in all things agreeing to that description of *Dioscorides*, in seed, stalke, &c. It is yet all of a red pricklie sort, and much chamfered in the leaues, so full of a rosin-oyce, that it is ready to breake with it. The chiefe time to make it, is when the winds blowe Northerly, that is, about September, and that after the fall of some raine, which being then gathered, they cut in small pieces, and cast into a pit made in the ground, well cleansed from filth and pained: there it lieth to ferment in the heat of the Sunne, whereby it floweth forth. Thence they take and put it in skinnies, which they hang vp in the wind to dry, where it becommeth hard. They sold vs for twentie Rials a Quintall, which is an hundred and three pound *English*: but we were after told, that they sold to others for a whitte, which considering the abundance and easie making, may be credible. Their Date trees beare fruit twice a yeare; one haruest was in Iuly whiles we were there. It is a principall part of their sustenance, pleasant in tast: and when they are through-ripe, are laid on a heap vpon a skin lying sloping, whence distilleth a liquor, receiued in earthen pots placed in the earth, and is their Date-wine, referred for drinke, wherewith they will also be drunke. Those dates beeing thus drained, they take out their stones, and pack them hard into a skinne, which will so keepe long. Another meanes to preserue them, is by cutting before they are through ripe, and taking out their stone, to dry them: these are the best of all, and eate as if they were candied: whole they will not keepe. In haruest time in euery Valley where these trees grow, the King hath a Deputy which seeth all gathered, and brought to a certaine place (none daring to touch a Date vpon paine of death without order, or seuer punishment) where he diuideth them in three equall parts; one for the King, one for the *Arabs*, and the third for the *Caffars*: which are after distributed seuerally, but not alike to each.

This Iland hath store of Ciuil cats, which the *Caffars* take in the Mountaines with traps, and sell them for twelue pence a piece to such as will buy them. Flesh is deare, teane Rials of eight a Cow, one Goat, or two sheepe for a Rial of eight; their cattell good and fast flesh, like *English* beefe: their Goats large and good flesh, their sheep small, like our *English* sheepe, bearing course wooll: of Goats and Sheep they haue great abundance. They make very good butter, but it is alway soft like Creame, at foure pence or sixe pence a pound, Goats milke at three pence a quart, store of Hennes, but five for a Riall of eight, or twelue pence a piece. In the whole Iland are not aboue one or two Horses, very small of the *Arabian* breed, and some Camels. At *Delisha* they take much good fish, Lobsters and others. On the Strand groweth cotton Plants, but few: there groweth also amongst the stones a shrubby Plant, with thicke, round, Greene leaues, as big as a shilling, with a fruit like Capers (of which it is a kind) called *Eshac*, eaten in Sallets. Orenge there are few and deare, exceeding sweet Basil: and on the shoare many faire shels are found, with cuttle bones, and peeble Oyster shels, which the people affirme to driue thither: for there are none found, yet shels abundant.

They are beggers, buy what they can, beg what they may, yet giue faire vñage. Their best intertainment is a *China* dish of *Coho*, a blacke bitterish drinke, made of a berry like a Bay berry, brought from *Mecca*, lapped off hot, good for the head and stomacke. And thus much for his discourses of these places, to which I thought good to adde these notes taken out of his Iournall.

November the twenty ninth, 1607. in thirty foure degrees, we saw a monstrous ouergrowne Whale



A huge Whale. Whale comming vp close vnder our sterne, and spouting water in great quantitie; having much trash growne about his head which we iudged to be Limpets, and other Shel-fish. At his going downe he turned vp his taile, which we deemed neere as broad as our after Deck, estimating him to be at the least one hundred tunnes in weight.

Barrennesse.  
A stranger tree.  
\* Of these Churches and of this whole Iland, See *Iohn d' Castro*. For they were in times past Christians, which (as all other not of their Faith) the *Mahometans* call *Cassars*: but rude and brutish, the easier pray to these *Arabs*.

In *Socotora* at our first landing, the people hauing receiued before iniurious dealings from the Portugals, (which, they said, had carried some of them away) were all fledde from vs for feare to the Mountaines. Their Towne which they had left is built of stone houses covered with Rafts and Palme-branches, with artificiall doores and wooden lockes. Neere the Sea side stands their Church enclosed with a wall in manner of a Church-yard; within it a couple of Crosses and an Altar, with Frankinsence, Wood and Gumme. They said (when we came to speech) that this was not *Socotora* but *Abba del Curia*, which wee after found false, wee walked vp a wood of three mile, not seeing so much as a sprig of greene graspe, but many Date trees, and one other tree very strange, about the height of a man, or little better, great at the roote, and litle and litle toward the top where it ended almost piked; the trunk smooth, not covered with bark, casting forth in the top some branches of a Cubite long void of leaves, bringing forth Reddish floweres, which after change into a fruit first greene, in forme and bignesse not vnlike to the Date: within which is containd many small whitish kernels, bitter, as are also the branches, full of rousious substance. Whether this be the Mirrhe I leaue to better iudgements. They also saw another Church with a Crosse on the top of it.

### §. III.

#### Occurents in India touching the English, Dutch, Portugals, and the Mogols dealing with the English.

*Surat*.  
Hee neuer calls *C. Hawkins*, Lord Embassador, but *C. Hawkins*. For he, Master *Canning* and Master *Edwards* had no such Commission, but only Letters from his Maiestie, and orders from the Company, &c.  
The danger which men of War occasion to their Countrymen, honest Merchants, especially amongst remote and Ethnik people, I adde not the scandall of their Religion and Countrey. Portugall treachery and hostilitie.



The eight and twentieth of August, 1608. Captaine *Hawkins* with the Merchants and certaine others landed at *Surat*, where the Captaine was receiued in a Coach, and carried before the *Dawne*. Wee had poore lodging allotted vs, the Porters lodge of the Custome house: whither the next morning came the Customers who searched & tumbled our Trunkes to our great dislike, which had yet brought ashore only necessities. We were inuited to Dinner to a Merchant where wee had great cheere: but in the midlt of our Banquet sowre sawce, for hee was the man that had sustayned almost all the losse in a ship that Sir *Edward Michelborne* tooke. The Captaine also of that ship dined with vs. Which when it was there told vs, the Captaine answered that hee neuer heard of such a matter; and rather iudged it done by *Flemmings*: but they said, that they knew certainly that they were *English*, deploring their hard fortunes, and affirming that there were Theeues in all Countries: nor would they impute that fault to honest Merchants. This speech somewhat reuiued vs. The day after, *Mede Colce* the Captaine of that ship aforesaid inuited vs to Supper.

The second of October, wee imbarqued our goods and prouision, gaue *Shek Abdelreheime* Present, and got dispatch to depart: the Customers denying leaue, till they had searched the ship whether she had discharged all her goods, to ship any new; but meeting with Frigats they supposing them *Malabars*, durst not aduenture their own Riuer. These Frigats were Portugals, which desired one to come talke with them, and Master *Bucke* rashly doing it, they detayned him, and after (I and *Nicholas Vfflet* being ashore) Master *Marlow* and the rest beganne to flee; the Cockson would haue fought, which he would not permit, but running a ground through ignorance of the Channell, they were taken going on the sandie Iland by Portugall treacherie, and the fault of some of themselues, nineteene with Master *Bucke*: but the Gunne put off the Pinnace, and notwithstanding the Portugall Bullets, rowed her to *Surat*. Foure escaped by swimming and got that night to *Surat*, besides *Nicholas Vfflet* and my selfe, neere twentie miles from the place. Yet had we resisted, we wanted shot, and in number, & armour they very much exceeded vs. The fourth, the Captaine of the Frigats sent a reuiling Letter to the Gouvernour of the Towne, calling vs *Lutherans* and Theeues, and said we were *Flemmings* and not *English*; charging him (on continuance of their friendship) to send aboard the Captaine with the rest of vs: which *Abdelreheime* not only denied, but in the *Mogols* name commanded him to render the goods and men.

The fifth, came a Captaine of one of the Frigats which vsed peremptorie words, and before the Gouvernour stood vpon it that the King of *Spaine* was Lord of those Seas, and that they had in Commission from him to take all that came in those parts without his Passe.

The thirteenth, the Gouvernour called all the chiefe Merchants of the Towne vpon their conscience to value our cloth (before carryed to his house) which they did at a farre vnder rate, the Gouvernour affirming that hee must and would haue it, the Captaine denying his content.

On the sixteenth, we were forced to accept for some of our cloth in their hands, promise of a little more, and were permitted to carrie away the rest: causing vs to leaue fiftie pieces, and fourteene

Iniustice closed.



teene *Denonshire* Kersies for the King, with nine and twentie other Kersies; and fifteene clothes for *Shek Ferred*, keeping also the foure clothes which wee referued for Presents for the King. Wee were otherwise molested by a contention betwixt *Shek Ferred* and *Mocrow Bowcan* (or *Mocreb Can*) about the Custome-house, that wee could not get our goods from thence. Wee heard that the *Portugals* sold our goods for halfe that they cost: Our men were sent to *Goa*.

The fifteenth of December, came *Mo. Bowcan* with a Iesuite *Padre Peniero*; to this our Capitaine shewed kindnesse for hope of his men; to the other he gaue Presents: both dealt treacherously in requitall, the Iesuite (as it was reported by *Mo. Bowcan* himselfe) offering a Jewell which he said was worth two hundred thousand Rials to betray vs. This day came to vs *R. Carelesse* an *Englishman*, who had long liued amongst the *Portugals*, from whom hee now fledde for feare of punishment for carrying necessaries to the *Dutch* at *Muselpatan*, desiring to bee entertained, which we did with much circumspection.

The seuen and twentieth, *Mo. Bowcan* desired great abatements vpon our cloth, or else hee would returne it, and (will wee will wee) abated two thousand seuen hundred and fiftie *Manudies*, before hee would giue vs licence to fetch vp the rest of our goods to make sales. My selfe was very ill of the bloody Fluxe (whereof Master *Dorchester* dyed) of which that *Englishman Carelesse*, (next vnder God) recouered me. I learned of him many matters, as namely of the great spoile done the last yeere to the *Portugals* by the *Hollanders*, who lying before *Malacca* with sixteene ships, inclosing the Towne with helpe of other Kings by Sea and Land; newes was carryed to the Vice-Roy, (then before *Achen* accompanied with all the Gallants of *India*) hauing with him a very great Fleet of Ships, Gallies and Frigats, and foure thousand Souldiers, being commanded by the King to take *Achen*, and there to build a Castle and appoint an *Alphandira*; and thence to goe and spoile *Ior* and chastise the *Moluccas* for giuing the *Hollanders* traffique, being minded to roote out the *Holland* name in those parts, for which purpose came two thousand *Castilians* from the *Manillas*.

*Andrew Hurtado* then gouerned within *Malacca*, and sent word of their present distresse, vpon which the Vice-Roy weighed from *Achen* (which otherwise had beene spoyled) whereof the *Dutch* Generall aduertised, got his men and Artillery a-boord, and went forth to meete him; where after a long and bloudie fight, with much losse on both sides, the *Dutch* departed, enforced to stop the leakes of their Admirall, likely otherwise to perish. The *Portugals* let slip this opportunitie, and fell to merriments and bragges of their Victorie, not looking any more for the *Hollanders*, who hauing stopped their leakes at *Ior*, new rigged and returned vpon the *Portugals*, whom they found disordered and feasting ashore, where they funke and burned the whole Fleet, making a cruell execution: and had not the Vice-Roy before sent sixe shippes on some other seruice, they had beene all heere vtterly extinguished. After this fell such sicknesse in the City, that most of them dyed, amongst which the Vice-Roy was one: and shortly after the *Gouernour* of the *Spaniards* in the *Moluccas*, so that their strength was laid in the dust, and the Archbishoppe made and yet \* remayneth Vice-Roy.

This last yeere the *Malabarres* vexed the *Portugals*, and tooke or funke of them at times, sixtie saile or more.

This yeere also was expected a Vice-Roy to come with a strong Fleet, to driue the *Hollanders* out of *India*.

This Fleet consisted of nine shippes of Warre, and sixe for the Voyage: they were separated in the calme of *Guinea*, and neuer met together after. Two of them came to *Mosambique*, where they were fired of the *Hollanders*, who also much distressed the Castle, but could not take it: and the time of the yeere requiring their departure, they set sayle for *Goa*, to the number of fifteene shippes and one Pinnasse, where they rode at the Barre, challenging the great Capitaine *Andrew Hurtado*, who durst not visit them. Another of that Voyage hauing aduise that the *Hollanders* rode at the Barre, put to the Northward, where they presently landed their money and goods and set fire of their shippe, to saue the *Dutch* a labour: and lastly, the Souldiers fell together by the eares for the sharing of the money. This Fleet departing from *Goa* sailed alongst the Coast of *Malabar*, spoiling and burning all they could meet with. There was report of leaue giuen them by the *Samorine*, to build a Castle at *Chaul*.

This moneth here was also newes of an *Ormus* ship taken by the *Malabarres*, and three Frigats: and shortly after of a Fleet of twentie five Frigats from *Cochin*, whereof sixteene were taken and burnt by the *Malabars*, which the rest escaped, if miserable spoile be an escape: also of fiftie Frigats and Galiots of the *Malabars* spoiling on their Coast.

In Ianuary, came other newes of thirtie Frigats which put for *Diu* richly laden, taken by the *Malabars*, beeing at this time Masters of these Seas. They are good Souldiers, and carry in each Frigat one hundred Souldiers, and in their Galiots, two hundred.

The first of February, the Capitaine departed with fittie Peons, and certaine Horsemen.

Nnn

*Peniero* the Iesuite.  
Iesuiticall Humanitie, Diuinitie and Preaching.  
*R. Carelesse* had long liued with the *Portugals*.  
*M. Bowcan's* iniustice.  
Warre twixt *Dutch* and *Portugals* at *Malacca*.

*Andr. Hurtado*.

*Port. defeated*.

\* At the time when this was written, which is to be obserued in all this Iournall.  
*Malabars* annoy the *Port.*  
New Fleet dispersed.

*Ormus* ship taken.



bout this time was great stirre touching the Queene Mothers ship, which was to be laden for *Mocha*: the *Portugals* then riding at the *Barre* with two and twentie Frigats, threatned to carry her to *Diu*: at length they fell to compounding, the *Portugals* demanding an hundred thousand Mamudies for her *Cartas* or *Passe*, and after twentie thousand; at last taking one thousand Rials and odde money, with diuers Presents, which the *Mogolls* were faine to give them. *Mo. Bowcan* gaue me faire words, but the *Diuell* was in his heart, he minded nothing lesse indeed then payment of his debts, seeking also to deduct some, others imbefelled, striking off by new accounts seuentene thousand of one and fortie thousand. I thought he meant to shift, if hee could, and pay nothing, secretly departing the Towne, owing much to certaine *Banians*, who must get it when they can: at last I got his Cheet for some, though with great abatements, esteeming halfe better secured, then to endanger all.

*Ma'acca* againe  
besieged.

The six and twentieth of March 1609. it was here reported that *Malacca* was besieged with thirtie ships of *Holland*, in succour of which the Vice-Roy assembled all these his Northerne *Indian* forces, appointing *Andrew Hurtado* Generall, being the more cranke, by newes of a New Vice-Roy with fourteene saile to winter at *Mosambique*. Meane while a ship of *Cambaya* which had been at *Queja*, came for *Goga*, which the *Portugalls* finding without *Cartas*, made prize of. The Customers at that time by new prices and reckonings, sought to make prize in great part of vs. I was also in the beginning of Aprill taken with a burning Feuer, which drew from me much blood, besides ten dayes fasting with a little Rice: and after my Feuer, miserable stiches tormented me. The next moneth I was visited againe with a burning Feuer.

*Portugal's* take  
prize all ships  
which saile  
without their  
*Passe*.

He still calls the  
*Mogo's* father,  
the *Anbar* (o-  
thers vie to  
leane out the  
article) and so  
in others.  
\* A Cofe or  
Course is a  
mile and halfe  
*English*.

The twelfth of May came newes that *Melik Amber*, King of *Decan*, had besieged the Citie of *Aurdanagar* (which had been the Metropolitan of that Kingdome, conquered by the *Aca-bar*) with two and twentie thousand horse, and that after diuers assaults, the *Mogolls* made shew to deliuer vp the Citie, vpon condition that hee would withdraw his armie some foure or fve \* Cofe from thence, that they might passe with more assurance with bagge and baggage: which being done, they suddenly issued forth with all their forces vpon the vnprovidd enemy, and made a great slaughter, but feared hee would bee reuenged on those parts which were lesse able to resist. The *Canchanna* gathered great forces, and demanded of *Surat* three hundred thousand M. towards the charge, sending also for the Gouvernour, an expert *Decan* Souldier.

*Andrew Hurtado*  
Vice-Roy.

The twentieth of Iune, came newes of the arriual of fve shippes at *Goa*, and of the Vice-Royes Death, whereupon *Andrew Hurtado* was chosen Vice-Roy, being the only stay left of all those parts, and reported a braue souldier. He presently gaue order for shipping to be built, intending after the breaking vp of winter to make a bolt or shaft with the *Hollanders*, which were now reported to lye before *Malacca* with eightene ships. The *Portugall* ships in the way had met with one of this Towne, and finding her without *Cartas*, brought her with them as prize for *Goa*, where on the *Barre* shee was cast away; whereupon the Gouvernour for *Can-Channa*, and the Customer for *Mo. Bowcan* seised on *Tappidas* the owner, a *Banian*, for money owing to them, whereby also we lost his debt to vs, for which we may thanke the *Portugall*.

Great warres  
of and with  
*Mogolls*.

The twentieth of Iuly, *Sha Selim* commanded *Can Channa* and *Manisengo*, two great Commanders of his, to invade all the Kingdomes from hence to the South, euen to Cape *Comori*; for which a huge armie was assembling. In resistance of whom, three great Kings were combined, the King of *Decan* (whose chiefe Citie is *Genefro*) the King of *Visapor*, and the King of *Golconda* (whose chiefe Citie is *Braganadar*) who also gathered great forces, making head neare *Bramport*, vpon the *Mogolls* Frontiers, expecting the breaking vp of winter, both armies lying abroad in Tents.

*Ascension* lost.

In August I receiued flying newes of an *English* Pinnasse at *Gandoue*, which departing thence, was againe forced thither by three *Portugall* Frigats: I supposed that it might belong to some of our shipping, which standing for *Socatora*, might not be able to fetch in, and so be forced to fall on this Coast; which proued accordingly, it being the *Ascensions* Pinnasse, wanting water, wood, and victuall, the Master, *John Elmer*, with fve men and two boyes. The Master and foure of the Company came hither on the eight and twentieth, but I had no small adoe with the Townsmen of *Surat*, for bringing them into the Towne, they taking them from me, pretending we were but allowed Trade, indeed fearing the *Portugalls*, till I should send to the *Nab* four course off, fearing force: to which euill, was added a worle of the *Portugalls* comming into the Riner with fve Frigats, and carrying away the Pinnasse, weighing also the two Falcons, which they had cast by the board: and yet a worle report came the fifth of Septemb. of the casting away of the *Ascension*, the company about seuentie persons being saued, which the next day came to *Surat*, but were forced by the Towne to lye without amongst the trees and tombes, I being not able to procure leaue for the Generall himselfe (notwithstanding diuers letters of recommendation which hee brought from *Mocha*, besides letters from the King himselfe) into the Towne. Such is their slavish awe of the *Portugalls*, two Iesuits threatning fire, faggot, and vtter desolation, if they receiued any more *English* thither. That which I could doe, was to send them refreshing, and carry them to the *Tanke*, where they were conveniently lodged, yet amongst tombes.

The *Hopewell*.

*Portugall* domi-  
neering.

Note what  
Gospell the Ie-  
suits preach  
for conuer-  
ting Infidels.



tombes, till the Governor appointed them a more convenient place at a small *Aldea* two Course off, and with much ado got leave for *Master Rinet*, *Master Jordan* and the Surgeon, to come hither to provide necessaries for the rest. I had other trouble by the disorder and riot committed by some of them, especially one *Thomas Tucker*, which in drinke had killed a Calf, (a slaughter more then murder in *India*) which made mee glad of their departure, fifteen staying behind sicke, or unwilling to goe for *Agra*: and some returned againe.

The sixt of October, came Letters from Captaine *Hawkins*, importing his marriage with the daughter of an *Armerian*: and others in the latter end of the next moneth, for my coming to *Agra*. In December, we stood much in feare of *Badur* his coming vpon *Surat*, he lying within two dayes iourney, with sixe hundred horse and many foote: for which cause the Governour celled all men with the entertainment of souldiers, setting vpon my head ten men. I went to him, and told him that I had twentie *English* at his command, for which hee thanked mee, and freed mee of further charge. During this time, the *Banians* were forced to labour to barricado all the streets of the Citie: great watches were appointed at the gates, certaine peeces drawne from the Castle, and from *Carode* Garrison fiftie horse, which had not sufficed, had not the Governour of *Amadanar* sent one thousand horse, and two thousand foot to our succour: vpon newes of which forces, *Badur* withdrew to his Holds. Two yeeres before our coming, had this man sacked *Cambaya*, whereof his Grand-father had been King.

The eighteenth of January, I departed out of *Surat* towards *Agra*, willing yet to leave some notice thereof before I leave it. The Citie is of good quantitie, with many faire Merchants houses therein, standing twentie miles within the land vpon a faire Riuer. Some three miles from the mouth of the Riuer (where on the South-side lyeth a small low land ouer-flowed in time of Raine) is the Barre, where ships trade and vnlade, whereon at a spring tide is three fathome water. Over this, the Channell is faire to the Citie side, able to beare vessels of fiftie tunnes laden. This Riuer runneth to *Bramport*; and from thence, as some say, to *Musselpatan*. As you come vpon the Riuer, on the right hand stands the Castle well walled, ditched, reasonable great and faire, with a number of faire peeces, whereof some of exceeding greatnesse. It hath one gate to the Green-ward, with a draw-bridge and a small Port on the Riuer side. The Captaine hath in command two hundred horse. Before this lyeth the *Medon*, which is a pleasant greene, in the midst whereof is a May-pole to hang a light on, and for other pastimes on great Festiualls. On this side, the Citie lyeth open to the Greene, but on all other parts is ditched and fenced with thicke hedges, hauing three gates, of which one leadeth to *Varian*, a small Village, where is the ford to passe over for *Cambaya* way. Neare this Village on the left hand, lieth a small *Aldea* on the Riuer banke very pleasant, where stands a great Pagod, much resorted to by the *Indians*. Another Gate leadeth to *Bramport*, the third to *Nonsary*, a Towne ten cove off, where is made great store of Calico, hauing a faire Riuer coming to it. Some ten cove further lyeth *Gondoree*, and a little further *Belfaca*, the frontire Towne vpon *Daman*. Hard without *Nonsary* gate is a faire Tank sixteene square, inclosed on all sides with stone steppes, three quarters of an *English* mile in compass, with a small house in the midst. On the further side are diuers faire tombes, with a goodly paved court pleasant to behold: behind which groweth a small groue of *Manga* trees, whither the Citizens goe forth to banquet. Some halfe cove behind this place, is a great Tree much worshipped by the *Banians*; where they affirme a *Dew* to keepe, and that it hath been oftentimes cut downe and stocked vp by the rootes, at the *Moore*s command, and yet hath sprung vp againe. Neare to the Castle is the *Alphandica*, where is a paire of staires for lading and vnlading of goods: within are roomes for keeping goods till they be cleared, the custome being two and an halfe for goods, three for victualls, and two for money. Without this gate is the great *Gondoree* or *Bazar*. Right before this gate stands a Tree with an Arbour, whereon the *Fokers* (which are *Indian* holy men) sit in state. Betwixt this and the Castle, on the entrance of the Greene, is the market for horse and cattell. A little lower on the right hand over the riuer, is a little pleasant Towne, *Ranele*, inhabited by a people called *Naites*, speaking another language, and for the most part Sea-men: the houses are faire therein, with high steps to each mans doore, the streets narrow: they are very friendly to the *English*. Heere are many pleasant Gardens, which attract many to passe there their time: and on the trees are infinite number of those great Bats, which wee saw at Saint *Augustines*, hanging by the clawes on the boughes, making a shrill noise. This fowle the people say, ingendreth in the eare; on each wing it hath a hooke, and giueth the yong sucke.

The Winter heere beginneth about the first of Iune, and dureth till the twentieth of September, but not with continuall raines, as at *Goa*, but for some sixe or seuen dayes euery change and full, with much wind, thunder and raine. But at the breaking vp, commeth alway a cruell storme, which they call the Tuffon, tearefull euen to men on land; which is not alike extreame euery yeare, but in two or three at the most. Monions heere for the South, serue in Aprill and September, and for *Mocha* in February and March: from the South, ships come hither in December, January and February, and from *Mocha* about the fifth of September, after the raines: from *Ormus* for the Coast of *India* in Nouember. But none may passe without the *Portugalls* Passe, for

Sacrilegious  
Calf-slaughter:  
Caluist  
deuotion of  
the *Banians*.  
This marriage  
of Captaine  
*Hawkins*, some  
say was, ut as  
a trick on him  
by false friends  
and the cause  
of his disre-  
spect with the  
*Mogoll*. He tells  
otherwise him-  
selfe.

*Badur* descen-  
ded of the  
*Cambayan* Kings  
a bad neigh-  
bour to those  
parts.  
Description of  
*Surat*.  
The Castle.

Indian Idoll.

A faire Tanke  
or Pond.

Stocke wor-  
shippers of a  
Rocke or tree.

Custome-  
house.

*Naites*, *nautes*.

Great Bats,  
their nature.

Winter.

Tuffon.  
Monions.



what, how much, and whither they please to giue licence, erecting a Custome on the sea, with confiscation of shippe and goods not shewing it, in the full quantitie, to the taker and examiner.

¶ IIII.

*His Iourney to Agra: Obseruations by the way, and there; and of the Decan warres there.*

10

Comuarian.  
Mutta.  
Carode.

Curca.  
Beca.  
Necampore.  
Badurs holds.

Wilde Ele-  
phants.  
Dayia.  
Badur.

Salere and Mu-  
liere, Cities of  
Beretopsha.  
Castles im-  
pregnable.

Breed of horse  
rare.  
Nonderbar.  
Lingull.  
Sindkerry.

Taulneere.

Chupra.

Ioulnapore.

Rawd.  
Mukom, stay  
for refreshing.  
Beawle.  
Rauere.  
Bramport.  
Badurpore.

The Tents and  
compasse of  
both sides.

Description of  
Bramport.

**H**e second of January, I departed from *Comuarian* (a small village three Cose from *Surat*) to *Mutta* a great *Aldea* 7 c. 21. 8 c. to *Carode*, a great countrey Towne, by which on the North runneth *Surat* Riuer. It hath a Castle, with two hundred horse Parais good souldiers, twentie two to *Curka* 12 c. it is a great Village with a Riuer on the South side. In the way 7 c. is *Beca*, a Castle with a great Tanke, and a pleasant Groue, 23. 10 c. to *Necampore* a great Towne vnder the *Pectopshaw*. In this way on the right hand beginneth a great ridge of mountaines, which come from *Amadanar*-wards, neare which *Badur* keepeth, holding diuers strong holds thereon, that the King with all his force cannot hurt him. These Mountaines runne to *Bramport*: on them are bred many wilde Elephants, 24. to *Dayia*, 8 c. a 20 great Towne. In the mid-way you passe a stony troublesome Riuer. This Towne hath a Castle, and is almost encompassed with a Riuer, seated in a fertile soyle. 25. to *Badur*, 10 c. a filthy towne and full of theeues: heere is made much wine of a sweete fruit called *Mewa*, but I found it not wholesome, except it be burnt. This Towne is the last of note in *Pectopshaws* Land, who is a small King or *Raiaw*, a *Gentile*, keeping on the top of inaccessible Mountaines, which beginne at *Curka*, and extend many Courtes. He holdeth two faire Cities, *Salere*, and the other *Mu- liere*, where the Mamudees are coyned, each hauing two mightie Castles, which haue way to them but for two men abreast, or for an Elephant at most to get vp; hauing also in the way eigh- tie small Fortresses disperied on the Mountaines to guard the way. Vpon the top of these Moun- taines is good pasture, and abundance of graine, fountaines running thence into the Plaines. The 30 *Acabar* besieged him seuen yeeres, and in the end was forced to compound with him, giuing him *Narampore*, *Dayia*, and *Badur*, with diuers other *Aldeas*, for the safe conducting of his Mer- chants alongst this Plaine; so that he now remaineth this Kings friend, sends Presents yeerely, leaues one of his sonnes at *Bramport*, for pledge of his fealtie. He is said to haue alway in readi- nesse foure thousand Mares of a strange breed and excellent: and one hundred Elephants. 26. 7 c. to *Nonderbar* a Citie, short of which are many Tombes and houses of pleasure, with a Castle and a faire Tanke. seuen and twentie to *Lingull*, 10 c. a beastly Towne, with theeuish inhabitants, and a dirtie castle; a deepe sandie way neare the Towne. 28. 10 c. to *Sindkerry*, a great dirtie Towne. In the way the Gouvernour of *Lingull* (with others as honest as himselfe) would haue borrowed some money of me, but seeing it proue powder and shot, gaue ouer, and wee drew on 40 our Carts without trouble. On the further side of *Sindkerry* runneth a Riuer of brackish water, with drinking whereof, I got the bloody fluxe, which accompanied me to *Bramport*. 29. 10 c. to *Taulneere*, a theeuish way, the Towne faire, with a Castle and a Riuer, in time of raine not pas- sable without Boat. 30. 15 c. to *Chupra*, a great Towne. I rested two dayes by reason of raine, in which time came the Gouvernour of *Nonderbar* with foure hundred horse, without whose com- pany I could not haue proceeded without danger, *Can-Canna* hauing been beaten, and retired to *Bramport*, after the losse of the strong and rich Towne of *Ioulnapore*, whereupon the *Decanes* grew so insolent, that they made roades into this way, and spoyled many passengers.

The second of February, 6c. to *Rawd*, a countrey Village. The vnseasonable thunder, wind and raine, with my diseafe, almost made an end of me: which made vs make *Mukom* the third 50 and fourth, the fifth to *Beawle* 10c. a great towne, with a faire castle, 6. stayed by foule weather, 7. 16 c. to *Rauere*, a great Towne, 8. 10 c. to *Bramport*, where I pitched my Tent in the *Armeni- ans* yard, not being able for money to get an house, the Towne was so full of souldiers. Some 2 c. short of this Citie lyeth *Badurpore*, a faire City, and betwixt these two Cities, the Campe of *Can-Canna* vnder Tents, 2 c. in length (hauing some fifteene thousand Horse, two hundred faire Elephants, an hundred peeces of Ordnance of all sizes) on the North side. On the other side, within twentie or thirtie course, lay *Amberchapon*, an *Ab:shed*, and Generall of the King of *Decans* Forces, with some ten thousand of his owne cost, all braue souldiers, and som forty thou- sand *Decanees*: in so much that the Citie of *Bramport* had certainly been lost, had not the Prince 60 *Saltan Pernis*, and *Raiaw Manisengo*, come instantly downe with great forces. For at this time he had sent to the *Can-Canna* to yeeld vp the Citie vpon composition, deeming him not able to hold it against him.

This Citie is very great, but beastly, situate in a low, vnholosome aire, a very sickly place, cau- sed especially by the bad water: On the North-east is the Castle on the Riuer bank (comming from



from *Surat*) large and well fortified. By the Castles side in the Riuer lyeth an Elephant of stone, so liuely, that a liuing Elephant comming one day to drinke, ranne against it with all his force, and brake both his teeth. The head is painted red in the fore-head; and many simple *Indians* worship it. Some two Cose forth of the Citie, is *Can Cannas* Garden called *Loll bage*; the whole way thereto being vnder shade trees very pleasant. Within it are diuers faire walkes, with a stately small Tanke standing square betweene foure trees, all shaded and inclosed with a wall; at the entrance without, a faire Banketting house built aloft betweene foure trees.

Artificiall Elephant.

I rested to the twelfth, for recouery (which God sent) vnder my Tent. Two dayes after my comming came newes of the sacking of *Rauere*, by fifteene hundred *Decan* Horle with other places neere thereto, we blessing God for our safe arriual, the way now not passable with one thousand Horle. I was here certified also by an *Armenians* Letters, of a great ouerthrow giuen to the *Portugall* Armada vpon the *Mallabar* Coast, consisting of fiftie Frigats and two Gallies, which being disperled with foule weather, were sudainly out of diuers creekes assailed by the *Malabars*, which was attended with spoile, fire, taking the rest fleeing. On the twelfth I rode to visit the Prince, and on the thirteenth, gaue him a Present, found him courteous, promising what I desired. The Prince had with him twentie thousand Horse, and three hundred faire Elephants, and with him, *Asaph Can* with some three thousand, and *Emersee Rastein* late King of *Candbar*, with some thousand old Souldiers. And during my abode in the Campe, came also *Raia Manisengos* with ten thousand Horse, all *Resboots*, and neere a thousand Elephants: so that all the Plaines for a great distance were couered with Tents very braue to behold: with the Armie came diuers great Boates for the transportation of forces ouer waters. The Prince remouing I returned to *Bramport*: and on the sixe and twentieth, hee beeing aduanced 3 c. towards the Enemy, I went to him to take my leaue, where newes came of the ouerthrow of certaine of *Manisengos* forces.

Riuere sacked.

Portugall losse.

The first of March, the Gouvernor of *Bramport* departed for *Agra*, and I with him 12 c. to *Barre* a great Village, stonie & steep way, being the passage ouer the great ridge of Mountaines which come from *Amadaurwards*. About some 4 c. of this way lyeth the strong and inuincible Castle of *Hassere*, seated on the top of a high Mountaine, large and strong, able to receiue (as is reported) fortie or fiftie thousand Horle. And on the top are many faire Tankes and good pasture grounds. It hath had in the dayes of *Badur Sha* late King thereof, some sixe hundred Peeeces of Ordnance. The *Acabar* besieged it a long time, circling it on all sides, and at length tooke it by composition. For it is said, that there bred such an innumerable sort of Emmets or other small Wormes in all the waters, that the people swelled and burst with drinking thereof: which mortalitie caused him to compound and deliuer it, being by meere humane force inuincible. The third, 11 c. to *Camla*, a small *Aldea*, stonie, troublesome way. The fourth, to *Magergom* 4 c. a great *Aldea*, bad way. The fifth, 10 c. to *Kergom* a great Village, steepe way. The sixth, 13 c. to *Berkul* a small Village. The seuenth, 8 c. to *Taxapore* a small Towne. At 2 c. on this way, you passe a faire Riuer called *Neruor* which comes from *Baroche*: vpon the Banke is a prettie Towne and faire Castle, and vnder it the Ferrie place. To passe ouer with Camels is a way a C. lower on the left hand, where is an ouerfall, and not aboue three foot in the passage, but neere a mile ouer. The eight, 5 c. to *Mandow*, 3 c. whereof is vp a steepe stonie Mountaine, hauing way but for a Coach at most.

Barre.

Hassere a strong and strange Fort.

Camla.  
Magergom.  
Kergom.  
Berkul.

Mandow the Riuer of the old Towne.

This ridge of Mountaines extendeth North-east and South-west. On the top at the edge of the Mountaine standeth the gate or entrance of the Citie, ouer which is built a faire Fort and House of pleasure; the walls extending all along the Mountaines side for many Coses. On the left hand at the entrance some two or three miles distant, on the toppe of a picked Mountaine standeth a strong Fort, and in other places disperled some ten or twelue more. For 2 c. or better within this gate the City is ruined all saue only Tombes and Meskites, which remayne in great numbers to this day, with some tottered walls of great Houses. The olde City is from gate to gate 4 c. long North and South, but East and West ten or twelue Coses; and yet to the East-ward of all lyeth good pasture ground for many courles. Aloft on this Mountaine are some sixteene faire Tankes here and there disperled about the Citie. That which is now standing is very faire, but small in comparison of the former, with diuers goodly buildings all of firme stone, and faire, high gates, that I suppose the like not to be in all Christendome. At the entrance on the South within the gate of the City now inhabited, as you passe along on the left hand, stands a goodly Meskite, and ouer against it a faire Palace, wherein are interred the bodies of foure Kings, with exceeding rich Tombes. By the side thereof standeth a high Turret of one hundred and seuentie steps high, built round with Galleries and Windowes to euery roome, all exceeding for goodly Ports, Arches, Pillars; the walls also all interlayed with a greene stone much beautifying. On the North-side where I came forth lyeth a piece of a foot and an halfe bore in the mouth, but the breech was in the ground. The gate is very strong with a steepe descent; and without this fixe other, all very strong, with great walled places for Courts of Guard betweene gate and gate. On this side is also a small Port, but the way thereto is exceeding steepe. All along it on the side also runneth the wall, with flankers euer here and there among; and yet is the

The present described.



The first of  
name that took  
it was *Canloin*  
a *Potan* who  
built the Tur-  
ret, and lyeth  
buried in the  
Palace adioy-  
ning with three  
of his Succes-  
sors.

This Citie was  
built by an *In-  
dian* some  
thousand  
yeeres agoe.  
*Lunebeira*.

*Dupalpore.*  
*Ouglue.*

*Conoscia.*  
*Opium.*

*Sunenarra.*

*Pimpelgom.*

*Cuckra.*  
*Berroul.*  
*Delout.*  
*Burrow.*

*Sukefera.*  
*Syrange.*

*Collebage.*  
*Qualeres.*  
*Cipry.*

*Normay.*

*Strong Castle.*

*Antro.*  
*Gualere.*  
A strong Ca-  
stle.

hill so steepe of it selfe, that it is not almost possible for a man to climbe vp on all ioure to any part of it. So that to mans iudgement it is altogether inuincible; and yet was taken partly by force, partly by Treason by *Hamawne*, this mans Grandfather, forcing *Seic Sha Selim* whose Ancestors had conquered it from the *Indians* some foure hundred yeeres agoe. This *Sha Selim* was a very powerfull King of *Dely*, and once forced *Hamawne* to flye into *Persia* for ayde; from whence returning with *Persian* forces, he put him againe to the worst; who yet held out against him all his life time, as also a long time of *Ecabars* Raigne, flying from one Mountaine to another. Without the wals of the City on this side, the Suburbs entred 4 c. long, but all ruinate, saue certaine Tombes, Meskits and goodly Serais; no man remayning in them.

The way exceeding stony and bad at 4 c. end lyeth *Lunebeira*, a small Saray where wee pitched the ninth. Betweene this and the ruines about 3 c. of the way, is a goodly Tanke inclosed with stone, and a banketting house in the middest: On the South whereof are faire houses of pleasure now ruinated, from whence goeth an arched bridge to the banketting house in the Tanke.

Some halfe a Cose beyond *Lunebeira* on the right hand, are foure or five faire Tankes with a great Pagode, a very pleasant place. The tenth, to *Dupalpore* 14 c. good way, a small Towne. The eleuenth, to *Ouglue* a faire City twelue long Coses. This Countrey is called *Malua*, a fertile soile, abounding with *Opium*. Here the Cose or Course is two miles *English*. The twelfth, wee made *Mukom*. The thirteenth, to *Conoscia*, 11 c. good way, a little Village. I enquired the price of *Opium*. They giue the head three scratches, from whence issue small teares, at the first white, which with the cold of the night turneth reddish, which they daily scrape, not without infinite trouble, the head beeing very small and yeelding little. The fourteenth, to *Sunenarra* 8 c. way much stony and theeuish, a people called *Gracia*, inhabiting the hills on the left hand, which often vngraciously entertayn Carauans. A hundred of them had done the like to a *Cassila* now, had not our comming preuented. It is a small Towne, short of which is a great Tanke full of wilde fowle: The fifteenth, 10 c. to *Pimpelgom* a ragged *Aldea*. At 4 c. end of this way lyeth *Sarampore*, a great Towne with a Castle on the South-west side, with a faire Towne-house. Here are made faire Turbants and good linnen. Short of this Towne we met *Cann John* a great Minion of the Kings with ten thousand horse, many Elephants, and Boats carryed on Carts, going for *Bramport*. On the way also we passed diuers of *Manisengos* men, hee hauing in all some twenty thousand, so that it was deemed there were one hundred thousand Horse assembled.

The sixteenth, 7 c. to *Cuckra*, a great Countrey Towne abounding with all sorts of Graine, Victuall and *Mewa* Wire: at 4 c. lyeth *Berroul* a great *Aldea*. The seuenteenth, 12 c. to *Delout*, a great *Aldea*, the way for the five last Coses theeuish, hilly, stony, the other pleasant Plaines. The eighteenth, 7 c. to *Burrow* a small Towne, but plentifull of Victuall, except flesh which is scarce all this way; the way dangerous. The nineteenth, 7 c. to *Sukefera* a small ragged Towne. The twentieth, to *Syrange* 9 c., a very great Towne, where are many *Betele* Gardens. The one and twentieth and two and twentieth, wee made *Muckom*. The three and twentieth, to *Cuchenary Saray* 8 c. The foure and twentieth, to *Sadura* 5 c. The five and twentieth, to *Collebage* 7 c. The sixe and twentieth, 12 c. to *Qualeres*, a pretty small Towne encompassed with *Tamarind* and *Manga* Trees. The seuen and twentieth, to *Cipry* seuen of *Surat* Coules a mile and an halfe way theeuish, stony, full of Trees, a Desert passage: a walled Towne, faire Houses couered with Slate. Two nights before some fixtie or seuentie Theeues (mistaking for a late passed Carauan) assailed in a darke night one hundred and fiftie *Potan* Souldiers, and fell into the pit they digged for others, ten being slaine and as many taken, the rest fled. The eight and twentieth, to *Normay* 12 c. a Desert rascally way full of Theeues. In the Woods sate diuers *Chuckees* to prevent robbing, but the Foxe is often made the Goose-heard. One pretty neat Meskite and in one place at the foot of the gate, a few poore Inhabitants wee saw in this dayes iourney, and nineteene faire Serais ruinated.

The Towne at the foot of the hill, hath a Castle on the top of a stony steep mountaine, with a narrow stone causway leading to the top some mile or better in ascent. In the way stand three gates very strong, with places for *Corps du guard*. At the top of all is the fourth gate, which leads into the Castle, where stands a guard, not permitting any stranger to enter without order from the King. The Towne within is faire and great, with a descent thereto; being situate in a Valley on the top of a Mountaine very strangely. As it is reported, this cliffe is in circle some 5. or 6 c. and walled round with Towers and Flankers here and there dispersed, without treason inuincible. This hath been the gate or border of the Kingdome of *Madow*, and hath been beautifull, and stored with Ordnance, but now is much gone to ruine. The twenty ninth to *Palacha* 7 c. the thirtieth to *Antro*, a great Towne 12 c. the thirty one to *Gualere* 6 c. a pleasant Citie with a Castle. On the East side is on the top of a steep piked hill, a ruinous building where diuers great men haue been interred. On the West side is the Castle, which is a steep craggy cliffe of 6 c. compasse



at least (diuers say eleuen) all inclosed with a strong wall. At the going vp to the Castle adioyning to the Citie, is a faire Court, enclosed with high walls, and shut in with strong gates, where keeps a strong guard, not permitting any to enter without publike order. From hence to the top, leads a stone narrow cawsey, walled on both sides; in the way are three gates to be passed, all exceeding strong, with Courts of guard to each. At the top of all, at the entrance of the last gate, standeth a mightie Elephant of stone very curiously wrought. This Gate is also exceeding stately to behold, with a goodly house adioyning, whose wals are all set with greene and blue stone, with diuers gilded Turrets on the top. This is the Gouvernours lodging: where is place to keepe Nobles that offend (he is said to haue three such Noble-Prisons or Castles, this, and *Rantimore* 40 c. to *Rantimore* 10 which are sent such Nobles as he intends to put to death, which commonly is some two moneths after their arriual, the Gouvernour then bringing them to the top of the wall, and giuing them a dish of milke, which hauing dranke, he is cast downe thence on the Rockes. The third is *Rotas*, *Rotas*. a Castle in the Kingdome of *Bengala*, whither are sent those Nobles which are condemned to perpetuall imprisonment) from whence very few returne againe. On the top of this Mountaine of *Gualere*, is very good ground, with three or foure faire Tankes, and many other faire builings. On the Towne side are many houses cut out of the maine Rocke, for habitation and sale of goods. On the North-west side, at the foot of the hill is a spacious meadow, inclosed with a stone wall, within which are diuers gardens and places of pleasure, fit also to keepe horses in time of warre. This Castle was the Gate or frontier of the Kingdome of *Dely*, bordering on *Madow*, and is neere a mile of ascent.

The first of Aprill 1610. to *Mendaker* 9 c. the second 10 c. to *Doulpore*. Within 2 c. of the Towne, you passe a faire Riuer called *Cambere*, as broad as the *Thames*, thort of which is a narrow passage, with hills on both sides, very dangerous. The Castle is strong, ditched round, and hath foure walls and gates one within an other, all very strong, with steep ascents to each, paved with stone; the Citie is inhabited most what with Gentiles. The Castle is three quarters of a mile through, and on the further side hath like Gates to be passed againe. The third to *Iaiow* 9 c. the fourth to *Agra* 9 c. In the afternoone, the Captaine carried me before the King. I here found at my comming, Captaine *Thomas Boys*, with three *French* Souldiours, a *Dutch* Inginer, and a *Venetian* Merchant with his sonne, and a seruant, newly come by land out of Christendome.

In May and part of Iune, the Towne was much vexed with fires night and day, flaming in one part or other, whereby many thousands of houses were consumed, besides Men, Women, Children, and Cattell, that we feared the iudgement of *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* vpon the place. I was long dangerously sicke of a Feuer; and in Iune the heat so exceeded, that we were halfe roasted aliue. Iune the twenty eighth, arriued *Padre Pensero*, an arch-knaue (a Iesuite I should say) who brought Letters from the Viceroy, with many rich Presents, tending only to thwart our affaires. In this time, *Mo. Bowcan* was complained of by the Captaine to the King, who commaunded *Abdel Hassan* the chiefe Vizier to doe iustice; but birds of a feather will flie together, and *Mo. Bowcan* partly mis-reckoned, partly turned vs ouer to a Bankrupt *Bannian*; so that of thirty two thousand five hundred one M. and an halfe due, he would pay but eleuen thousand: neither would he pay that present.

In Iuly, came newes of the ill successe of the Kings forces in *Decan*, who beeing within some foure dayes Iourney of *Andananager*, hoping to raise the siege thereof, were forced through famine and drought, to make their retrait for *Bramport*, whereupon the Citie, after much miserie indured, was lost. This armie consisted of one hundred thousand horse at the least, with infinite numbers of Cammels and Elephants: so that with the whole baggage, there could not bee lesse then five or sixe hundred thousand persons, inso much that the waters were not sufficient for them; a Muslocke of water being sold for a *Rupia* and yet not enough to be had, and all victualls at an excessive rate. For the *Decan* army still spoyled the Countrey before them, and cut betwixt them and supplies for victualing them out of *Guzerate* and *Bramport*, daily making light skirmishes vpon them, to their great disaduantage, that without retiring the whole army had been endangered. At their returne to *Bramport*, there were not to bee found thirty thousand horse, with infinite number of Elephants, Cammels, and other Cattell dead. This Moneth also came newes of the sacking of *Potana*, a great Citie in *Parrop*, and surprising of the Castle where the Kings Treasure lay, the Citizens flying without making resistance. But vpon this Caualeero, presently came a great *Ombra* adioyning, and tooke him in the Castle. The Citizens returning, he sent twelue of the chiefe of them to the King, who caused them to be shauen, and in womens attire, to bee carried on Asles through all the streets of *Agra*, and on the next day (as it is said) cut off their Heads.

All this Moneth also was much stirre with the King about Christianitie, hee affirming before his Nobles, that it was the soundest faith, and that of *Mahomet* lies and fables. He commanded also three Princes, his deceased brothers sonnes, to be instructed by the Iesuites, and Christian apparell to be made for them, the whole City admiring. And yet at the same time, *Abdel Hassan* iudgement was, that it was not iustice to pay debts to Christians, in *Mo. Bowcans* case, whereof againe we had reference from the King to him, perhaps on like ground, as some *European* thinke.

Terrible fires  
at Agra.

See how  
Merchants  
speake the Ie-  
suites, when  
Iesuites play  
the Merchants

*Andananager*  
lost to the *De-  
can*.

Perill of huge  
armies.

*Potana* sacked.

Punishment of  
Cowardize.

Christianitie  
seemed to bee  
aff. by the  
Mogull.



Three Princes  
christened.  
English colours  
displayed be-  
fore the *Mogol*.

Portugals afraid  
to come too  
late.

thinke it lawfull to make price of the goods and ships of Ethnikes, *eo nomine*, therefore setting out men of warre, so to make the Christian Name, not as an ointment poured out, that the *Virgin* soules may be conuerted, and loue Christ, but as filthy matter running out of rotten hearts and poisoned lips, yea, with force and armes, to exoccupate the Kingdome of Christ in those parts: at least, let reformed Professors reforme this *Man-of-warre-Profession* against innocents, that the Name of God through them be not blasphemed among the Gentiles. But to returne to this dissimulation (as since it hath to the world appeared) those three Princes were Christened solemnly, conducted to Church by all the Christians of the Citie, to the number of some sixtie horse, Capitaine *Hawkins* being in the head of them, with *S. Georges* colours carried before him, to the honour of the English Nation, letting them lie in the Court before *Sha Selim* himselfe. The eldest was named *Don Philippo*, the second *Don Carlo*, the third *Don Henrico*: and on the ninth of September, was christened another young Prince, the *Acabars* brothers sonnes sonne, by the name *Don Duarte*, the King giuing daily charge to the Fathers for their instruction, that they might become good Christians.

October the twelfth, we were certified by Letters of *M. Iourdain* from *Surat*, that thirtie Frigats of the *Portugals* were cast away on the barre of *Surat*, hasting before the winter was broken vp, to catch more English; many of the men escaped, and were glad to beg releefe at the English doore.

¶ V.

Descriptions of Fetipore, Byana; the way thither; of the Nill or Indico, and of diuers Mogoll affaires, Cities, and Castles.

Saray is a kind  
of publike Inn.  
See *Stell* and  
*Crowder*.

*Asmere*, a child-  
giuing Saint.

Fetipore de-  
scribed.

Ruines.

The Bazar.

Faire Meskite:

*Kalender* is an  
order of Moo-  
rish Votaries.  
Badwater.

He first of Nouember, I was sent to buy Nill or Indico at *Byana*. I lodged that night at *Menhapoore*, a great Saray, 7<sup>c</sup>. by which is a Garden, and Moholl or summer house of the Queene Mothers, very curiously contriued. The second at *Cannowa*, 11<sup>c</sup>. at 4<sup>c</sup>. end, is a Moholl of the Kings. And at euery cose end from *Agra*, is erected a stone pillar for 130<sup>c</sup>. to *Asmere*, where lieth interred the body of a great Moorish Saint, called *Hog-  
hee Mondee*, whereto the *Acabar* wanting children, made a foot-pilgrimage to beg for issue, and caused a pillar at each course to be set vp; and a Moholl with lodgings for sixteene great women at euery eighth course alongst, and after his returne obtained three sonnes.

At 7<sup>c</sup>. on this way, and 12<sup>c</sup>. from *Agra*, is seated the famous citie of *Fetipore*, built by the *Acubar*, and inclosed with a faire stone wall, which yet standeth fresh, hauing foure faire and strong Gates, it being some three English miles betwixt gate and gate. In the midst it is all ruinate, lying like a waste desert, and very dangerous to passe through in the night, the buildings lying wast without inhabitants; much of the ground beeing now conuerted to Gardens, and much sowed with Nill and other graine, that a man standing there, would little thinke he were in the midst of a citie.

To the entrance of the gate from *Agra*, some course in length vpon a stony ascent, lie the ruines of the Suburbs; as also without the Southwest gate for two English miles in length, many faire buildings being fallen to the ground: and on the left hand are many faire enclosed Gardens, three miles alongst from the citie. At the entrance of the Northeast Gate, is a goodly Bazar (market place) of stone, halfe a mile long, being a spacious straight-paued street, with faire buildings on either side. Close within the gate is the Kings Saray, with large stone lodgings, but much ruined. At the head of this street stands the Kings house and Moholl, with much curious building: and on the further side hereof, vpon an ascent, stands the goodliest Meskite of the East. It hath some twentie foure or thirty steps of ascent to the Gate, which is one of the highest and fairest (I suppose) in the whole world: on the top are a number of clustering pinnacles, curiously disposed. The top of this Gate may be plainly seene eight or tenne miles distance. Within is a goodly spacious court, very curiously paued with free stone, about sixe times the largeness of *Londons Exchange*, with faire large walkes alongst the side, more then twice as broad, and double the height of those about the *Burse* of *London*, the pillars vpholding them, beeing of one intire stone: and round about are entrances into many goodly roomes, neatly contriued. Opposite to the Gate toward the further side, stands a faire and sumptuous Tombe, artificially inlaied with mother of Pearle, and inclosed with a grating of stone curiously carued. Ouer head is rich pargetting and paynting. Herein lyeth the body of a great *Kalender*, at whose cost the whole Meskite was builded. Vnder the court yard is a goodly Tanke of excellent water; none other being to be had through the citie, but brackish and fretting, by drinking whereof was caused such mortality, that the *Acubar* before it was quite finished, left it, and remooued his seat to *Agra*, so that this goodly Citie was short liued, in fifty or sixty yeares space beeing built and ruinate.

It was at the first called *Sykary*, which signifieth, seeking or hunting; but after the *Acabar* was returned from his *Asmere* Pilgrimage, and was father of this *Sha Selim*, hee named it *Fetipore*,



pore, that is, a *Towne of content*, or place of *Hearts desire obtained*. The North North-west side of the Citie, without the walles, is a goodly Lough for 2. or 3 c. in length, abounding with good fish and wilde fowle; all ouer which groweth the herbe which beareth the *Hermodyctyle*, and another bearing a fruit like a Goblet, called *Camolachachery*, both very cooling fruits. The herbe which beareth the *Hermodyctyle*, is a weed abounding in most Tankes neare *Agra*, spreading ouer all the water; the leafe I obserued not, but the fruit is inclosed with a three cornered shell, of a hard woodie substance, hauing at each angle a sharpe picked pricking point; and is a little indented on both the flat sides like two posternes. The fruit being greene, is soft and tender, white and of a mealish taste, much eaten in *India*, being exceeding cold in my iudgement: for alwayes after it, I desired *Aqua-vite*. It is called by the people *Singarra*. The other beareth a fruit in maner of a Goblet, flat on the toppe, and of a soft greenish substance, within which a little eminent, stand fixe or eight small fruits like *Akornes*, diuided from each other, and inclosed with a whitish filme, at the first of a ruslettish greene, tasting like a Nut or *Akorne*; in the midst is a small greene sprigge naught to be eaten.

*Fetipore interpreted.*  
*Hermodyctylus described.*

*Cannowa* is a small countrey Towne, round about which is made very good Nill, by reason of the fastnesse of the soile, and brackishnesse of the water: it maketh yeerely some fise hundred M. *Ouchen* 3 c. distant makes very good; besides which, no Towne but *Byana* it selfe, compares with this. I remained heere to the two and twentieth and three and twentieth. 6 c. to *Candere*, a roguish dirtie *Aldea*. At 2 c. on this way, is one of those *Moholls*, before mentioned. It is a square stone building: within the first gate is a small court, with a place for the King to keepe his *Dar-sany*, and two or three other retiring roomes, but none of note. Within the second court is the *Moholl*, being a foure-square thing, about twice as bigge, or better, then the Exchange; hauing at each corner a faire open *Deuoncan*, and in the midst of each side another, which are to bee spread with rich carpets, and to sit in to passe the time: And betwixt each corner and this middle-most, are two faire large chambers for his women (so that each *Moholl* receiueth sixteene) in seuerall lodgings, without doores to any of them, all keeping open house to the Kings pleasure. Round by the side goeth a faire paved walke, some eight foot broad: and in the midst of all the court stands the Kings chamber, where he like a Cocke of the game may crow ouer all. At *Candere* I remained till the eight and twentieth, and returned to *Bachuna*, 4 c. backe in the way.

*Cannowa.*

*Candere.*  
*The Kings Moholls described.*

*Deuoncan is a Hall.*

The twentieth of December, I went to *Byana* 8 c. a backe way thorow the fields. This citie hath bene great and faire, but is now ruinate, saue two Sarayes and a long Bazar, with a few stragling houles, many faire ones being fallen, and many others not inhabited (except by rogues or theues) so that many streets are quite desolate. On the North-west some three or foure cote off, are the ruines of a Kings house, with many other faire buildings: the like ruines are to bee seene on the South-west side, ouer against a Towne called *Scanderbade*, in like distance vpon the height of the rocky mountaines: the way leading vp is a narrow steepe stony cawsey, not to be passed on horse-backe, some quarter of a mile the ascent: the entrance is thorow a small wicket, passing the lips of the mountaines in a narrow gutte. On the right hand, vpon the very edge, stands a pleasant building, where are diuers Tombes: from each side, the way may be made good with stones against millions of men. Passing a mile hence on a faire cawsey, you come to the Kings house, sometimes faire, now ruinate, where a few poore *Googers* remaine in the ruines. Many Tombes and Monuments yet remaine. At the foote of the hill toward *Scanderbade*, is a pleasant Valley inclosed with a wall, and therein many gardens of pleasure. This City hath been in ancient times the seate of a great *Pasane* King, and hath had the walles extending on the cliffes 3 c. in length, in those places where is any possibilitie of getting vp, the rockes otherwhere ouer-hanging: the fortifications on the other side I saw not. It hath bene a goodly city, inhabited now only with *Googers*, which are keepers of cattell, and makers of Butter and Cheefe. From hence notwithstanding all this strength, did the *Acabar* force *Sha Selim* the Tyrant, and then laid it waste, as he hath done *Madow*, and most of the strong holds which he tooke. The country which affordeth that rich Nill which takes name of *Byana*, is not aboue twenty or thirtie cote long.

*Byana.*

*Ruines.*

*A strong Fort.*

The herbe Nill, groweth in forme not much vnlike *Ciues* or *Cich-pease*, hauing a small leafe like that of *Sena*, but shorter and broader, and set on a very short foot-stalke, the branches hard and of a woodie substance like vnto broome. It vsually groweth not aboue a yard high, and with a stalke at the biggest (which is at the third yeare) not much exceeding a mans thumbe. The seed is included in a small round codde about an inch long, resembling *Foenigræcum*, saue that it is more blunt at both ends, as if it had been cut off with a knife. It carryeth a small flower like that of *Hearts-ease*: the seed is ripe in Nouember, and then gathered. The herbe once sowne dureth three yeeres, being cut euery yeere in August and September after the raines. That of one yeere is tender, and thereof is made noote, which is a weighty Reddish nill sinking in water, not come to his perfection: that of the second yeere is rich, and called *Cyree*, very light and of a perfect Violet colour, swimming on the water: in the third yeere the herbe is declining, and this Nill is called *Catteld*, being a weightie blackish Nill, the worst of the three. This herbe being cut the

*Description of Nill or Indico.*

*The growth and varietie of the Herbe.*

moneth



Their making  
of Indico.

moneth aforesaid, is cast into a long cisterne, where it is pressed downe with many stones, and then filled with water till it be couered, which so remaineth for certaine dayes, till the substance of the herbe be gone into the water. Then they let the water forth into another round cisterne, in the midst of which is another small cisterne or center: this water being thus drawne forth, they labour with great stauers, like batter or white starch, and then let it settle, scumming off the cleare water on the toppe: then labouring it afresh, and let it settle againe, drawing forth the cleare water, doing this oft, till nothing but a thicke substance remaine; which they take forth and spread on cloth, to dry in the Sunne: and being a little hardened, they take it in their hands, and making small balls, lay them on the sand to dry (for any other thing would drinke vp the colour) this is the cause of the sandy foot. So if raine fall, it looseth his colour and glosse, and is called *Alia*. Some deceitfully will take of the herbe of all three crops, and steepe them altogether, hard to be discerned, very knauishly. Fowre things are required in Nill: a pure graine, a violet colour, his glosse in the Sunne, and that it be dry and light, so that swimming in the water, or burning in the fire, it cast forth a pure light violet vapour, leauing a few ashes.

To know good  
Indico.

The Great Mo-  
gol in danger of  
a Lyon.

About the sixt of Ianuary, the King being on hunting, was assailed by a Lyon which hee had wounded with his Peece, with such fiercenesse, that had not a Captaine of his, a Resboot, Tutor of the late baptized Princes interposed himselfe, thrusting his arme into the Lions mouth as hee ramped against his Maiestie, he had in all likelihood been destroyed. In this strugling, *Sultan Corom*, *Raiaw Ranidus*, and others came in, and amongst them slew the Lyon, that Captaine hauing first receiued thirty two wounds: whom therefore the King tooke vp into his owne Palanke, with his owne hands also wiped and bound vp his wounds, and made him a Captaine of five thousand horse, in recompence of that his valourous loyaltie.

His thankful-  
nesse.

Kings manner  
of hunting.

The Kings manner of hunting is this: about the beginning of Nouember, accompanied with many thousands, he goeth forth of his Castle of *Agra*, and hunteth some thirty or forty Course round about the Citie; so continuing till the ende of March, when the heat driues him home againe. He causeth, with choise men, a certaine wood or desert place to bee incircled, so contracting themselves to a neerer compasse, till they meet againe; and whatsoever is taken in this inclosure, is called the Kings Sikar or game, whether men or beasts; and whosoever lets ought escape, without the Kings mercy, must loose his life. The beasts taken, if mans meat, are sold, and the money giuen to the poore: if men, they remaine the Kings slaues, which he yearly sends to *Cabull*, to barter for horse and dogs; these being poore miserable theeuish people that liue in woods and desarts, little differing from beasts.

This Ch. Charke  
I haue spoken  
with since in  
London after  
diuers yeares  
seruice,  
Iourney to La-  
bor.

Indians idola-  
try.  
\* Dely. There  
are said to bee  
foure Delyes  
within the  
eldest built by  
Rase, who by  
his Ponde or  
Magicians  
counsell tried  
the earth by an  
Iron stake,  
which he pul-  
led out bloody  
with the blood  
of a Snake,  
which his  
Ponde said was  
signe of good  
fortune.  
The last of his  
race was Rase  
Petbery, who  
after seuen times taking a *Potan* King, was at last by him taken and slaine. He began the *Potan* Kingdome. They came from the moun-  
taines betw. *Candihar* and *Catull*. The second built by *Togall Sha*, a *Potan* King. The third little of note. The fourth by *Sher Shafelim*,  
where is that Tombe of *Hamaron*. \* A stately Obeliske with *Greeke* or *Hebrew* inscriptions, as some affirme, supposed to be set there  
by *Alexander*.

This Moneth, the King was prouiding more forces for *Decan*, notwithstanding the *Decanees* required his peace, offering to restore what they had taken, *Caun Asom* was sent Generall, and with him twentie thousand horse, accompanied with *Matrobet Caun* another Great Captaine, together with infinite treasurie. With these forces went *John Frenchman*, and *Charles Charke*, entertained in his seruice for the warres.

Ianuary the ninth, I departed from *Agra* for *Labor* to recouer debts, and carried twelue carts laden with Nill in hope of a good price. The places I passed were *Romnotha* twelue courses, *Badeg Sara* 10. *Acabarpore* 12 c. formerly a great city, still famous for the Antiquities of *Indian* Gobins or Saints. A little short of this place, is a faire Deury inclosed with a stone wall, in which is a *De-  
voncan*, and round about a little distance in vaults (or cloisters) are to be seen many *Pagods*, which are stone images of monitrous men feareful to behold, but adored by the *Indians* with flowers and offerings. *Hondle* 13 c. At the entrance of the Saray is a faire fountaine three stories, and one hundred steps. *Pulwooll* 12 c. *Ferreedabade* 12 c. *Dely* 10 c. On the left hand is seene the carkasse of old *Dely*, \* called the nine castles, and fiftie two gates, now inhabited onely by *Googers*. A little short is a stone bridge of eleuen arches, ouer a branch of *Gemini*: from hence a broad way shaded with great trees, leading to the sepulchre of *Hamaron* this Kings Grandfather, in a large roome spread with rich carpets, the Tombe it selfe couered with a pure white sheet, a rich Semiane ouer head, and a front, certaine bookes on small tressels, by which stand his Sword, Tucke, and shooes: at the entrance are other Tombes of his Wiues and Daughters. Beyond this, vnder like shaded way you come to the Kings house and Moholl, now ruinous. The City is 2 c. betweene Gate and Gate, begirt with a strong wall, but much ruinate, as are many goodly houses: within and about this Citie are the Tombes of twenty *Potan* Kings, all very faire and stately. The Kings of *India* are here to be crowned, or else they are held Vairpers. It is seated in a goodly plaine, environed with goodly pleasant Gardens and Monuments.

*Nalero* is hence 14 c. about 2 c. without *Dely*, is the remainder of an auncient Mole or hunting house, built by *Sultan Berusa* a great *Indian* Monarch, with much curiositie of stone-worke: with and about the rest, is to be seen a stone \* Pillar, which passing through three stories, is higher then all twenty foure foot, hauing at the top a Globe, and a halfe Moone over it. This stone they say, stands as much vnder the earth, and is placed in the water, being all one entire stone, (some say



*Nascerdengady* a *Potan* King would have taken it vp, and was prohibited by multitude of *Scorpions*, and that it hath inscriptions.) In diuers parts of *India* the like are to be seene, and of late was found buried in the ground about *Fettipore* a stone pillar of an hundred cubits length, which the King commanded to bring to *Agra*, but was broken in the way, to his great griefe. It is remarkable, that the *Quarries* of *India*, specially neere *Fettipore* (whence they are carryed farre) are of such nature, that they may be cleft like logges, and sawne like plancks to seele chambers, and couer houses of a great length and breadth. From this Monument is said to bee a way vnder ground to *Dely* Castle. Now here remaine onely *Googers*, and there are store of *Deere*. We saw in the way the ruines of diuers places, and neere the same, the ruines of a wall 20. in circuit, being a Parke for game. Some part of this way was theeuish, and some report being giuen out of the Kings death, many Rogies with that false alarme were abroad: we met the *Folder* of *Dely* with some 2. thousand horse and foot in their pursuit, who burnt their Townes, & tooke the and theirs whatsoeuer he could get: and the next day at breakfast we were like to be surprized by theeuers.

The stone of  
*India*.

*Gonowre* 14 c. *Panneput* 14 c. at the entry whereof was placed a *Manora*, with the heads of some hundred theeuers newly taken; their bodies set on stakes a mile in length. *Carmall* 14 c. the way theeuish, where but for our peece language we had been assaulted. On the North-west extend Mountaines neere to *Labor* from hence, with snow on the tops. *Tanassar* 14 c. here is a Castle, a goodly Tanke, and by it *Pagods*, much reuerenced by all the Gentiles throughout *India*. Neere it also are the *Sal-armoniacke* pits. *Shabad* or *Goobade* 10 c. *Amballa* 12 c. *Hollowa Saray* 14 c. *Syrinam* 7 c. it hath a faire Tanke with a Summer-house in the midst, to which leads a

*Pagods*.

*Sal-armoniacke*  
pits.

Bridge of fifteene stone arches very pleasant. From hence is a small Riuer cut to the Kings Garden a corse distant, with a cawsey of forty foot broad, planted with trees on both sides to it. The Garden is fowre square, each square a cote in length, or better, inclosed with a Bricke-wall, richly planted with all sorts of fruits and flowers, rented yeerely (as I was told) for fifty thousand *Rupias*: crossed with two maine walkes forty foot broad, and eight high, with water running alongst stone channells in the midst, and planted on both sides thicke with faire *Cypresses*: one of these cawseys is also paved with pebble curiously inter-wrought. At the crossing stands an eight square *Mohol* with eight chambers for women, in the midst thereof a faire Tank; ouer these eight other roomes, with faire Galleries round about: on the top of all a faire Iouner; the whole building curiously wrought in stone, with faire painting, rich caruing, and par-getting: and on two sides two faire Tankes in the midst of a faire stone chounter, planted round with *Cypresse* trees: a little distant is another *Mohol*, but not so curious.

The Kingsgar-  
den. Some say  
it was made,  
An. Dom. 1580.

From hence we passed to *Dorapy* 15 c. *Pullocequer Saray* 13 c. *Nicoder* 12 c. *Sultanpoore* 11 c. *Fettipore* 7 c. a *Saray* built (if it were finished) by *Sha Selim*, in memorie of the ouerthrow giuen *Sultan Cussroom* his eldest sonne: the occasion whereof was this. *Sha Selim* vpon some disgust tooke armes in his fathers life time, and fled into *Purrop*, where he kept the strong Castle of *Alobasse* (but came in some three moneths before his fathers decesse) whereupon *Acubar* gaue the Crowne to *Sultan Cussroom* his sonne. But after *Acubars* death, *Selim* by his friends, seized on the Castle and treasure, and his sonne fled for *Labor*, where hee gathered some twelue thousand horse all good souldiours and *Mogols*, possessing the Suburbs twelue daies, and proclaimed King in the Castle, and his Father in the Castle. In this place he gaue battell to *Strek Forced*, and discomred his three hundred horse, and put them to the sword: to the second of him came *Melec Ale Cutwall* (the King being some 20 c. behind) with some two hundred horse, beating vp the Kings drummes, and giuing a braue assault, shouting *God saue King Selim*, vpon which the Princes souldiours faunted and fled, the Prince himselfe fleeing only with five horse, and got 30 c. beyond *Labor* for *Cabul*, which if he had gotten, he would have put his father to further trouble: but being to passe a Riuer where hee gaue *Mohors* of Gold, the Boate-man grew in distrust, and in the midst of the Channell leapt ouer-boord, and swamme to the shoare, where hee gaue notice to the *Gouernour* of the Towne adioyning, who presently with fiftie horse came downe to the Riuer, where the Boat was still floating, imbarqued himselfe in another, and saluted him by the name of King, dissemblingly offering his aide, and inuicing him to his house: which the Prince accepting, was locked vp with his Company and guarded, till hee had sent the King word, who sent *Germanabeg* to fetch him fettered on an Elephant. From hence his Father proceeded to *Cabul*, punishing such as he found tardie in this reuolt, carrying his sonne with him prisoner, and returning by this place where the battell was fought (as some say) caused his eyes to be burned out with a glasse; others say, onely blind-folded him with a napkin tying it behind, and sealing it with his owne seale, which yet remaineth, and himselfe prisoner in the Castle of *Agra*. All alongst on both sides the way from *Cabul* to *Agra*, a reasonable distance, the King caused trees to be planted to shade the way, in remembrance of this exploit, and called this place *Fettipore*, that is, *hearts content*, as ye before heard of the Citie, which for his birth was named so by his Father *Acubar*: these as any decay, must by the peoples toyle be supplied.

The cause of  
the quarrel  
twixt the Mo-  
gol and his el-  
dest sonne.

The Prince  
taken.

Of his enlarg-  
ment, &c. you  
shall read after  
in Sir T. Roes  
Iournall.  
Two *Fettipores*.

From hence to *Hogbe Mcbeede* 10 c. *Cancana Saray* 12 c. *Labor* 7 c. where I arrived February the fourth. On the twentieth eighth, arrived here a *Persian* Embassadour allied to *Shi Abass*, with a great Carauan accompanying him. I by them learned, that the way to *Candihar* was now clear, the warres being ended, which the *Turke* *Gelole* had caused, who the former yeare had

*Gelole* a Tray-  
tor to two  
Kings.



fled to the *Persian* with some ten thousand *Turkes*, and had obtained some Iaggere neere thereto, whereof he purposing to make himselfe King, was ouerthrowne, and being lent for by the *Persian*, refused to come, till deluded by promise of a mariage, he was got to the Court, and there lost his head. We heard also of the *Persians* taking from the *Turke*, the strong Castle of *Curdes*, after a yeeres siege, with other *Asian* and *European* newes.

§. VI.

Description of Lahor, and of the Kings house there : how the Mogolls entred India : Of diuers strong holds, strange Beasts, and Plants; fond Superstitions : Of the Wayes, Theeues, Outlawes, Cities, Buildings, adioyned and intermixed : Princes not subiect : Agra and Echebars Sepulchre described. 10

**L**ahor is one of the greatest Cities of the East, containing some 24 c. in circuit by the ditch which is now casting vp about it, and by the Kings command, now to be inclosed with a strong wall. In the time of the *Potans* it was but a Village, *Multan* then flourishing, till *Hamaw* enlarged this. The Towne and Suburb is some 6 c. thorow. The castle or Towne is inclosed with a strong bricke wall, hauing thereto twelue faire gates, nine by 20 land, and three openings to the Riuer : the streets faire and well paved, the inhabitants most *Banians* and handicrafts men ; all white men of note lying in the Suburbs. The buildings are faire and high, with bricke and much curiositie of carued windowes and doores : most of the *Gentiles* doores of sixe or seuen steps ascent, and very troublesome to get vp, so built for more securitie, and that passengers should not see into their houses. The castle is seated on *Rauce*, a goodly Riuer which falleth into *Indus*, downe which go many Boats, of sixtie tunne or vpwards, for *Tatta* in *Sind*, after the fall of the raine, being a iourney of some fortie dayes alongst by *Multan*, *Seetpore*, *Buchur*, *Rauce*, &c.

The houses.

The Riuer  
*Rauce*.

The Kings  
house descri-  
bed.

Pictures.

The Pictures  
on the wall of  
the Princes or  
great men.

This Riuer commeth from the East, and runneth Westerly by the North side of the Citie : vp- on which within the Castle is the Kings house, passing in at the middle gate to the Riuer-ward. 30 Within the Citie on the left-hand, you enter thorow a strong gate ; and a Musket shot further another smaller, into a faire great square court, with *Atefcanna* for the Kings guard to watch in. On the left-hand, thorow another gate you enter into an inner court, where the King keepes his *Darbar*, and round about which court are *Atefcanna's* also for great men to watch in. In the middest there stands a high pole to hang a light on. From hence you go vp to a faire stone Ioun- ter or small court, in the middest whereof stands a faire *Deuoncan*, with two or three other reti- ring rooms, wherein the King sits out all the first part of the night, commonly from eight to ele- uen. On the walles is the Kings Picture sitting crosse-legged on a chaire of State : on his right- hand *Sultan Peruise*, *Sultan Caroone*, and *Sultan Timoret*, his sonnes : next these, *Sha Morat*, and *Don Sha*, two of his brothers (the three baptized before spoken, were sonnes of this later) 40 next them *Emersee Sheriff*, eldest brother to *Cann Asom* (of whom it is reported his estate to be such, that of one hundred chiefe women which he kept, he neuer suffered any of their clothing af- ter their first wearing to be euer touched by any stranger, but caused them to bee buried in the ground there to rot : as also that he alway had in seruice five hundred *Masfalgees*, in so much that whensoever he went from court to his house in *Agra*, which was at least a corse, no man remoued foote with his torch, but stood all alongst to his house) next this man, *Emersee Rostene*, late King of *Candhar*, then *Can Canna* (which signifie h Prince of the *Cannes*) then *Cutius Cann*, *Raiaw Manisengo*, *Cann Asom*, *Asoph Cann*, *Sheck Fereed*, *Kelish Cann*, and *Raiaw Inggonat* (who at his death had seuen of his friends that burned themselues with him, besides one of his sisters, and a brothers childe.) On the left hand of the King stands *Raiaw Bowsing*, who beats away flies, then 50 *Raiaw Ramdas*, who holds his sword, *Cleriff Cann*, *Cann Iohn*, *Iemana Lege* or *Mambet Cann*, *Mocrow Bowcan*, *Raiaw Bosow*, *Raiaw Ransing*, *Maio Kesso*, and *Lala Bersing*. Note also that in this Gallery, as you enter, on the right-hand of the King, ouer the doore is the Picture of our Sa- uiour ; opposite on this left-hand of the Virgin *Mary*. This *Deuoncan* is very pleasantly seated, ouer-looking the *Rauce*.

From hence passing thorow a small entrie to the West, you enter another small court, where is another open Chounter of stone to sit in, couered with rich *Semianes*. From hence you enter in- to a small Gallery, at the end of which, next the Riuer, thorow a small window, the King looks forth at his *Derfancee*, to behold the fights of wilde beasts on the meadow by the Riuer. On the wall of this Gallery is drawne the Picture of the *Acabar* sitting in his State, and before him 60 *Sha Selim* his sonne, standing with a Hawke on his hit, and by him *Sultan Cussroom*, *Sultan Per- uis*, *Sultan Coroome*, his three sonnes : at the end is a small *Deuoncan*, where the King useth to sit ; behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court, alongst the right- hand whereof runneth a small Moholl of two stories, each containing eight faire lodgings for reuel all

The Moholls.



feuerall women, with Galleries and windowes looking to the Riuer, and to the court. All the doores of these chambers are to bee fastened on the out-side, and none within. In the Gallery where the King vsith to sit, are drawne ouer-head many Pictures of Angels; with Pictures of *Banian Dews*, or rather Diuels, intermixt in most vgly shape, with long hornes, staring eyes, shagge haire, great fangs, vgly pawes, long tailles, with such horrible difformity and deformity, that I wonder the poore women are not frightened there with. Within this court is a pleasant *Deuoncan* and lodgings, and the way to another Moholl for the King to passe, but none other.

Pictures of  
Angels and  
*Banian Dews*.

Now to returne to the former court, where the Adees or Guard keepe their watch, there is also on the left hand the new *Derbar*, beyond it another small court with *Atescanna*, and passing  
10 thorow another gate, a faire large square Moholl, called the new Moholl, of that largenesse that it may lodge two hundred women in state all feuerall. Likewise returning to the great court, passing right on, you enter another small paved court on the left hand, and into another Moholl, the stateliest of the three, contriued into sixteene feuerall great lodgings, each hauing faire lodgings, a *Deuoncan* (or Hall) a small paved court, each her Tanke, and enioying a little world of pleasure and state to her selfe; all seated very pleasantly vpon the Riuer. Before the Moholl of *Sultan Casserooms* mother, is placed an high pole to hang a light on, as before the King, for that shee brought forth his first sonne and heire. In the midst stands a goodly Gallery for the King to sit in, with such vgly Pictures ouer-head as before. At the end are drawne many portraictures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flaske of wine, another a napkin, a  
20 third presenting the Peally, behind one punkawing, another holding his sword, another his bow, and two or three arrowes, &c.

Large Moholl  
for two hun-  
dred women.

Pictures of his  
women and  
their offices.

Before this Gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings, and windowes alongst the waters side; at the end a faire marble Iounter, conuexed ouer-head, looking ouer the Riuer, beneath it a Garden of pleasure; behind, the Kings lodgings very sumptuous, the walles and feelings all ouer-laid with pure gold; and round alongst the sides, about a mans height, some three foote distant are placed faire *Venice* Looking-glasse, three and three each aboue other: and below these alongst the walles, are drawne many pictures of this mans Ancestors, as of *Acabar* his Father, *Hamorne* his Grand-father, *Babur* his great Grand-father, who first set foote into *India*, with thirtie of his Nobles, all clad like *Kalendars* or *Fookeers*, which so came to *Dely* to *Secanders* Court  
30 then raigning, where by his very countenance he was discouered, yet found mercy, and returned vpon his oath not to attempt any thing during the said *Secanders* raigne; which he performed: but after his death, he sent his sonne *Hamorne* vpon his Successor *Abram*, from whom he tooke the whole Kingdome. Yet at length rose vp a great Captaine of the Blood-Royall in *Bengala*, who fought a great battel with *Hamorne* near *Ganges*, put him to flight, and so closely followed him, that he draue him forth of the Kingdome to the *Persian Shaw*; of whom hee obtained new Forces (with whom came *Byram*, *Cann* *Canna* his father, for Generall) and reconquered all, liuing after that in security. This King dying, left *Acabar* very yong, appointed *Byram Cann* Protector, whom the *Acabar*, comming to yeares, cast off, and on a Roomery or Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, as is said, made away with him. His sonne *Can Canna* or *Cann*, of the *Caunees*, doth also much  
40 curbe *Sha Selim* the King, with his friends and Allyes, being able to make better then an hundred thousand horse. *Sha Selim* affirmeth himselfe to be the ninth lawfully descended from the loynes of *Tamerlane* the Great, being the Great-grand-child of *Babur*, King of *Cabul*.

*Babur* first con-  
querour: his  
st. atagems.

*Tamerlane*.

But to returne to the entrance of this Moholl, passing forth of that court thorow a strong gate, you enter into the City againe; this house and appurtenances of Mohols being at the least two *Englisb* miles in circuit. On the East-side of the Castle hard without the wall, is the Garden of *Asoph Cann*, small, neat, with walkes (planted with Cypresse-trees) diuers Tankes and Ioun-  
50 ters: as you enter, a faire *Deuoncan* supported with stone pillars, with a faire Tanke in the midst, and in the midst of that, on foure stone pillars, a Iounter for coolenesse. Beyond are other Galleries and walkes, diuers lodgings for his women neatly contriued; and behind, a small Garden, and Garden-house. In the midst of the Garden is a very stately Iounter with faire buildings ouer-head, and a Tanke in the center with large and goodly Galleries alongst the foure sides thereof, supported with high stone pillars. Adioyning to this is a Garden of the Kings, in which are very good Apples, but small, Toot white and red, Almonds, Peaches, Figges, Grapes, Quinces, Orenge, Limmons, Pomgranats, Roses, Stock-gellow-flowers, Marigolds, Wall-flowers, Ireos, Pinkes white and red, with diuers sorts of *Indian* Flowers.

*Asoph Cann* his  
Garden.

Apples, with  
fruits and  
flowers.

On the West-side of the Castle is the Ferry to passe ouer to *Cabul* (and so to *Tartary* or *Casscar*), a very grtat road-way, and the further side of the Riuer is a goodly Countrey. Infinit numbers of Gardens full of rarity exceeds, two or 3 c. in length. Passing the Sugar Gonge is a faire Moskite built by *Shecke Fereed*; beyond it (without the Towne, in the way to the Gardens) is  
60 a faire monument for *Don Sha* his mother, one of the *Acabar* his wiues, with whom it is said *Sha Selim* had to do (her name was *Inmacque Kelle*, or Pomgranate kernell) vpon notice of which the King caused her to be inclosed quicke within a wall in his Moholl, where shee dyed: and the King in token of his loue, commands a sumptuous Tombe to be built of stone in the midst of a foure-square Garden richly walled, with a gate, and diuers roomes ouer it: the conuexity of the Tombe he hath willed to be wrought in workes of gold, with a large faire Iounter with roomes ouer-head. Note that most of these monumets which I mention, are of such largenesse, that if they



were otherwise contriued, would haue roome to entertaine a very good man, with his whole household. Without the *Dely Droware*, where the *Nolat* or great Drum beats, is a goodly streight street, about three quarters of a mile long, all paved; at the end of which is the *Bazar*, by it the great *Saray*, besides which are diuers others, both in the City and Suburbs, wherein diuers neate lodgings are to be let, with doores, lockes and keyes to each. Hence to the North-east lyeth *Amber*, the place of hospitality: from hence to the South-east the habitation of diuers louing, &c.

Anno 1611.  
Cabull sacked  
by theeues.

The seuenteenth of May, came news of the sacking of *Cabul* by the *Potan* theeues, which kept in the Mountains, being eleuen thousand foot, and one thousand horse, the *Gouernour* thereof being at *Gelalabade* about other affaires, & the Garrison so weak, that they were able only to maintaine the Cattle. In six houres they spoiled the City and retired with great booty. The King for better awing of these rebels, hath placed twenty three *Ombracs* betwixt *Lahor* and *Cabul*, and yet all will not serue, they often falling from the mountains, robbing Carauans and ransacking townes. The eighteenth of August, arriued a great Carauan from *Persia*, by whom we had newes from an *Armenian*, which had serued *M. Boys*, of the *French Kings* death, and of affaires betwixt the *Turk* and *Persian*; he hauing destroyed the country about *Tauris*, rased the Citie, and filled vp the wells to hinder the *Turks* armie: the Merchants by this means (to our grieve) not daring to aduenture beyond *Candhar*.

Tauris rased.

Of diuers wayes in the Mogols Kingdome, to and from Lahor and Agra, and places of note in them.

Relation of the  
way from Lahor  
to Cabull, be-  
yond Cabull  
60 c. runne  
mountaines, at  
the foote of  
which lyeth  
the way to Cas-  
car.

FROM *Lahor* to *Cabull* passing the *Rauce* at 10 c. stands *Googes Seray*: beyond which 8 c. *Emenbade*, a faire City: thence to *Chumaguckur* 12 c. a great towne: to *Guzerat* 14 c. a faire Citie of great trade: at 7 c. of this way you passe the Riuer *Chantrow*, neare a corse ouer: to *Homaspore* 12 c. to *Loure Rotas* 15 c. a Citie with a strong Cattle on a Mountaine, the Frontier of the *Potan* kingdome to *Hattea* 15 c. to *Puckow* 4 c. to *Raulepende* 14 c. to *Collapanne* 15 c. to *Hassanabdall* 4 c. a pleasant Towne with a small Riuer, and many faire Tanks, in which are many fishes with gold rings in their noses hung by *Acabar*, the water so cleare, that you may see a penny in the bottome: to *Attock* 15 c. a Citie with a strong Castle, by which *Indus* passeth in great beautie: to *Pishore* 36 c. to *Alleek Meskits* 10 c. the way dangerous for rebels, which are able to make ten or twelue thousand men: to *Ducka* 12 c. to *Beshoule* 6 c. to *Abareek* 6 c. to *Aleboga* 9 c. by which runneth *Cow*, a great Riuer, which comes from *Cabul*: (way still theeuish) to *Gelalabade* 4 c. to *Loure-charebago* 4 c. to *Budde-charbag* 6 c. to *N. mla* 8 c. to *Gondoma* 4 c. to *Surcrood* 4 c. a *Saray*, with a small Riuer which lookes red, and makes to haue a good stomach: to *Zagdelee* 8 c. to *Abereek* 8 c. to *Dowaba* 8 c. a great mountain in the way 4 c. ascent: to *Butta Canke* 8 c. to *Camree* 3 c. to *Cabul* 3 c. It is a great and faire Citie, the first seate of this Kings great Grand-father, with two Castles and many *Sarays*. 20 c. beyond is *Chare-cullow*, a pleasant faire Citie, and 20 c. beyond *Gorebond*, a great Citie bordering vpon *Vsheke*. 150 c. beyond *Cabul* is *Taul Caun*, a Citie in *Buddorsha*.

Cabull.

Cascar.

Tar Chaun.

China.

From *Cabul* to *Cascar*, with the Carauan, is some two or three moneths iourney. It is a great kingdome, and vnder the *Tartar*. A chiefe Citie of trade in his Territorie is *Tar Chaun*, whence comes much *Silke*, *Purilane*, *Muske*, and *Rheubarb*, with other Merchandize: all which come from *China*, the gate or entrance whereof is some two or three moneths iourney from hence. When they come to this entrance, they are forced to remaine vnder their Tents, and by license send some ten or fifteene Merchants at once to doe their businesse, which being returned, they may send as many more. But by no meanes can the whole Carauan enter at once.

Of this see my  
Pilg. l. 4. c. 12.

S. 3.  
Goes his trauell  
from Lahor to  
Cabul and China  
Cassimere.

From *Lahor* to *Cassimere* the way is as in *Cabull* way to *Guzerat*: from thence North, or somewhat Easterly withall 16 c. to *Bimbar*; to *Soagek* *Hately* 14 c. to *Chingessj* *Hately* 10 c. to *Peckly* 10 c. to *Conowa* 12 c. thence 8 c. you ascend a mountaine called *Hast Caunk Gate*, on the top of which is a goodly plaine, from whence to *Cassimer* is 12 c. thorew a goodly Countrey. The City is strong, seated on the Riuer *Babat*, the Countrey is a goodly Plaine, lying on the mountaines, some 150 c. in length, and 50 c. in breadth, abounding with fruits, graine, Saffron, faire and white women. Heere are made the rich *Pomberies* which serue all the *Indians*. This Countrey is cold, subiect to frosts and great snowes, neare to *Cascar*, but seperated with such mountaines, that there is no passage for Carauans: yet there commeth oft-times *Musk*, with *Silke* and other merchandize this way by men, and goods are faine to be triced vp, and let downe often by engines and deuices. Vpon these mountaines keepes a small King called *Tibbot*, who of late sent one of his daughters to *Sha Selim* to make affinitie.

Impassible  
Mountaines.

Another way  
from Agra to  
Surat.

Gur-chitto an  
impregnable  
Castle.  
Rana Pope of  
the Resboares or  
Indian Gentiles.

*Nicholas Vphet* made another way from *Agra* to *Surat*, by *Fetipore*, *Scanderbade*, *Hindoin*, *Cheningom*, *Mogoll Saray*, *Nonnigong* at the foot of a Mountaine, which with others adioyning, are held by two *Raiaws* of no note. Opposite to these on the left hand, beginne the mountaines of *Maywa*, which extend neare *Amadauer*. Vpon these mountaines stands an impregnable Castle, called *Gur Chitto*, the cheefe seat of *Rana*, a very powerfull *Raiaw*, whom neither *Potan*, or the *Acabar* himselfe could euer subdue: which comes to passe by reason that all *India* hath been *Gentiles*, and this Prince hath bin, and still is esteemed in like reuerence by them, as the Pope of Rome by the Papists. And for this cause the *Raiaws*, which haue been sent against him, frame some excuses that they may not indamage much his Territories, which extend hence alongst *Amadauer* way an hundred and fifty great corfes, and in breadth toward *Ougen* 200 c. inclosed for the most part

60

part



part with inaccessible mountaines, and fortified well by art in places accessible. He is able to make twelve thousand good horse vpon any occasion, and holds many faire Townes and goodly Cities. The way followeth by *Gangra*, *Charfoot* (chiefe seat of *Raiaw Manisengo* his Prigones) *Ladane*, *Moufalde*, *Banderande*. Prigones are Lordships.

*Asmere*, seated vpon the top of an inaccessible Mountaine of 3 c. ascent, being a Fort inuincible: the Citie at the foot not great, inclosed with a stone wall, ditched round, the buildings reasonable faire; without the wals are many Antiquities, amongst which some 2 c. toward *Agra* is a very faire Tanke. This place is only famous for the Sepulchre of *Hoghee Mundee*, a Saint much respected by the *Mogols*, to whom (as is said before) the *Acabar* made a *Romery* on foot from *Agra* to obtayne a Sonne. Before you come to this Tombe, you passe three faire Courts, of which the first containeth neere an acre of ground, paved all with blacke and white Marble, wherein are interred many of *Mahometts* cursed Kindred: on the left hand is a faire Tanke inclosed with stone. The second Court is paved like the former, but richer, twice as bigge as the Exchange in *London*; in the midst whereof hangs a curious Candlesticke with many lights. Into the third you passe by a Brazen gate curiously wrought; it is the fairest of the three, especially, neere the doore of the Sepulchre, where the pavement is curiously interlaid: the doore is large and inlaid with Mother of Pearle, & the pavement about the Tombe of interlaid Marble; the Sepulchre very curiously wrought in worke of Mother of Pearle, and Gold, with an Epitaph in the *Persian* Tongue. A little distant stands his seate in a darke obscure place, where he sat to fore-tell of matters, and is much reuerenced. On the East-side stand three other Courts, in each a faire Tanke; on the North and West stand diuers faire houses, wherein keepe their Sides or Church-men. Note, that you may not enter any of these places but bare-foot.

Description of *Asmere* before the *Mogoll* made it his Royall residence.

Esteeme of a *Mahumetan* S. *Hoghee Mundee*.

From hence the way lyeth to *Cairo*, *Mearta* (which hath a stone Castle with many faire Turrets, a faire Tanke, and three faire Pagodes richly wrought with inlayd Workes, adorned richly with Iewels, and maintayned with rich Offerings) *Pipera*, *louges gong Setrange*, *Candernpe*, *Ielowe*, (this last is a Castle, seated on the height of a steepe Mountaine, 3 c. in ascent, by a faire stone cawsey, broad enough for two men to passe a-breast. At the first Cose end is a gate and place of Armes: there the cawsey is inclosed with wals on both sides, and at the 2 c. end is a double gate: at the 3 c. stands the Castle where you must enter three seuerall gates, the first very strongly plated with Iron, the second not so strong, with places ouer it to throw downe scalding Lead or Oyle: the third strongly plated with Pikes, sticking forth like harping Irons. Between each of these gates are spacious Courts for Armes, and within the further gate is a faire Portcullis. Being entred on the right hand stands a faire Meskite, with diuers *Deuoncans* adioyning, both to doe Iustice, and to take the Aire. On the left hand stands the *Gouernours* house on the height of the hills ouer-looking all.

Pagodas. *Ielowe* a strong Castle.

A flight-shot within the Castle is a faire Pagode built by the Founders of the Castle, Ancestors of *Gidney Cann* which were *Indians*. He turned *Moore*, and hereaued his elder Brother of this hold by this stratageme. He inuited him and his women to a Banquet, which his brother requiting with like inuitation of him and his, instead of women he lends choice Souldiers well appointed and close couered, two and two in a *Dowle*; who beeing entred after this manner, possesse themselves of the Ports, and held it for the Great *Mogoll*, to whom it now appertayneth, being one of the strongest seated Forts in the world. Some halfe Cose within the gate is a goodly Tanke foure square, cut directly downe into the Rocke, affirmed to bee fiftie fathome deepe, of cleere and good water. A little further is a faire Plaine shaded with many goodly trees, beyond which on the top of a little piqued Mountayne, is the Sepulchre of King *Hassward*, while he liued a great Souldier, since his death a great Saint, honoured in these parts. Here lye also interred two sonnes of *Gillould* a *Potan* King of *Dely*: neere to which is a wall which diuides the Castle neere a Cose in circuit, (the whole Castle beeing about 8 c. in compasse) nigh whereto is said to keepe a huge Snake of fife and twentie foot long, and as bigge as a man in the waste, which the people will by no meanes hurt, holding it a good fortune; for it hurts no man, but keepe amongst the bushes and bryars of this piqued Mountaine. This Castle is called the Gate or Frontire of *Guzurate*. From hence you come to *Mudre*, *Billmall* (the foundations of whose ancient wall, are yet seene) they haue beene 24 c. in circuit, many goodly Tankes also going to ruine, by one of which is the Founders Sepulchre, whither the *Indians* resort to worship: From hence to *Amadabade*, is a deepe sandy Defart Countrey. *Rodeapore* in this way hath many Sepulchres, (I let passe it and the rest.)

Cunning treachery. A *Dowle* or *Dowle* is a Chaire or Cage wherein they carry their Women on mens shoulders.

A huge Snake.

*Billmall* a great Citie.

*Amadabade* or *Amadaur* is a goodly City, and scituate on a faire Riuer, inclosed with strong wals and faire gates, with many beautifull Turrets. The Castle is large and strong, where resideth *Cann Asom* his Sonne, the Vice-Roy in these parts. The buildings comparable to any Citie in *Asia* or *Africa*, the streets large and well paved, the Trade great (for almost euery ten dayes goe from hence two hundred Coaches richly laden with Merchandise for *Cambaya*) the Merchants rich, the Artificers excellent for Caruings, Paintings, Inlayd Workes, imbroydery with Gold and Siluer: at an houres warning it hath in readinesse sixe thousand Horse; the gates perpetually strong guarded, none suffered without license to enter, nor to depart without Certificate. The cause of this is *Badurs* Neighbour-hood in his strong hold, within 50 c. of this Citie to the East, where Nature with some helpe of Art and Industry hath fortified him against all the *Mogolls* power;

*Amadaur* described.

*Badur*, whose Progenitors were Kings of *Guzurat*.



Two other  
Raiawes which  
stand out.  
An excellent  
race of horses.

Cambaya.

Munkeyes.

Port. Frig'rs.  
Violent ryde  
called the Bore.

Boroche.  
A Mine of  
Agats.

Tarric or Tadie,  
a strong  
Wine.  
Polle Medomy a  
Moore Deuilor  
Saint. Pigi-  
mage to him.  
Miracles as  
true as --

Certaine pla-  
ces of note  
in the Coun-  
trei of Purrop.  
Cannowes.  
Ganges his be-  
ginning and  
greatnesse.  
Lacanowes.  
Oude.

Holy, holy  
place and In-  
dian Temples.

Indian Affe-  
horne.

power; and whence some foure yeeres since (proclaiming Liberty and Lawes of good fellow-ship) hee sacked *Cambaya* with a sudden power, combined by hope of spoile, of one hundred thousand men, which for fourteene dayes continued possessors there and sharkers. There is also betwixt this and *Trage* a certaine *Raiaw* on the Mountaines able to make seuentene thousand Horse and Foot, the people called *Colles* or *Quullees*, keeping in a Desart Wildernesse which secures him from Conquest: and on the right hand is another able to make tenne thousand Horse, holding in a Desart Plaine a Cattle impregnable; whose Land is subiect to *Gidney Cauns* gouernment, but these seuen yeeres hee hath denyed him Tribute, and stands on his defence. This *Raiaw* is said to haue a Race of Horses not equalled in all the East, each valued at fiftene thousand R. reported to bee much swifter then the *Arabian*, and able to continue with reasonable speed a whole day without once drawing bitte; of which he is said to haue one hundred Mares. From *Geloure* to this Citie is all a sandy, woody Countrey, full of theeuish beastly men, and of Mankind, Sauage Beasts, Lions, Tygres, &c. 30 c. about this City is made *Nill* called *Cickell*, of a Towne 4 c. from *Amadanar*, not so good as that of *Biana*.

*Cambaya* is hence 38 c. sandy, wooddie, theeuish way: it stands by the Sea, encompassed with a strong bricke wall, the houses high, and faire, the streets paved in a direct Line with strong gates at the end of each, the Bazar large: about the Citie are such infinite numbers of Munkeyes, leaping from house to house, that they doe much mischief, and vntying the houses, are readie to braine men as they passe in the streets with the stones that fall. On the South is a goodly Garden with a Watch-tower of an exceeding height; on the North are many faire Tankes. It is the Mart of *Guzerat*, and so haunted by the *Portugals*, that you shall often finde two hundred Frigats at once riding there. It aboundeth with all sorts of cloth and rich Drugges. The Bay is 8 c. ouer, dangerous to passe by reason of the great Bore which drownes many, and therefore requires Guides skilfull of the tydes: in the neape tydes is least perill. Theeuies also, when you are ouer the Channell, are not a little dangerous, forcing you (if not the better provided) to quit your goods, or in long bickerings, betraying you to the tydes fury, which comes so swift that ten to one you escape not. Foure Coses beyond this Bay is *Ioumbeser*, now much ruined, and from thence eightene to *Boroche*, a woodie, dangerous passage, in which are many wilde Peacocks. Within 4 c. of *Boroche* is a great Mine of Agats. It is a faire Castle seated on a Riuer twice as broad as the *Thames*, to the mouth of which is hence 12 c. Here are made the rich *Baffatas*, in finenesse surpassing *Holland* Cloth, for fiftie Rupias a Booke, which contayneth fourteene English yards, and are not three quarters broad.

Hence to *Uriaw* 20 c. a goodly Countrey and fertile, full of Villages, abounding with wild Date Trees, which generally are plentiful by the Sea-side in most places, whence they draw a liquor called *Tarric* or *Sure*, as also from another wild Coco-tree called *Tarric*, 3 c. hence is *Surat*.

In a Towne betweene *Boroche* and *Amadanar*, lyeth a Great Saint of the *Moore*s called *Polle-Medomy* much resorted to out of all places of *India*, for wealth, children, or what else they desire. Diuers in the way goe with great chaines on their legges, and with their hands chained together, and their mouthes locked vp, (only opening them for food) and when they come before him in this manner of their humble deuotion, they asseme that presently their chaines and lockes flye open, not one returning in vaine; if themselves bee not vaine in their hopes, and in these and other like affections, which wayting on lying Vanities, forsake their owne Iudge.

From *Agra* to *Cannowes* is 130 c. East, the Citie great and vnwalled, seated on an ascent, and the Castle on the height well fortified: at the foot whereof anciently *Ganges* tooke his course, but hath now broken a passage thorow the Valley some 4 c. distant, notwithstanding as yet a small branch remayneth there. *Ganges* is within his bounds three quarters of a mile broad, but with great raines swells ouer his barres, couering the whole Vale neere 10 c. It hath thirtie Ri- uers of note which fall into it, as doth he himselfe into the Gulfe of *Bengala*. In it are innume- rable Alagaters or Crocodiles, there called *Murgurmach*. It hath eightene faire branches. Thence to *Lacanowes* is 30 c. a Towne of great traffique for Linnen and other Merchandize. To *Oude* 50 from thence are 50 c. a Citie of ancient note, and seate of a *Potan* King, now much ruined: the Castle built foure hundred yeeres agoe. Heere are also the ruines of *Ranichand* Castle and Houses with the *Indians* acknowledge for the great God, saying, that he tooke flesh vpon him to see the *Tamasas* of the World. In these ruines remayne certaine *Bramenes*, who record the names of all such *Indians* as wash themselves in the Riuer running thereby; which custome they say, hath continued foure lackes of yeeres (which is three hundred ninetie foure thousand, and five hundred yeeres before the Worlds Creation.) Some two miles on the further side of the Riuer is a Caeue of his, with a narrow entrance, but so spacious and full of turnings within, that a man may well loose himselfe there, if he take not better heed; where it is thought his ashes were buried. Hither resort many from all parts of *India*, which carry from hence in remembrance cer- taine graines of Rice as blacke as Gun-powder, which they say haue bene reserved euer since. Out of the ruines of this Castle is yet much Gold tryed: here is great Trade, and such abundance of *Indian* Ass-horne, that they make hereof Bucklers, and diuers sorts of Drinking Cups. There are of these Hornes, all the *Indians* asseme, some rare of great price, no lewell comparable, some esteeming them the right *Vnicornes* Horne.

From



From *Oudee* to *Acabarpore* 30 c. some 30 c. from whence lyeth *Bonorce* the principall Mart of *Bengala* goods. From *Acab*, to *Iounpore* 30 c. seated on a small Riuer, ouer which is a bridge with Houses like *London* Bridge, but nothing so good. The Castle hath beene a seat of the *Potan* Kings, there yet remayning two faire *Meskites*, with many other ancient Monuments: the houses are like those of *Amadanar*, the circuit some 8. or 10 c. Hence come excellent sweete Oyles, Carpets, Hangings embrodered with Silke, all sorts of fine Linnen, &c.

Thus much from *Agra* to *Iounpore* this way: from thence (returning that way to *Agra*) to *Alabasse* is 110 c. 30 c. all which are thorow a continuall Forrest. The Towne and Castle stand on the further side of *Ganges* pleasantly seated, called anciently *Praye*, and is held one of the Wonders of the East. Diuers *Potan* Kings haue sought to build here a Castle, but none could doe it, till *Acabar* layd the foundation and proceeded with the Worke. It stands on a Point or Angle hauing the Riuer *Gemini* on the South-side falling into *Ganges*. It hath beene fortie yeeres a building, and is not yet finished, neither is like to bee in a long time. The *Acabar* for many yeeres had attending this worke by report twentie thousand persons, and as yet there continue working thereon some five thousand of all sorts. It will be one of the most famous buildings of the World. In this Castle *Sha Selim* kept when he rebelled against his Father. The outward wals are of an admirable height, of a red square stone, like *Agra* Castle, within which are two other wals nothing so high. You enter thorow two faire gates into a faire Court, in which stands a Pillar of stone fiftie Cubits aboue ground (so deeply placed within ground that no end can be found) which by circumstances of the *Indians*, seemeth to haue beene placed by *Alexander* or some other great Conquerour, who could not passe further for *Ganges*. Passing this Court you enter a lesse, beyond that a larger, where the King sits on high at his *Dersane* to behold Elephants and other Beasts to fight. Right vnder him within a Vault are many Pagodes, being Monuments of *Baba Adam*, and *Mama Hanah*, (as they call them) and of their Progenie, with Pictures of *Noah* and his Descent.

The returne from *Iounpore* another way to *Alabasse* to *Agra*.  
*Alabasse* Castle  
A mighty Castle.

The *Indians* suppose that Man was heere created, or kept heere at least for many yeeres, affirming themselves to be of that Religion, whereof these Fathers were. To this place resort many thousands from all parts to worship: but before they approach these Reliques, they wash their bodies in *Ganges*, shauing their heads and beards, thereby deeming themselves cleansed from all their former sins. Out of this Court is another finely paved where the King keepes his *Darbar*; beyond it another whence you enter into the *Moholl*; large, diuided into sixteene seuerall Lodgings for sixteene great Women with their Slaues and Attendants: in the midst of all, the Kings Lodgings of three Stories each containyng sixteene roomes, in all eight and fortie Lodgings, all wrought ouer-head with rich Pargetting and curious Painting in all kind of Colours. In the midst of the lowest storie is a curious Tanke.

*Alexanders* Pillar.

Mon. of *Adam* and *Eue*, and of the Creation, Pilgrimage & Holy-water.

In this *Moholl* is a Tree which the *Indians* call the Tree of Life (beeing a wilde *Indian* figge Tree) for that it could neuer bee destroyed by the *Potan* Kings and this mans Ancestors, which haue sought to doe it by all meanes, stocking it vp and sifting the very earth vnder it to gather forth the sprigs, it still springing againe, insomuch that this King lets it alone seeking to cherish it. This Tree is of no small esteeme with the *Indians*. In the waters side within the *Moholl* are diuers large *Deuoncans*, where the King with his Women often passe their times in beholding *Gemini*, paying his Tribute to *Ganges*. Betweene them and the waters side at the foote of the wall is a pleasant Garden shaded with Cypresse Trees, and abounding with excellent fruits and flowres, hauing in the midst a faire Banqueting House, with priuie itaires to take Boate. From hence in October or Nouember when the great Frost is past, you may passe by Boats for *Bengala*; but the passage is dangerous: 4 c. downe are two Castles opposite on the Bankes, *Harrayle* and *Gussie*, seated on two hills rayled by industry, built by the *Potans*.

Strange Tree.

From *Alabasse* to *Menepore* is 20 c. alongst the Riuer *Ganges*. At 2 c. on this way is a sumptuous Tombe for this Kings first Wife, Mother to *Sulian Cusseroon*, and Sister to *Raia Marissen-go*, who vpon the newes of her Sonnes reuolt poysoned her selfe. From hence passing *Ganges* is a more direct way to *Iounpore*.

*Menepore*.

To *Chappergat* is 12 c. here is one of the fairest Sarais in *India*, liker a goodly Castle then a Inne to lodge strangers, the lodgings very faire of stone with Lockes and Keyes able to lodge a thousand men: a man can scarce shoote from side to side with an Arrow; neere to it is a faire bridge both built by one man: the way perillous for Theeues. *Itay* is thence 12 c. anciently the seate of a *Potan* King but now ruined. On the height of the hill cut steep downe, is seated a strong Castle double walled, hauing at the entrance the figure of a mans face which the *Indians* much worship powring abundance of Oyle vpon it. To *Amedipore* is 43 c. a plentifull Countrey full of good Sarais for Carauans. Much Indico called *Cole* of a grosse sort is made in this way, which is spent in *India*, or transported for *Samercand*, *Cascat*, and those parts, none passing into Christendome, except mixed with that of *Biana*. Hence to *Agra* is 7 c. passing *Gemini* close to the Citie.

*Chappergat*.  
A faire Saray.

*Itay*. Face worshipped.

Lands lying Easterly from *Lahor* with their Lords.

Alongst the *Rauce* Easterly, lyeth the Land of *Raiw Boffow*, whose chiefe seate is *Tem-mery*, *Tem-mery*. 50 c. fro *Lahor*. He a is mighty Prince now subiect to the *Mogol*, a great Minion of *Sha Selim*.



- Out of this, and the adioyning Regions, come most of the *Indian* Drugges, growing on the Mountaines, Spikenard, Turbith, Miras, Kebals, Gunlack, Turpentine, Costus, &c. This *Raia* confines the Kings Land Easterly. Bordering to him is another great *Raia*, called *Tulluck-Chand*, whose chiefe City is *Negercoat*, 80 c. from *Labor*, and as much from *Syrinan*, in which City is a famous Pagod, called *Je* or *Durga*, vnto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of *India*. It is a small short Idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue, and throwing it at the Idols feet, haue found it whole the next day (able to lye I am afraid; to serue the father of lyes and lyers, how euer) yea some out of impious piety heere sacrifice themselues, cutting their throats, and presently recouering: the holier the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed, some (more grievous sinners) remaining halfe a day in paine, before the Diuell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to craue children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents, or lost by themselues, which hauing made their offerings, by dreames in the night receiue answere, not one departing discontented. They report this *Pagan* Deity to haue beene a woman (if a holy Virgin may haue that name) yea that shee still liues (the Diuell shee doth) but will not shew her selfe. Diuers *Moors* also resort to this *Peer*. This *Raia* is powerfull, by his Mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visite *Sha Selim*.
- On this *Raia* Easterly confineth another, called *Deccampergas*, a mightie Prince, his chiefe seat *Calsery* about an 150 c. from *Agra*, his Country held 500 c. long, North and South 300 c. broad, populous, able to raise vpon occasion fise hundred thousand foot, but few or no horse; the Land plentiful in it selfe, but sends forth little.
- To the Eastward of this *Raia*, betwixt *Iemini* and *Ganges* lyeth the Land of *Raia Mansa*, a mighty Prince and very rich, reported to be serued, all in vessels of massie gold: his Countrey 300 c. long, and one hundred and fifty broad, his chiefe seat *Serenegar*: the Mountaines called *Dow Lager*, vpon which in time of Winter falls such extreame Snowes, that the Inhabitants are forced to remooue into the Valleyes. Yet doe I not thinke that any of these Lands extend Northerly aboue forty degrees, but the height of the Mountaines causeth this extremity of cold. This *Raia* Land extendeth within some 200 c. of *Agra*, part within 50 c. of *Syrinan*, very plentiful.
- On the further side of *Ganges* lyeth a very mighty Prince, called *Raia Rodorow*, holding a mountainous Countrey, his chiefe seat *Camow*; his territories extend 400 c. long, and not much lesse in breadth, abounding with graine, haue many goodly Cities: thence commeth much Muske, and heere is the great breed of a small kind of Horse, called *Gunts*, a true traueiling scalecliffe beast. This Prince is puissant in foot, but hath few Horse or Elephants, the mountaines not requiring the one, and the cold excluding the other: his Lands thought to reach neare *China*.
- To the South of this *Raia*, thwart the streames of *Ganges*, is seated another, *Raia Mugg*, very powerfull in horse, foote, and Elephants. In his Land is the old rocke of naturall Diamonds, which yeelds him no small benefit. His Lands extend East, somewhat South 700 c. from *Agra*. Beneath him amongst the streames of *Ganges*, keepeth a *Potan* Prince of the *Dely-Kings* race, whom the King cannot subdue, by reason of the streames and Ilands of *Ganges*. He confineth vpon *Purrop*, and makes often inroades vpon the Kings lands, enforcing *Sha Selim* to maintaine a frontire army. Hence to the mouth of *Ganges*, all is the Kings land: only in the mouth, the *Portugall* Out-lawes hold a small Fort, and doe much milchiefe, liuing in no forme of subiection to God or man.
- On the further side of *Ganges*, is the mightie King of *Arracan*, enioying a large territory, and infinite numbers of small Barkes. Eastward from him is the Kingdome of *Siam*; behind it *Oua* and *Iangoma*. Betweene *Tanassar* and *Arracan* is the Kingdome of *Pegu*; the Land now lyeth waste. To the South is the Kingdome of *Queda*, *Malacca*, &c. On the Sea-coast of *Bengala*, this King hath two chiefe Ports, *Ongolee* (tyrannized by the *Portugals*) and *Pipilee*, passing which, and the Land of *Orixa*, you enter into the Lands of *Goloconda*, on whom *Sha Selim* maketh warres, and hath forcibly taken much of his Land. His chiefe Port is *Masulipatan*, and his Royall seat *Braganadar* and *Goloconda*, that late builded. Alongst the sea side toward the Cape, is the mightie King of *Bezeneger*, vnder whom the *Portugals* hold *Saint Thome* and *Negapatan*, but are not suffered to build a Castle. But I let passe these neighbouring *Indies*, and returne to *Agra*, the *Mogols* royall residence.
- Agra* hath not been in fame aboue fiftie yeeres, being before *Acabars* time a Village, who removed (as you haue heard) from *Fetipore* for want of good water. It is spacious, large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly passe in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, saue only the great *Bazar* and some few others, which are large and faire. The Citie lyeth in manner of a halfe-moone, bellying to the land-ward some 5 c. in length, and as much by the Riuer side. vpon the bankes, whereof are many goodly houses of the Nobility, pleasantly ouer-looking *Gemini*, which runneth with a swift current from the North to the South, somewhat Easterly into *Ganges*. Vpon the banke of this Riuer stands the Castle, one of the fairest and admirabest buildings of the East, some three or foure miles in compasse, inclosed with a faire and strong wall of squared stone; about which is cast a faire ditch, ouer it draw-bridges. The walles

Negercoat.

Idolatrous pilgrimage, and cruell deuotions.

Calsery.

Serenegar.  
Dow Lager.

Extremite of cold.

Camow.

Gunts, a race of horse to climbe hil'es.

Rocke of Diamonds.

Port-outlawes.

See of Pegu  
Floris his Relation before.Description of  
Agra, and the  
Castle.

The Castle.



walles are built with bulwarkes somewhat defensible, regalled with a counter-scarfe or front without, some fiftene yards broad. Within this are two other strong walls and gates. To the Castle are foure gates, one to the North, by which you passe to a Rampire with great peeces, another West to the *Bazar*, called the *Cichery* gate, within which, ouer against the great gate, is the *Casi* his seat of Chiefe-Iustice in matters of law, and by it two or three murtherers very great (one three foot in the bore, and fiftene long) of cast brasfe. Ouer-against this seat is the *Cichery* or Court of Rolls, where the Kings Viseir sits euery morning some three houres, by whose hands passe all matters of Rents, Grants, Lands, Firmans, Debts, &c.

Seats of Iustice.

Beyond these two gates you passe a second gate, ouer which are two *Raians* in stone\*, who were slaine in the Kings *Derbar* before the Kings eyes; for being ouer-bold in speech, they selling their liues brauely, in remembrance of which they are heere placed. Passing this gate, you enter into a faire streete, with houses and munition all alongst on both sides. At the end of this street being a quarter of a mile, you come to the third gate, which leads to the Kings *Derbar*, alwayes chained, all men, but the King and his children, there alighting. This gate is to the South called *Acabar Dromage*, close within which is the Whores child, many hundreds of which attend there day and night, according as their seuerall turnes come euery seventh day; that they may bee ready when the King or his women shall please to call any of them to sing or dance in his Moholl, he giuing to euery one of them stipends according to their vnworthy worth.

\* It is said that they were two Brothers Rebels Tutor to a Prince their Nephew, whom the King demanded of them. They refused, and were committed, but drew on the Officers, slew twelve, and at last by multitudes oppressing were slain, and here haue Elephants of stone, and themselves figured. Singsters or whoores attending. Some say they are there as a Court of guard of women, of which are here two or three hundred daily by succession. Tessillam is a gesture of humiliation. The Kings *Derbar*.

The fourth Gate is to the Riuer called the *Derfane*, leading into a faire Court extending alongst the Riuer, in which the King lookes forth euery morning at Sun-rising, which hee salutes, and then his Nobles resort to their Tessillam. Right vnder the place where he lookes out, is a kind of scaffold whereon his Nobles stand, but the *Addees* with others awayt below in the Court. Here also euery noone he looketh forth to behold Tama'shan, or fighting of Elephants, Lyons, Buffles, killing of Deare with Leopards; which is a custome on euery day of the weeke, Sunday excepted, on which is no fighting; but Tuesday on the contrary is a day of blood, both of fighting beasts, and iusticed men, the King iudging and seeing execution. To returne to the third Gate, within it you enter into a spacious court with Atesanna's round about like shops or open stalls, wherein his Captaines according to their degrees, keep their seventh day Chockees. A little further you enter within a rayle into a more inward Court, with in which none but the Kings *Addees*, and men of sort are admitted, vnder paine of swacking by the Porters cudgells, which lay on load without respect of persons.

Being entred, you approach the Kings *Derbar* or Seat, before which is also a small Court inclosed with railes, couered ouer head with rich Semianes to keepe away the Sunne; where aloft in a Gallery, the King sits in his chaire of State, accompanied with his Children and chiefe Vizier (who goeth vp by a short ladder forth of the Court) no other without calling daring to goe vp to him, saue onely two Punkaw's to gather wind. And right before him below on a scaffold is a third, who with a horse taile makes hauocke of poore flies. On the right hand of the King, on the wall behind him, is the picture of our Sauour; on the left, of the Virgin. Within these railes none vnder the degree of foure hundred horse are permitted to enter. On the further side of this Court of preience, are hanged golden bells, that if any be oppressed and can get no iustice by the Kings Officers, by ringing these bells when the King sits, he is called, and the matter discussed before the King. But let them be sure their cause be good, least he be punished for presumption to trouble the King. Here euery day betweene three and foure a clocke, the King comes forth (and many thousands resort to doe their duties, each taking place according to his degree) where hee remains hearing of matters, receiuing of newes by letters read by his Vizier, graunting of suites, &c. till shutting in of the Euening, the drumme meane while beating, and Instruments playing from a high Gallery on the next building opposite: his Elephants and Horses passing by in braue fashion, doing their Tessillam, and being perused by Officers to see if they prosper. In the Castle are two high turrets, ouer-laid with pure massie gold, which may be seen from farre, one ouer his Mohol, the other ouer his Treasury. After his going in from the *Derbar* in the Euening, some two houres after he comes out againe, sitting forth in a small more inward Court, behind the other, close to his Moholl, into which none but the *Grandes*, and they also with tickets to be renewed with euery Moone, are permitted to enter, where he drinks by number and measure, sometimes one and thirtie, and running ouer, mixing also among, seuerall iudicatures. From this Court is his priuy passage into a curious Garden, and to his Barge, by which he often passeth the Riuer to an other Garden opposite. It is remarkeable, that both in Court, and here in these Gardens, no Courtiers or Gardeners are tied to attendance, but by their seventh dayes turne.

Of his Elephants yearly presenting, of his Treasures in this Castle, &c. see Capt. Hawkins former relations. Of other things, see that which follows in Sir T. Roes Journall.

Some adde, \* that the Citie hath no walls, but a ditch round about, not broad, and dry also: adioyning to the ditch without the Citie are very large suburbs. The City and suburbs are one way seven mile in length, three in breadth. The Noble mens houses and Merchants built with bricke and stone, flat roofed, the common sort of mudde walls, couered with thatch, which cause often and terrible fires. The Citie hath sixe Gates, the adioyning Riuer *Gemini* being broader then the *Tames* at London, on which are many Boats, some of one hundred Tunnes, but these cannot re-

\* A written booke entitled, *A discourse of Agra, and the foure principall waies to it*. I know not by what Author, except it be Nic. Tophet.

turne



turne against the streame. Most of the Noble mens houses are by the Riuer side. From *Agra* to *Labor* fixe hundred miles, the way is set on both sides with Mulbery-trees.

Description of King *Acabars* Sepulchre is 3 c. distant from *Agra* in the way to *Labor*, nothing neere finished as yet, after tenne yeares worke. It is placed in the midst of a faire and large Garden, inclosed with bricke walls, neere two miles in circuit; is to haue foure Gates (but one of which is yet in hand) each, if answerable to this foundation, able to receiue a great Prince with a reasonable traine) along the way side is a spacious Moholl for his fathers women (as is said) to remayne and end their dayes in deploring their deceased Lord, each enioying the lands they before had in the Kings time, by the pay or rents of fise thousand horse the principall, so that this should be to them a perpetuall Nunnery, neuer to marry againe.

In the Center of this Garden stands the Tombe foure square, about three quarters of a mile in compasse. The first inclosure is with a curious rayle, to which you ascend some fixe steps into a small square Garden quartered in curious Tankes, planted with variety of sweets: adioyning to which is the Tombe, rounded with this gardenet, being also foure square, all of hewne stone, with faire spacious Galleries on each side, hauing at each corner a small beautifull Turret, arched ouer head, and couered with various Marble. Betwixt corner and corner are foure other Turrets at like distance. Here within a faire round coffin of Gold, lieth the body of this Monarch, who sometimes thought the World too little for him. This Tombe is much worshipped both by the *Moors* and *Gentiles*, holding him for a great Saint. Some tenne or twelue foot higher, you ascend by staires to another Gallery, (like, but narrower, to the former, as are also the rest that follow) containing onely three of those Turrets between corner and corner. Here in the midst is his Wardrobe for a memoriall. The third story hath but two of those middle Turrets on a side: the fourth one: the fifth hath only the corner Turret, and a small square Gallery. The Tombe was not finished at my departure, but lay in manner of a coffin, couered with a white sheet, interwrought with Gold flowers. By his head stands his Sword and Target, and on a small pillow his Turbant, and thereby two or three faire gilded bookes. At his feet stand his shooes, and a rich Bason and Ewre. Euery one approaching neere makes his reuerence, and puts off his shooes, bringing in his hand some sweete smelling flowers to bestrew the Carpets, or to adorne the Tombe.

At my last sight thereof, there was onely ouer head a rich Tent, with a Semiane ouer the Tombe. But it is to be inarched ouer with the most curious white and speckled Marble, and to be seeled all within, with pure sheet-Gold richly inwrought. These foure last Turrets also inclosing the Sepulchre, are of most rich curious Marble, & the ground vnderfoot paved with the like. There are in continuall worke about this and other buildings about it, the Moholl and Gate, not so few as three thousand. The stone is brought from a rich Quarrey neere *Fetipore*, which (wee haue said) may be cut in length and forme, as Timber with lawes, and Plankes and feelings are made thereof.

## CHAP. V.

The ninth Voyage of the Indian Companie to the East Indies, in the Iames, whereof was Captaine M. EDMUND MARLOWE of Bristoll, and the Master IOHN DAVY, which wrote this Iournall.

February 1611



He tenth of February, 1611. we departed from the *Downes* vpon our Voyage. The thirteenth at night we anchored within the Ile of *Wight*, where we stayed till the one and twentieth of the same Moneth, and then set saile and turned out at *S. Helens* point. The same day at noone we had *Dynnose* North from vs three leagues off, the *Dragon* before vs, and the *Hosiander* and the *Salomon* put in the Needles.

Aprill 11. 1612.  
They crosse the  
Equinoctiall.

The eleuenth day of Aprill, 1612. by obseruation wee were vnder the Equinoctiall line: and in longitude from the Meridian of the *Lizard*, fixe degrees twenty minutes West. This night the variation was fise degrees thirty seuen minutes from North to the East. The twenty seuenth, the variation of the Needle was foureteene degrees seuen minutes. This day at noone we were in latitude by obseruation, nineteene degrees fortie minutes: the longitude from the meridian of the *Lizard*, eleuen degrees twenty foure minutes West. These twenty foure houres we sailed two leagues South by East. Here we saw an Iland South-east from vs fourteene leagues. This Iland I saw when I was with Sir *Edward Michelborne*. This Iland is like *Corno*. The latitude is twenty degrees thirty minutes: the longitude eleuen degrees thirty minutes West from the *Lizard*. The variation of the Needle foureteene degrees thirty minutes. This Iland riseth ragged: vpon the Easter end standeth a little pike, but the Iland is round like *Corno*. East North-east from this Iland is another Iland or two in sight, seuen or eight leagues off.

This seemeth  
to be the Ile de  
*Martin Vaz*.

The



The seven and twentieth of June, at nine of the clocke at night, wee saw the Land of Saint *Laurence*, in latitude by iudgement foure and twentieth degrees eight minures, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope*, five and twentieth degrees no minures. The variation was fifteene degrees, and ten minutes.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning the variation of the needle was fifteene degrees, no minutes, in foure leagues off the shoare; betweene the headland of the Bay, and the Ilands before the Bay, is no ground in seuentie or eightie fathomes.

This night wee anchored in the Bay of Saint *Augustine*, in five fathomes by the South-land. 10 This day wee weighed and came in by the Riuer with the shippe. The one of our anchors lay in five and thirtie fathomes, and the other in ten fathomes. You may ride in shoalder water off each side, if you will: for this channell of deepe water is but narrow. Here no Sea can come to hurt you, because the Shoalds and Land breake it off. It may well be called an harbour, for the goodnesse of the place. Wee spent twentie dayes in this Bay.

They anchor  
in the Bay of  
Saint *Augu-  
stine*.

The eighteenth of Iulie, in the morning we set saile for *Bantam*, and wee steered off West by north from the riuer to go to the northward of the Ilands. And in this course you haue no ground with the lead; for it is all steepe home to the shoare of the other side: for when you haue twentie fathomes within the Ilands, you are hard by the stones: but by the Ilands and shoalds is faire shoalading from seven to thirtie fathoms, and no ground, the gut betweene the hills being East by South from you, you goe right into the rode, or East.

Iulie 18.  
They depart  
from the Riuer  
of Saint *Augu-  
stine*.

20 The eighteenth, at noone wee were in latitude three and twentieth degrees, five and fortie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope*, two and twentieth degrees, eight and fiftie minutes East, and two leagues off the next land. Heere the land is all white by the waters side.

The nineteenth, in the morning the variation was fifteene degrees no minutes, and then the ship was from the neere land twelue leagues: and the latitude by iudgement three and twentieth degrees, five and fiftie minutes. At noone, the latitude by obseruation foure and twentieth degrees, one and thirtie minutes: and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* two and twentieth degrees, two and twentieth minutes East. These foure and twentieth houres we sailed vpon a right line South-west by South, twentie leagues. This night the variation was fourteene degrees thirtie minutes.

They saile to-  
ward *Bantam*  
by the ouer side  
of the Ile of  
Saint *Laurence*.

The foure and twentieth of September, in the morning wee saw the Iles of *Nintam*, which 30 are in latitude, one degree, thirtie minutes. The Sound betweene the two great Ilands is eighteene leagues from *Priaman*, and eluen leagues from the Shoalds before *Tecou*. Beware you come not neere these Shoalds by night, but rather lie short three or foure leagues till day-light. And then when you see three hommockes, that will rise vp like three Ilands, haue a speciall care, that you haue one at your bolt-spreet end, to giue warning of any spots in your way: for there are Corralhoods that you may easily perceiue. Your course from this Sound of the two great Ilands of *Nintam* to goe for *Tecou* or *Priaman*, is East North-east to the shoalds aforesaid. But when you come thorow the Sound, keepe your lead going: and come no neerer the South great Iland then sixteene fathome: for towards the East side are Shoalds: and a breach off the Norther-Iland also, as you shall see vpon your Larboard-side going in.

September 24.  
Iles of *Nintam*.

40 For your better knowing when you draw neere the Shoalds of *Tecou*, set the three hommockes which are like three Ilands, but are vpon the Maine, for it is low land by them: and when you haue them North-east and by East, you shall begin to meet with them: and when the said land is North North-east you are past them. But bee very carefull euery where: for it is all bad ground hereabout before you passe the high land of *Manancabo*, which is in latitude foure degrees, thirtie minutes, or thereabout.

The fixe and twentieth, wee anchored in the rode of *Priaman*; where wee found the *Thomas*: and wee stayed there to recouer sicke men fourteene dayes. And then the *Hector* and wee did set saile for *Bantam*. The latitude of *Priaman* is in fiftie minutes Southerly. The variation foure degrees ten minutes. The Rode is behind the second Iland in fixe fathomes: vpon which Iland 50 you haue fresh water and wood. The Barre of *Priaman* is fast by.

They arrive in  
the Rode of  
*Priaman* in *Sumatra*.

The eight of October, the ship came downe by the *Hector*, where wee stayed for her to goe for *Bantam*, and in the morning set saile.

October 8.

The three and twentieth, wee came into the rode of *Bantam* with the *James* and the *Hector*.

The fourth of Nouember 1612. wee weighed from the rode of *Bantam*, to goe for *Coroman-  
del*, by the straight of *Sunda*: but the wind and streames were so much against vs, that we were forced into the Straight of *Sunda* againe, to fit our ship being much weather-beaten.

They arrive at  
*Bantam*.  
Nouember.

The eleuenth of December, wee anchored againe by *Pulo Panian*, and went to worke to ro-  
mage our ship to take in ballast.

December 11.

The tenth of Ianuarie, being ballasted, watered, and fitted, wee set saile for the Straight of 60 *Malacca*: but being late in the monson, streames and winds both against vs, with much toyle to ship and men wee plied seuentie leagues from *Bantam*, and could get no farther from the tenth of this moneth to the first of March: whereupon our hope was then past for that. And taking aduise amongst ourselues, wee concluded to water and wood, and so to returne for *Bantam*, and to proceed without *Sumatra*.

Ianuarie 10.  
The Straight  
of *Malacca*.  
March.  
They are put  
back: to *Ban-  
tam*.

The



- The eleventh, being fitted with wood and water, we bare vp for *Bantam* the second time.
- June 5. 1613. The fifth of June 1613. at noone, in latitude 12. degr. no minutes, and longitude from the salt hills, 23. degrees no minutes West. Heere you shall see plainly, that we haue been carried with the streame foure degrees, thirty minutes, which is ninty leagues. For whosoeuer he be, that shall faile downe from *Bantam*, or vp, he shall find such vncertaine sailing, if he looke not well to the variation of the needle, that he may well misse his expectation for the arriuall at his Port. For there is neither *English* nor *Hollander*, that can find any way how to deale with those streames, but only by the variation: for that will helpe much in ten or fifteene leagues, if it be carefully obserued. Heere we saw the land, it is so low, that you cannot see it before you see the Pagods or *Pagan* Churches: and we were when we saw the land foure leagues off. You may be bold with your lead in fifteene fathomes by night vpon the Coast, and by day in ten fathomes: but take heed you haue a sure man at the lead, for it will shoald suddenly; for after you come to haue thirty fathoms, you will come presently to shoald water, for it is like a well, and the ground Ozie. Your course along the shoare is North and by East to *Paleacate*, and so vp to *Masulipatan*. This land was about *Negapatan*. Heere we steered North North-east all night, in three and twenty and seuentene fathoms, three or foure leagues: the variation thirteene degrees, ten minutes, you shall in twelue degrees of latitude surely see the land.
- A special note.
- They discerie the Land.
- Negapatan*.
- They arriue at *Paleacate*.
- The sixth at noone, we anchored in the Road of *Paleacate* in eight fathoms sand. There is a middle ground, where you haue but five fathoms, and sixe, seuen, eight, within that againe. The markes for the Roade are the round Hill by the other hill West Northerly, and the *Hollanders* Fort South-west and by West, as wee road. The variation is thirteene degrees, ten minutes. The latitude thirteene degrees, thirty minutes.
- The eighth at noone, we were in latitude fourteene degrees, forty minutes: we sailed since we weighed the last night twenty three leagues, the depths five and twenty and three and twenty fathoms: the course North and by East; but the lead is our guid vnder God.
- The ninth at noone, in latitude fifteene degrees, thirty minutes. Heere you haue the land in sight, but not the high land of *Petepoli*. These foure and twenty houres wee sailed seuentene leagues North in fifteene and sixteene fathoms. And this high land is a Pagodie or *Pagan* Church. You may, if you will, hale in with it into five fathoms, when the hill is North North-west, but you must goe off East for it, for we did so. But beware in going off for a lownesse of sand, and come no nearer it then twelue or thirteene fathoms, till you be surely past it. This high land is from the high land of *Petepoli* sixe leagues.
- A good note.
- They Anchor in the Road of *Petepoli*.
- The tenth, we anchored in the Road of *Petepoli*, in five fathoms sand. This new high Island North North-west from vs, and the platforme of Palme-trees vpon the Island East North-east, Easterly, and the Barre North-west and by North from vs. All the Sea-coast is low land. The latitude fifteene degrees, two and fiftie minutes. The variation thirteene degrees, fifty minutes, perfect and full.
- A Factory with nine men erected at *Petepoli*.
- The nineteenth, in the after-noone we set saile, when the Factory was fitted. The Merchants which wee left there, were Master *George Chaussey*, and our Purser, with seuen men more to keep our house and goods.
- A great tree, a chiefe marke for to know the Roade.
- The twentieth calme, you goe East South-east nine leagues, in seuen or eight fathomes, and then North North-west: feare not in five fathoms or lesse, after you are about the point, for it is low land. There is but one great tree bigger then any of the rest to know the Road by, that must you bring West and by North from you, and you shall haue three fathoms and a quarter soft Ozie, and ride three miles off the land.
- They arriue at *Masulipatan*.
- The one and twentieth, we anchored in the Roade of *Masulipatan*, where we found a ship of *Holland*: heere we were well entertained. Heere we did stay about sixe moneths, to wit, vntill the sixteenth of Ianuary: and then we weighed and went for *Petipoli*, where wee arriued the nineteenth of the same, and stayed there to take in the goods and Merchants, till the seuenth of February. And then wee set saile for *Bantam*, and kept the same courses which wee did before downe, all the way vp. We arriued at *Bantam* the twentieth of Aprill 1614. where we stayed till the tenth of Iune 1614. and then set saile for *Patane*.
- They retorne from *Petepoli* for *Bantam*.
- They arriue at *Bantam*.
- They set out for *Patane*.
- June 10. 1614.
- The tenth of Iune 1614. at noone, we had sight of the Islands nine leagues from *Bantam*, our going is from five, sixe, seuen, eight, twelue, fourteene, and so to foure and twentie fathomes: at this time our course was North North-east, after you are cleare off the Road, the wind from the East South-east: the latitude Southerly five degrees, foure and forty minutes.
- The eleventh, at sixe of the clocke in the morning, we were by the two Islands that lye North from *Bantam*, in five degrees of latitude by *Sumatra*, in twentie fathomes, which is the surest course out and home. Heere you must be carefull to looke well out for two sands, that lye euen with the water. From six in the morning we sailed seuen leagues North North-east, in sixteen, fifteene, fourteene and thirteene fathoms, and are now from *Bantam* seuen and twentie leagues North and by East nearest, the wind from the East to the South South-east. From twelue in the night we sailed eleuen leagues North, in ten and eleuen fathoms Ozie: but when you passe the Riffe, you haue hard sand: the latitude foure degrees, twelue minutes Southerly. Beware by night,



night, goe not without ten fathomes, nor within to the Maine to lesse then fixe or seuen. And so be bold with a sure man at the Lead: for that must be the best Pilot.

The twelfth, in the morning from eight degrees Easterly, wee sailed seuen leagues North North-east in eight, seuen, fixe and five fathomes, and are with the second Riffe.

From the second in the morning to eleuen in the morning, wee sailed seuen leagues North North-east by iudgement: but the streame did set so fast in, that wee were forced to anchor in foure fathome and a quarter lesse: the riffe land in sight, but not *Lucapara*. Heere must especiall care bee had, when you come with the land off the Riffe, that is, twelue leagues short of *Lucapara*, and fortie eight leagues from *Bantam*, that you come not within fixe fathomes till you see *Lucapara*, for it is very vncertaine ground, full of pits. And for a warning to auoid it, beware you bring not the Riffe land last mentioned South-west and by South, but keepe off in seuen fathomes, till you see *Lucapara*, and then you need not feare, for the Island is bold two leagues off, but remember you must leaue it to the Eastward of you, and when you see it, feare not five or foure fathomes, for that is the depth you may be bold in with the Maine of *Sumatra*, but in the best toward the Island is five and an halfe, and fixe fathomes. The streame setteth North North-west, and South South-east, it hath fixe foot water. The floud commeth from the South-ward, and the ebbe from the North-ward. The thirteenth, we rid still with very vncertaine weather.

The Ile *Lucapara*.

The fourteenth, we came with the Island and Maine, and put through betweene them in five fathomes and an halfe. And at noone we had the Island East North-east a league from vs, for so neere is the deepest water: then steere North till the point bee North-west and by West in five or fixe fathomes. The distance is foure leagues, keepe the Island South South-east from you, for about it is very vncertaine ground.

Then the next reach lyeth North North-west neereft: but keepe *Sumatra* side, and not *Banca*, although you haue deeper water: for *Banca* side is Rockes, and sounding depths, *Sumatra* is Ozie. And you may bee bold in this first reach: and you shall haue nine, ten, eleuen, twelue, eightene or twentie fathomes, till you come with the high land of *Banca*, which at *Lucapara* wil shew like Islands, then shal you see Islands, besides the great Island of *Banca* three leagues before you, and *Sumatra* side fall in with a bite, and all flat ground: wherefore come no neerer then seuen, and no farther off then nine fathomes, but rather for aduantage hale neere vnto the flats of *Sumatra* in fixe or five fathomes. Here is the Channell and narrowest: here goes tydes strongly one way, as well as the other. The fifteenth, the next reach lyeth North-west by North eight leagues, and wee were with it fixe degrees East.

*Banca* is a great Island.

The sixteenth, the next reach lyeth North-west and by West, and West North-west downe to *Palimbam* point: but keepe neere *Sumatra* in fixe or seuen fathomes: for *Banca* side is not good: although it bee deeper water, yet there are many Rockes toward the end of the great Island of *Banca*. This reach is seuentene leagues long to the Towne of *Palimbam*, and the hill *Monpin* is North from you, which standeth vpon the Norther end of *Banca*. Then is the Road of *Palimbam* South South-west from you: your depth ten fathomes off *Sumatra* side. The distance betweene the Island and *Sumatra* at this end is fixe leagues in my iudgement.

*Palimbam* point.

The hill *Monpin*, vpon the Northerne end of *Banca*.

Keepe *Sumatra* side by night or day in seuen fathomes, till you haue the Norther end of *Banca* East South-east for a Riffe that lyeth off the Norther end two leagues: and then will your latitude bee one degree, one and twentie minutes Southerly, and foure leagues off *Banca*. But you must alter courses to bring it thus. For when *Banca* is North-east and by East. Then you must steere North North-east, and North, as Lead and discretion shall guide: but goe not with lesse then ten fathomes by night.

The seuenteenth, at noone one degree ten minutes Southerly: Here you saile North in eight or nine fathomes Ozie: and here you see that Ile of *Pulo Tuio* without you. Here by reason we had it calme, we anchored in nine fathomes. Heere the streame did set West South-west and East North-east.

The Ile of *Pulo Tuio*.

The eighteenth, heere your course is North North-east, seuen, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And when you haue the two Northermost Islands in the Offing South-east from you, then is *Pulo So* North-west and by North. And being thus it hath two hills with a Valley in the midst, and two little Islands by it. And when it is South-west, it sheweth round like the Mew-stone.

The nineteenth, this Island hath water and wood, but none Inhabitants. The latitude of this Island is fortie minutes South.

The twentieth, now your depths must bee from fifteene to twentie in and off, and your course North to *Linga*, the land is faire in sight, goe not off by any meanes, rather anchor. Heere is hard ground.

*Linga*.

Now your course to *Bintam* is North & by West neereft, but go not without foure and twentie, nor within twentie. And that will bring you in sight of the round hill of *Bintam*, which hath in latitude one deg. ten min. and is the fairest way. The hill standeth in the middle of the Island.

*Bintam*.

The one and twentieth, now your course for *Pulo Timon* is North North-west, and North by West hauing alwayes sight of land, I meane Islands; and your depths are twentie, nineteene, and eigh eene fathomes, Ozie. The latitude of *Pulo Timon* is two degrees fortie seuen minutes Northerly, or much thereupon.

*Pulo Timon*.

The



*Pulo Capas.*

The two and twentieth, from *Pulo Timon* to *Pulo Capas* is thirtie fixe leagues North by West neereft in eightene, nineteene, twentie, and twentie two fathomes. And when you haue the Ilands West off you, then haue you thirtie fixe fathomes close by the Iland. If occasion serue you may goe betweene the Ilands and the Maine in a faire Channell. These Ilands are in the latitude of foure degrees fiftie two minutes Northerly.

The foure and twentieth, from *Pulo Capas* to the other Ilands, which are so many that you cannot tell them, the course is North-west by North fourteene leagues: and then the Norther end of the Iles is distant from the Souther end nine leagues. The depths are twentie two and twentie foure fathomes.

The five and twentieth, now your course to *Patane* is West North-west fortie eight leagues: 10 goe no further off the land then twentie leagues, nor no neerer, then twelue or thirteene leagues, vnlesse you haue occasion to anchor. The Land is bold and high. After you passe sixteene leagues West North-west, there are no more Ilands till you come to *Patane*, but only one Rocke: and you may if you will, goe betweene the Maine and it. This Rocke is fourteene leagues short of *Patane*.

They arrive at  
*Patane*.  
*Sangora*.

The thirtieth, we anchored in the Roade of *Patane* in three fathomes and an halfe, where we did ride til the first of August: and then set saile for *Sangora* to trimme our ship. This *Sangora* is a very good place vnder two Ilands, fast by the Maine, and from *Patane* fourteene or fiftene leagues.

August, 3, 1614.

The third of August 1614. we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Sangora* vnder the Easter- 20 most Iland of the two, and there we trimmed our ship well, and came away the ninth of September, arrived at *Patane* the next day following, where we stayed till the sixt of October, to take in the goods of the *Globe*, to carrie them for *Bantam*.

The ninth of October we set saile from *Patane*, being bound for *Bantam*; holding the same course backe, that we came forth: and the ninth of Nouember we arrived safe at *Bantam*. Wee rid there till the seuen and twentieth of Ianuary, to lade our ships, and to fit all things for our Voyage home for *England*.

They returne  
for *England*.  
The death of  
Capt. Edmund  
Marlow.

The nine and twentieth, wee set saile from thence: And within some hundred leagues from *Bantam* home-ward bound dyed our Captaine Master Edmund Marlow, an excellent man in the Art of Nauigation, and all the Mathematicks. The first place at which we anchored was the Bay 30 of *Saldanha*, where we stayed for our Consort the *Globe*: which arrived there the next day following.

The nine and twentieth of Aprill 1615. wee came to an anchor in the Roade, where wee stayed till the seuenteenth of May. And then being well fitted in both our ships, wee did set saile for *Santa Helena*, where wee safely arrived the third of Iune, and rode there till the seuenth in the morning. Then wee set saile together for *England*, where, God bee prayfed, we safely arrived the third of August 1615.

## CHAP. VI.

*A Rater, or briefe direction for readie sayling into the East-India, digested into a plaine method by Master IOHN DAVIS of Lime-house, vpon experience of his five Voyages thither, and home againe.*

### §. I.

*Nauticall Obseruation of places betwixt the Lizard and Saint Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.*

*Lancerota.*



First, the *Lizard* hath in latitude fiftie degrees ten minutes. The Cape *Finisterre* in *Galicia* hath in latitude forty three degrees twentie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of the *Lizard*, two degrees thirtie six minutes West. The Iland of *Lancerota* hath in latitude twentie eight degrees, forty minutes, and longitude from the *Lizard* five degrees twentie foure degrees West. The variation of the 60  
Compass is sixe degrees sixe minutes from North to East. And when you are in the latitude of thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, and chance to haue five degrees twentie minutes of variation, you may assure your selfe to be North North-east from the said Iland, and your course is South South-west to goe with it.

*Grand Canaria.*

The *Grand Canaria* hath in latitude twenty seuen degrees fortie minutes, and longitude from the



the *Lizard* sixe degrees thirtie minutes West. The variation is sixe degrees from North to East. Likewise in the latitude thirty degrees thirty minutes: when you haue five degrees and fiftie minutes variation, you haue the said Iland South and by West from you.

The Iland of Saint *Marie*, being the Eastermost of the *Azores*, hath in latitude thirtie seven degrees; and longitude from the *Lizard* fourteene degrees West. The variation of the Compass is one degree fortie minutes from North to East. But when you are in the latitude of thirtie degrees thirtie minutes comming home-ward, and finde five degrees variation, and would see the Ilands in your course, goe North-east for Saint *Marie*: but it is better to goe more Northerly, and so you shall bee sure to see some of them: for the variation is much vpon that rate in the North-east course, till you come in with the Ilands.

10. The latitude of *Sal*, which is one of the Ilands of Cape Verde, is ten degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the *Lizard* twelue degrees twelue minutes. The variation three degrees, thirtie minutes from North to East.

*Sal.*

*Bonauista* is from *Sal* sixe leagues. The mid-way betweene the Meridian of Cape Verde and these Ilands in the latitude of nine degrees, you haue two degrees fifteene minutes of variation to the East-ward: and the nearer you are to the Main land, the lesse variation. But when you come in five degrees of latitude, if the *Ternados* doe not meete with you before, there you shall beginne to haue them, which are winds blowing euery-where.

*Bonauista.*

20. But if you will passe the Equinoctiall, vse what diligence you may, in plying to get from these vnhealthfull and troublesome windes: but keepe your selfe so, that you may bee butt South and by East, or South South-east from *Mais*, because it may bee in your minde, that your much going to the East-ward will bee a helpe when you stand ouer with the generall wind. But you may there spend much time, and get little aduantage. Now assoone as you haue the wind at South South-east, and are in two or three degrees off the Line, stand away with it. For if you may passe the Line in ten degrees of longitude from the *Lizard*, your variation will be sixe degrees ten minutes from North to East, and you shall feele neither the East South-east streame to hurt you, nor the North-west and by West streame, that setteth ouer to the West-Indies.

The best course to passe the Equinoctiall Line.

30. But if the wind doe hinder you much, feare not to passe the Line in fourteene degrees of longitude from the *Lizard*, your variation will bee in that place sixe degrees fortie five minutes. And being past, make your way to the South-ward as speedily as you may: but if the wind be at East North-east or East, as many times it will bee, doe not goe to the East-ward of the South-east and by East, although in your minde it were the best course: for if you doe, you shall find the wind at South-east and South South-east, and it will bring you downe to your South course againe, although you haue spent so much time as in your South course would haue carried you without the Tropicke into the variable winds way, which is in twentie sixe or twentie eight degrees.

40. For it is great oddes, when a man may saile thirtie sixe leagues in foure and twentie houres, and will sayle but foure and twentie close vpon a wind. For when you haue brought your selfe into the variable winds way, it cannot be long before you haue a flent to get vp to the Cape of Good Hope, where you shall note, that your variation will increase in running South from the Line. For when you come in twentie degrees to the South-ward, you shall haue fifteene degrees of variation, and more to the West-ward fourteene. Whereby if you note it well, you shall perceiue, that in these parts, betweene the Tropickes I meane, it keepeth no method in Easting or Westing, as it doth without them: as you may see at the Ile *De Fernando de Leronha*, the latitude whereof is foure degrees South, and longitude from the *Lizard* nineteene degrees twentie minutes West. The variation is there eight degrees ten minutes, from North to East: if you come there to ride, the Roade is vpon the North-east side, but it is ill ground in some place. The depth, nine, eight and seuen fathomes water, sandie grounds, with a stone or

Increase of variation in running South-ward of the Line. The Ile of Fernando de Leronha.

50. Rocks heere and there.

This land riseth like *Pauls* steeple, and that land like the steeple will bee when you are in the Roade South South-west from you. There is much broken ground and Ilands by the Ile it selfe. Heere is good refreshing and good water, but dangerous landing for the Sea to sinke your Boats and drowne your men.

The Portugals of *Fernamburo* haue some few Slaues heere that make Cotton and keepe their Cattell. They haue *Guiney* Wheate there growing.

60. The Iland of *Santa Helena* hath in South latitude sixteen degrees, & longitude from the *Lizard* foure degrees thirtie minutes East: and from the Cape of Good Hope twentie three degrees thirtie minutes West. The variation is seuen degrees thirtie minutes from North to East. This Iland is one of the best for the bignesse thereof for the refreshing of men, that I know in the Sea: it standeth so healthy, and hath so good a Roade for Shippes, as a man can desire. The Roade is open to the North-west side: right before the Chappell you may ride in twelue, tenne, nine, eight, or seuen fathomes water, good ground and no danger, but what you see along the shoare.

The Ile of Santa Helena.



The Iland is little, but very high land, a man may see it eightene leagues off. Vpon it are all things fitting for a mans comfort, comming with it in distresse. If you will see this Iland, you haue the wind alway at South-east or thereabouts. Therefore keepe your selfe in the latitude of sixteene degrees tenne minutes, or fiteene degrees, and runne West vpon that height, and you cannot misse it: whether it bee day or night you need not feare, but this you may assure your selfe, that in your course from the Cape of *Good Hope*, there is nothing that will wrong you. I meane no fireame nor Current. For I haue seene that my selfe three times comming from the Cape the South-east wind will take you in thirtie degrees, and sometimes before, and will carrie you to the North-ward of the Equinoctiall Line.

The Bay of  
*Saldanha*.

*Saldanha*, which is the Bay where we doe commonly anchor out-ward bound, hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees twentie five minutes, and longitude from the *Lizard* twentie eight degrees East. The variation thirtie minutes from North to East. For the knowing of the land hereabout *Saldanha*, it is all high land. But commonly when you come from the West-ward it is foggie and darke vpon it, so that you shall see the breach of the shoare, before you can come to make it, or know it. If you see the land when you are in the Offing rise like a Table, and other round hills by it, one like a Sugar-loafe; bring this Table East by South, and then stirre so see, till you come close vnder the land, for this course will bring you in with the point of the Souther land going into the Roade. Now when you see the point it selfe, which is low land, you shall see the Ile of *Penguin*: but keepe your selfe neerer the point then to *Penguin* Iland, because there are sunken Rockes all toward the Iland: keepe your Lead going, for toward the point you shall haue ground at fiteene fathomes, and then you may bee bold to goe by it in ten fathomes water. Then the Roade is South-east by East from this point in fixe fathomes, or five if you list. The Table will bee South South-west the middle of it, and the Sugar-loafe South-west halfe Westerly. The worst winds for that Roade are from the North-west to the North-east. Heere is good watering and fresh victuals, when the people come downe with it.

There is fresh-fish in the Riuer to bee had at sometime of the tyde with a seine: it doth high sometimes five foote water, and sometimes fixe, sometimes more, and sometimes lesse.

The highest  
variation be-  
tweene *Brasil*  
and the Cape  
of *Good Hope*.

Betweene the Coast of *Brasil* and this Roade the Compasse hath twentie degrees variation, and more or lesse as you are to the North-ward or South. For the more you are to the South-ward, the more you haue, and to the North-ward the lesse. But in thirtie three degrees thirty minutes, you haue the highest variation twenty one degrees from North to East, & longitude from the *Lizard* seuen deg. thirtie minutes, or from the Cape of *Good Hope*, thirtie five deg. thirtie minutes West: Now when you come in eleuen degrees no minutes of variation, you may assure your selfe, if your variation bee good, you are three hundred and thirtie leagues short: and it will keepe a good method in decreasing after the rate of thirtie or eight and twentie leagues to a degree: for when you are in two degrees of variation, you shall bee eight and fortie or fiftie leagues short: and when you haue fortie minutes, and cannot see the land, you are but ten leagues off.

Now if you can see the Land close by the waters side, before you can see the other high land, the fogge hanging vpon the shoare, and are in thirtie foure degrees of latitude, you may see white sandie wayes close by the waters side, your course is to the point, if they beare East South-east from you, and beeing neere the shoare is North-east. For these white sandie wayes are almost three leagues short of that point going into the Roade, and fast by the point to the South-west from the said point going for the Roade, the two points doe lye North-east and South-west. And then the land toward the Cape lyeth South-east and by East, and South South-east. So likewise the land lyeth to the North-ward off the Bay North North-west, and South South-west.

*Connie* Iland.

*Penguin* Iland and this Point lye North and by West, and South and by East.

To the Northward of this Iland is an Iland called *Connie* Iland, and it lyeth in latitude thirtie three degrees twentie seuen minutes, and North North-west from *Penguin* Ile. This *Connie* Ile hath bad ground about it: but you may goe betweene the *Maine* and that Iland. If you will anchor, this Ile vpon the Wester-side hath a dangerous ledge of Rockes lying off it to the Seaward. The *Maine* all along the shoare is bold, but what you may see.

*Chapmans*  
*Chance*.

*Chapmans Chance* hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees tenne minutes, and is an Harbour, which lyeth within the South-west point vnder a little Hill like Charing Crosse, close hanging by the Sea-side of the South South-west-side of the land like a Table, standing in the very bottome of the Bay.

This is a very good Harbour for the ships: for the maine land of the Cape will be shut in vpon the Wester-side of the land: and there is good ground, and a good depth to ride in, as ten, nine, eight, seuen, fixe, or five fathomes.

This Harbor is not past ten miles ouer land to *Saldanha* from it: and a man may come away with



with that wind that you cannot come forth withall from *Soldanha*. Wherefore when any shall haue beene there with a ship, they shall better know it. Wee went not in with our ship, because we were all fit to goe about, before wee did know it to bee a Harbor. For wee did suspect it by chance standing in with a scant wind, and being toward night our Captaine Master *Edmund Marlow* sent one of the Masters Mates in the Pinnasse to see whether it were a Harbor or not, hauing little wind, and by that time hee came in with it, the Sunne was downe, so that he could not see and take that notice he would, for quick returning to the ship.

Cape *Falso* hath in latitude thirty foure degrees thirty minutes, and is distant from the Cape of *Good Hope*, nine leagues East South-east.

Cape *Falso*.

- 10 Betweene these two Capes there is a deepe Bay, and before it there is a Rocke euen with the water; but it lyeth neere the Cape of *Good Hope*. In this Bay is the great Riuer called *Rio Dolce*, that runneth farre vp in the Land. There is good refreshing, as the *Hollanders* report, for they haue beene there with their ships.

*Rio Dolce*.

Heere at Cape *Falso* is no variation that I can find by obseruing South from it. The Land lyeth to the Cape *das Aguilhas* East South-east from the Cape of *Good Hope*, and is distant sixe and twentie leagues: no danger is to be seene, but a bould shoare along the coast. And so it is bould sixtie leagues to the Eastward: for so farre I haue sailed to the East-ward of Cape *Das Aguilhas* the land lyeth East Northerly for one hundred leagues.

No variation:  
Cape *das Aguilhas*.

- 20 The very Cape *Das Aguilhas* hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees, fiftie minutes South, and is very low land. But there is high land to the East-ward of the last named Cape. You may haue ground with your Lead in seuen or eight leagues off the land, for one hundred leagues East, at seuentie, sixtie, sixtie fve, fiftie fve, fittie, fortie fathomes, sandie blacke ground vpon your Leade, which will helpe you much in comming home if you cannot obserue the variation nor latitude. The variation of Cape *Das Aguilhas* is no degrees thirtie minutes from North to West. And at the Cape of *Good Hope* the Compasse is varied from North to East fve and twentie minutes. Assoone as you are to the West-ward of Cape *Das Aguilhas*, you shall haue Ozie and deepe water; whereby you may see that this will helpe you well in darke weather to know how the lands are from you, and how to hale in with the Cape of *Good Hope*.

- 30 When you saile into the *East-India* from the Cape of *Good Hope*, you must bee very carefull in your course: for till you come vp to haue seuen or eight degrees of variation, you shall find it sometimes very vncertaine, shrouts of streames that will let a man sometimes one way, sometimes another as I haue often found it to bee so, and haue had none other meanes to helpe my selfe, but by the variation, which is very sure, if you bee carefull in obseruing. But after you passe eight degrees of variation, you shall not need to feare the streames, if you bee bound to the East-ward, for the streames or tydes doe set betweene the variation afore-said, and the Cape *Das Aguilhas*.

The great benefit of the Variation.

- Now if you find betweene the Cape and this variation of seuen or eight degrees that you doe not alter it to your ship running East; for this is your fittest course, if you bee bound for *Bantam*, or within for any place of the Ile of *Saint Laurence*, till you come vp to the variation afore-said, as you may chance at fve or sixe degrees, assure your selfe you are wrong with it. For the variation will increase by the rate of nine and twentie or thirtie leagues, to the Ile of *Saint Laurence*. I meane these leagues in Easting from the Meridians, and not the course you saile by, for if you saile North-east and by East, and you shall haue thirtie sixe leagues for one degree and halfe Easting, or longitude, which will alter one degree of variation.

- And the more North-ward your course is, the lesse variation you haue, as you shall plainly vnderstand: for in fve and twentie of latitude in sight of *Saint Laurence*, you haue sixteene degrees no minutes. And running North by the land to the Riuer of *Saint Augustine*, you shall haue but fteene degrees in the latitude of twentie three degrees and thirtie minutes, which is plaine that it is lesse to the North-ward, then to the South-ward. So likewise vp to the East-ward in the latitude of eleuen degrees no minutes, the highest variation is twentie three degrees forty minutes. And in the latitude of thirtie three degrees no minutes, the highest variation is twentie seuen degrees ten minutes, as I haue seene and obserued my self, and in my iudgement in ten leagues Easting and Westing of the same Meridian, as hereafter shall more plainly appeare in their due places.

Note.



## p. II.

*A note for finding out of the Riuer of Saint Augustine in Saint Laurence;  
of diuers small Iles in the way thence to Achen; and of  
many Ports and passages in and about  
Sumatra.*

**H**is Riuer of *S. Augustine* hath in latitude, twenty three degrees thirtie five minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope*, twenty three degrees twenty minutes East. The variation is fourteene degrees fifty minutes from North to West. But when you goe for it, seeke the land in the latitude of twenty foure degrees twenty minutes, because in the latitude of twenty five degrees tenne minutes, there is dangerous falling for Rockes and shoalds, which I haue seene. And in this latitude twenty foure degrees twenty minutes, you haue the variation fifteene degrees forty minutes. The shoare bold, but what you see before you. And the coast lieth South and North by a meridian Compasse, without counting the variation, or meddling in this place with it, but steere North and North and by East, as discretion will guide you by the land: then comming along the shoare in twenty foure degrees tenne minutes, you shall see a head-land, which hath vpon it a round hill of white sand, and is like a Castle, with some few trees by it. This head-land is short of the Bay thirteene leagues, and your courie is North and by East and North still, no danger till you see the Iles and shoalds before the Bay: and in the Countrey you shall see a land rise like vnto *Westminster Hall*, and a gut betweene two high lands, like *Dartmouth*. The Riuer is between these two hills: when you come with the Iles and shoalds, and will goe into the North-ward of them, you may be bold of the shoalds in seuen fathomes, if you will loofe in by them, but anchor not by them: for it is bad ground, with Corral that will cut your Cable in funder, if you ride but little time there; but rather hale East, vp for the Channell comming from the Riuer, where you haue *Ozie* by the Maine, in twelue, foureteen, or twenty fathomes water: and you shall find deepe water in along to the Riuer, till you come fast by the two hills, and *Westminster Hall* within the point on the West North-west side. There you may choofe your roade from twenty fathomes to twelue, eleuen, tenne, nine, eight, seuen, sixe, or five fathomes. But it is *Ozie* ground without the two headlands, and sand within. This Riuer lieth from the Iles without shoalds East, and is distant five leagues. Here is good filling of water, and wooding, very good victuals; but you pay siluer: for that they desire most. The people are of a reasonable disposition; but you need not to trust them, nor none else where you come, but stand alwayes vpon your Guard, while your Boat goe into the Riuer to fill water. You shall haue a very good Oxe for foure shillings, and a Goat for one shilling *English*, and as good as you haue in *England*. The men of this place are tall and well made.

The Riuer of  
*S. Augustine* in  
the lie of *S.*  
*Laurence*.

The Cape of  
*S. Sebastian*.

*Santa Lucia*, a  
good place of  
refreshing.

The Ile of *S.*  
*Mary*.

The Cape of *S. Sebastian* hath in latitude twentie five degrees fortie five minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope*, twentie five degrees no minutes. The variation of the Compasse sixteene degrees fortie minutes, from North to West. Here vpon the South-east side is a very good place for refreshing, as the *Hollanders* report, much vpon the latitude of twenty foure degrees no minutes. It is named *Santa Lucia*; for as they haue reported to mee, there is a race of the *Portugalls* left there. They say the ships ride verie secure, and haue about nine or eight fathomes water, sandie ground, and an Iland or two before it. And this must bee much better for shipping bound vp or downe, then the Riuer of *S. Augustine*, because it is vpon the head of the Iland.

The Ile of *S. Marie*, vpon the East side of *S. Laurence*, hath in latitude sixteene degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* thirty one degrees no minutes. The variation on nineteene degrees fiftie minutes from North to West. This Iland is inhabited; and there we had Hennes, Limons, and other refreshing, good water; but neuer a Harbour, all Roads: you may ride off the West side, before a Towne of twelue or sixteene houses. The depth of water is twenty fathomes, more or lesse. The distance from this Iland, ouer to the Maine is tenne leagues. To the North North-west, from this Iland is a great Bay, that lieth sixteene leagues deepe West North West in from the Souther-side of the Bay, there is good riding vnder a little Iland, and in from that vpon the Maine, there is a Riuer of fresh water. And there is likewise water and wood vpon the Ile by the Roade, you may ride in twelue, tenne, nine, or eight fathomes: but you had need to shue your anchors: for it is so soft *Ozie*, that your anchors will come home. Here you haue Rice in abundance, hens, and some cattell. The people haue warre, one side of the Bay with the other. Trust these people not too farre for treachery. It is a place of very vncertaine and contagious weather, for raine, thunder and lightning, as euer I came in, and very vnholiome; for we lost many men here. But if distresse vrge a man to it, you may unlade a ship, or doe any businesse by the Iland, with standing vpon your guard, and vsing the people friendly, as the *Hollanders* haue been driuen vnto. The latitude of this Bay is, fifteene degrees fortie minutes. But if you go with *S. Marie* first, you cannot misse it: for it is the next Bay vpon the Maine vnto the Iland. The name



name of this Bay is *Antongill*. We did ride here in the first East *Indies* Voyage for the Merchants of *London*, in the yeere 1601. from December to March, and then we went for the East *Indies*.

The bay of  
*Antongil.*

The latitude of the *Ile de Roque Piz* is eleven degrees no minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope*, forty one degrees no minutes of the great Circle East. Here in the sight of these two Ilands, we had the highest variation of the Compasse, which was twenty three degrees thirty minutes. Now South from this place, as neere as I can iudge by sundry times going vp and downe, we haue likewise the most variation, that is: if you be in the latitude of twentie seven or twenty eight degrees, then you haue twenty six degrees no minutes: if you bee in thirty three degrees no minutes of latitude, you haue twenty seven degrees twenty minutes of variation. And this you may see in my Voyage in the *James*, begun in February, 1611. and ended the third of *August*, 1615.

The Ile de  
*Roque Piz.*  
The highest  
variation.

The Shoalds, called *Baixos das Chagas*, haue in latitude sixe degrees no minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope*, fiftie three degrees thirty six minutes East. The variation is nineteen degr. fiftie min. from North to West. These shoalds are very dangerous. There are three or foure Ilands and other dry sands: we were twenty foure houres vpon and among these Shoalds. There is in some places corall, in other some sand; sometimes tenne fathomes, and by and by sixe fathomes: the best water the ships had, was foure fathomes: but God be thanked, we had no hurt to any one of the ships. We were cleere by keeping the Iles South South-west from vs: for vpon the North North-east side it is, that we found the way out. If they had been well laid in our Charts, we had missed them.

*Baixos das Cha-*  
*gas.*

In the Channel of *Maldina*, the Compasse varieth 17. degrees. And at the Cape de *Comori* sixteene degrees. The Ilands of *Nicubar*, lying off the North end of *Sumatra*, haue in North latitude seven degrees tenne minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope*, seuentie three degrees no minutes East. The variation is seven degrees five minutes from North to West. If you goe with these Iles of *Nicubar*, as you come from the West-ward, when you come within fiftie or fortie leagues, you shall meete with ouerfalls, or the running of some tydes, which will make you mistrust shoald water: but we found none with our Lead when we sounded. Many such you shall passe. I thinke they be the streames comming from the Bay of *Bengala*. Among these Ilands there is no danger, but what you see: you may bee bold to water and sit your selues here. The people will not come aboard your ship, but will buy and sell in their Canoes. Farther into the North-ward are more Ilands; as in eight degrees lieth an Iland called *Ilha de Sombrero*, because vpon the Souther-side the land is like a hat. Vnder this Iland is good riding; and the people will come to your shippe from the other Ilands to the East-ward, for there are many Ilands.

The Ilands of  
*Nicubar.*

*Ilha de Som-*  
*brero.*

*Achen*, which is a Citie vpon the West North-west side of *Sumatra*, hath in latitude five degrees forty minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* seuentie foure degrees fortie minutes East. And the variation is sixe degrees twentie five minutes from North to West. You may ride in seven or eight fathomes, or at low water in five or sixe; it hyeth five foot vpon the Barre. Your roade is to the Eastward of the Castle, and a round hil in the Countrey South-east from you. The ground is Ozie where you ride. There is high land vpon the Wester-side of the Towne. The hill, which is South-east of you, is called the hil of *Pedir*, because there is a Towne of that name vnder it, twenty five leagues from *Achen*. Before the Road in the Offing are five or sixe Ilands. The Pepper of this place is better then the Pepper of *Bantam*. At *Pedir* Pepper is to be had, but little else. The land lieth from the Road of *Achen* forty or fifty leagues East and West.

*Achen in Su-*  
*matra.*

And if you will goe for the straight of *Malacca*, there is no danger till you come to the Eastward of the Iles *das Iarras*, but a faire depth, at twenty five or thirtie fathomes water. The tydes set as much one way as the other. At these Iles *das Iarras*, you may see the high land of *Malacca*: but here about *Sumatra*, is all low land. And your variation here about the Equinoctial is all one, as I said before, when I spake of the highest, that there is within lesse variation then without, in the latitude of foureteene or fifteene degrees. For when you haue seven degrees fiftie minutes in the Offing, you are much vpon seven degrees thirtie minutes longitude from *Bantam*. And that distance you are in for longitude from *Bantam*, when you are vnder the Equinoctial line, and haue sixe degrees thirty five minutes of variation. So that much vpon that rate of thirtie one leagues in the Offing of Easting or Westing, will alter one degree of variation, or one degree and an halfe of longitude; and within you runne fortie leagues, or two degrees. This I haue found by experience both within and without going home from *Bantam*.

The Iles *das*  
*Iarras.*

If you were at *Achen*, and would saile for *Priaman*, which is a Towne vpon the West side of *Sumatra*, and hath in latitude no degrees fiftie minutes South, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* seuentie seven degrees forty minutes East: The variation foure degrees forty minutes from North to West: The surest way is this. To the East-ward of *Priaman* there are Ilands, in the South latitude of one degree and thirty minutes, which are called the Iles of *Nimam*. Your course is to goe with these Ilands, and come not betweene the maine, but keepe the Sea, till you see those Ilands: keepe in one degree twenty minutes of South latitude, and you shall surely fall with the North end of the biggest. Now this great Iland being the biggest of the two, is twenty leagues long very neere; and there are many little Ilands neere it. And when you are with this

The Iles of  
*Nimam.*



Shoald water  
and bankes of  
stone.

The road of  
*Priaman*.

Store of Gold  
in *Sumatra*.  
Storax.

*Tecou*.

Many Ilands  
are to the  
South of *Pria-*  
*man*.

The Ile of  
*Engano*.

A very good  
roade.

Iland, go vp by it, for it is the bolder of the two, but haue your Lead going now and then to pre-  
uent dangers, yet I haue found the least to be tenne fathomes water. When you are shut within  
these Ilands, your course is East by North eightene leagues: but saile not by night, but hull ra-  
ther, and saile by day. Now although *Priaman* and this Iland doe lie East by North, and West  
by South, yet your best way is, to direct your course East North-east, and North-east by East, a-  
mong; and then you shall see three hummocks in the maine, before you can see the low land; and  
then hauing sight of them, you may goe in till you see the low land of the Maine: but looke well  
about you: for when these hills come to the North-east from you, there is shoald water, and  
bankes of stone: but you may borrow of them with your Lead in seuen fathomes: then are you six  
leagues from the roade of *Priaman*, and your course East South-east, or South-east by East with  
your Lead going now and then. For the knowing of the roade of *Priaman*, when you haue the hills  
North and West from you, you shall see many Ilands to the South-ward; but the first will shew  
white, and none of the rest. So that Iland lieth West South-west from the roade three leagues.  
And the land in the Countrey about *Priaman* is high, and like a Saddle in the middest. This high  
land beareth from the road North-east and by East. I set it downe with this notice, because there  
are foure Ilands before the roade within which you ride, and may mistrust to goe within these  
Ilands, when you come from the West North-west, because they will not be open, but shew like  
a paire of breeches till you haue brought them East North-east from you; then will they beginne  
to open, for there is good going in betweene them, leauing two on the one side, and two on the  
other. But come not neere that little vttermost Ile by the maine: for there is all flat ground. But  
keepe in nine or eight fathomes, till you come with the other three Iles that lie in a row, and  
then goe into the South-ward of the Norther of these three Ilands, and vnder that Iland is the  
road. Wherefore be bold of it in fise or sixe fathomes, because it is but narrow between that Ile,  
and the Riuer running from the Towne, to wit, much vpon the breadth of the *Thames* at *Black-*  
*wall*. Vpon this Ile, vnder which you ride, is a Well made artificially by those that haue vsed to  
water there. It is a good road when you are in, but moore your ship sure. The people here are co-  
uetous, and still begging for one thing or other; yet they vsed vs very well, and brought vs hens  
and such victualls as the place affordeth. Here is good trade from *Jana* with Iunkes, for their Pep-  
per they bring them salt, which is verie scant vpon this side of the Iland. And about September  
and October there commeth euery yeare a *Guserate* with Cotton cloth to serue this side of the  
Iland, and ladeth away Pepper, and carrieth away some Gold: for Gold is more plentie there,  
then Siluer, as we might plainly see by the Countrey-people: for they are very desirous of Rials  
of eight. Here is some Benjamin to be had, and verie good Storax, with other Commodities.  
*Tecou* is seuen leagues from this road, but it is shoaldie water, and ill for ships, because they  
must ride farre off. But Prawes and such small vessels as the Countrey people vse, are fittest, and  
will bring all their Commodities vnto you into *Priaman* road, after they know a shippe to bee  
there, tenne leagues.

To the Northward of *Priaman* there are no Ilands three or foure leagues off: but to the South-  
ward the coast is full of Ilands along till you come into two degrees and an halfe of latitude. The  
coast lieth from *Priaman* two degrees twenty minutes of latitude South. Your course is South,  
when you set saile from *Priaman*, you may goe within those Ilands by the road: because by the  
Souther Iland lieth a shoald close by the off side: your depth is fise and sixe fathomes. In going  
downe to the Southward, keepe the maine still, and goe not without among those Ilands: for it  
is ill ground and shoalds. But saile not by night, till you come into the latitude of two degrees  
thirtie minutes. For as you passe by the high land, that is distant from the road of *Priaman* thir-  
teene leagues, it is very dangerous: keep your selfe in twenty or thirty fathomes water off the  
maine, and looke well about you when this high land commeth toward the East. Between that  
gut of high land as you passe like *Dartmouth*, is the Towne of *Celledai*. I haue had by going neere  
those Ilands here, about thirteene leagues from the aforesaid road, but foure fathomes water, and  
haue seen the stones vnder the ship, and haue gone but little in againe toward the maine, and haue  
had sixteene fathomes, and twelue fathomes water: wherefore there is no feare by the maine  
land, keeping your Lead going: then being cleare off these Ilands, your course is South and by East  
by the maine, till you come to two degrees thirtie minutes: and then the land lieth to three de-  
grees tenne minutes South-east, and then South-east and by South to foure degrees, and so to fise  
degrees no minutes by the same course.

The land is very high and bold heere in fise degrees, no minutes. In fise degrees and thirtie  
minutes lyeth the Ile of *Engano*, but there is no anchoring by it; for I haue sought to anchor,  
but it is rockes and deepe water. But if you haue any occasion, you shall find in the latitude of  
foure degrees, ten minutes, a very good roade vnder an Iland fast by the maine, where you may  
ride in seuen fathoms, and no danger but what you see, but may boldly turne into the Roade, if  
the wind be at South-east, Ozie ground. Heere you may haue wood and water, if you haue need:  
But beware, two leagues West South-west from this Iland, it is very dangerous shoald in the sea,  
the water breaketh much vpon it; wherefore keepe in by the Iland, and giue the point a birth:  
but you cannot go betweene the maine and this Ile with a ship, because it is narrow and shoaldy  
water.



water. This Road or Harbour is named by the Countrey people, *Celebar*: we did ride heere with Sir Edward Michelborne thirteene daies, to doe some businesse. You shall neuer with a South-east wind misse some Iunckes of *Iaua*, or of some other place riding there. The land to the Northward in the countrey is high, but by the sea-side reasonable, not very low neither. This high land in five degrees, twentie minutes, is called *Manancabo*, and is extraordinary high. The course alongst the shoare is South South-east, Easterly, till you come to see a little Island fast by the maine, that lieth in sixe degrees, no minutes, or much thereupon. Heere you shall see a round hill in the countrey East from you, which will be North, when you come with the three Isles by the point of *Sumatra*, that lye East one from the other. Then shall you haue the Salt-hills East and by South from you, when this hill is North, and the distance from the three Islands lying East and West, to the three salt hills, which are three Islands, that lye South and North one from another, to be ten leagues. The Land of *Sumatra*, from the little Island to the other three Islands, lyeth East South-east, and is distant foure leagues. This land is not very high, but in the countrey it is high land. The depth by this land is foure and fiftie fathomes; and by the three East and West Islands, there is sixteene fathoms water; and further vp, you haue thirtie fathomes, when the round hill is North from you. Now you must vnderstand, that heere as you goe vpon the Coast of *Sumatra*, are more Islands then a man can number. But if you will go into the Road of *Marrongh*, you may boldly beare in among those Islands that lye North-east and by East, till you come to the maine land of *Sumatra*, where you shall haue twentie or thirtie fathomes, and no danger, but what you see. Now when you come in with the maine foure leagues West South-west from this Head-land, which is called *Marrongh*, you shall haue all to the Northward off you low land, and many Islands; but you must go East South-east vnto the Head-land of *Sumatra*: for this Road of *Marrongh* is along the shoare from the three little Islands fast by the maine, till you come almost to the point that maketh the Straight of *Sunda*, you may anchor in twentie or twelue fathomes water, Ozie ground, a faire birth off: There is good refreshing, and Riuer all along the shoare. The land is very high heere in from the Road. But if you come with the three Salt hills or Islands, that lye South and North one from the other, which are distant, as I said before, from the three East and West Islands by *Sumatra* ten leagues, and would go for this place of *Marrongh*, steere in with the high land North, when you are to the Eastward of the South Salt hill, and you go right with it; for the land aboue it is like a barne, and none there-about like it: you may be bold euery way hereabout, for there is no danger, but what you see with your eyes, no where without the Straights mouth. In the very straight or narrow betweene *Sumatra* and *Iaua* side, which you will, if you go to the Westward of the three South and North Islands, you need not feare, although you see three rockes stand three miles West from the Salt hill; for you may come fast by them, or put betweene any of those Islands, the depth will bee much about twentie or thirtie fathoms. The course from the Head-land of *Sumatra*, where the three East and West Islands are, is East North-east with the Point or Head-land of *Sumatra*, that maketh the Straights entrie. The Coast of *Iaua* lyeth from the Point of *Talimbam* downe to seven degrees almost of Southerly latitude; where are many Islands on this side, South-west and North-east, and you haue ground with the lead at thirtie or fortie fathomes in some place: But a little without the Point of *Palimbam* you may anchor in twelue fathomes, Ozie ground. The latitude of the South-east salt hill, is sixe degrees, ten minutes: The longitude from the Cape of Good Hope eightie one East, the variation three degrees, twentie minutes. These salt hills stand nearer *Iaua* then *Sumatra* by two leagues, you may see both Maines at one time, if it be cleare, and you be in the mid-way. The land of *Iaua* is high within the countrey, and low by the water-side. The streame in the Straight setteth twelue houres one way, and twelue houres the other, but most strongly; for you cannot beare a head with a hard gale at some times: wherefore go off on one side, and anchor, it maketh no matter on which. But if you chance to go in by *Sumatra* side, keep nearer *Sumatra* by a good deale, then to the Islands, till the Islands bee East and by South from you, for there is a rock vnder water, which breaketh at low water, that lyeth West and by North from the Island. *Sumatra* is bold, so you can keepe off the land; and so is *Iaua* side also. The way to *Bantam*, when you are about the Point of *Palimbam*, is by the land East South-east, and South-east and by East, with your lead going till you see a flat Island called *Pulo Panian*, which is distant from the Point of *Palimbam* nine or ten leagues. When you come to this Island, you may go without it, or within it at your pleasure: but keepe your lead going, and come not nearer then five or sixe fathomes off that Island. Then if you looke in vpon the maine, you shall see a round hill in the countrey bearing South, or betweene that and South South-west. This hill standeth right ouer the Towne of *Bantam*: if you haue it South South-west from you, goe in with that course, till you come to see five Islands together, right from *Pulo Panian*. Your Road is by these five Islands called *Pulo Lima*, where you may ride in what depth you will vnder foure fathoms, Ozie ground. It higheth five foote water in the Road. Wherefore when you chuse to ride, remember the Tide, for otherwise you may bee on ground at low water. The variation in the Road is three degrees from North to West. Heere are many Islands in this Road round about you.

*Celebar.**Manancabo.*

The salt hills.

The Road of *Marrongh*.Three Rockes  
three miles  
West from the  
salt hills.The lying of  
ome part of  
the Coast of  
*Iaua*.The Souther  
salt hill is in  
eightie one de-  
grees of longi-  
tude from the  
Cape of Good  
Hope.A rocke vnder  
water.*Pulo Panian*.*Pulo Lima*.The variation  
is three degr.  
in *Bantam*  
Roads.



## §. III.

*The way from Bantam to the Strait of Palimbon, upon the East-side of Sumatra, of Banca, Bintam, Straights of Sincapura, and Sunda, with other places.*

**W**hen you weigh from *Bantam* Roade, you goe North-east by East in foure or five fathoms, till you come with the point of the maine, where it commeth to beare South-east by South, you haue very shoald water vpon that spit of hard ground. Wherefore 10  
keepe off betime: before you come neare in foure or five fathoms, there is a good bigge Island on your North North-west, as you go from *Bantam*, which you may leaue on your larbord side in going from the aforefaid Towne, and your depthes are five or sixe fathoms. Heere will the land toward the Strait make like an Island, because you haue lost sight of the low land. Heere in your North North-east course, you haue a long bed of small Islands in your way, and low with-  
all, but bold: for there is eightene or twentie fathomes water among them, *Bantam* bearing South-west by South Westerly from these Islands. Their latitude is from five degrees, to five degrees, thirtie minutes.

When you are at the Norther end of these Islands, go North North-east and North ouer for the Coast of *Sumatra*: and in your course your depthes will be thirteene, twelue, ten, nine, eight, 20  
seuen, sixe, five, foure and a halfe fathomes; and then you shall see the low land of *Sumatra*, the trees I meane, and your ground vnder your lead will be Ozie. The latitude about three degrees, thirtie minutes South. Now when you come in with a riffe of hard sand here-about, and haue in your North and by West course foure fathoms and an halfe: Note it well, and hale off againe East North-east into your old depthes, which are from ten to seuen fathoms or five off *Sumatra*, your course North by West, and North North-west, to hold the coast from five to ten fathoms. But go not without ten fathoms neither by night nor day; for the Coast is bold in sixe fathoms. But if you go from *Bantam* North, you must looke very carefully about for a shoald, that lyeth in that course from the aforefaid Towne off the Roade, till you haue sight of the two Islands vpon the Coast of *Sumatra*, that lye three leagues from that maine land; and then you haue no more 30  
Islands by *Sumatra*, till you come in three degrees of South latitude; and there shall you fall with *Lusapara-falsa*, which is the first of those foure Islands, at the South South-west end of *Banca*. And looke out very well for them, in going your North by West course, as the depths wil guide you from five or sixe, to nine or ten fathoms, Ozie ground. When you haue sight of these foure Islands, you shall see much broken ground by them, and among them very shoald water. Heere likewise you shall see two round homockes of a good height: and though they seeme to you to stand vpon the maine of *Sumatra*, yet they doe not so, but vpon the Island of *Banca*. The afore-  
said foure Islands haue three degrees, no minutes South latitude. When you come to haue these Islands East from you, your shoalding will be five and foure fathomes, and your course North, and 40  
North by West, till you haue the Southermost Isle South-east by East from you. Then you goe North North-east by *Banca*, in eight and seuen fathomes, for the Island of *Banca* is steepe. When you come with these Islands, keepe *Sumatra* side for the holder side: the channell is in breadth three miles. Now in edging to the other side, you shall go from eight fathoms into three fathoms. Then haue you hard ground on that side, and Ozie ground on *Sumatra* side. This course of North North-east, is but one reach or three miles, before you go North againe. Heere at the narrow the Tide setteth North and South, and runneth twelue houres one way, and twelue houres the other. When you are past the bankes or shoalds by these Islands, your depthes are ten and nine fathoms: then you saile three leagues North by the land. The next reach lieth North by West, and the depth in the best is fifteene fathoms. And when you draw neare to the high land vpon the North 50  
side of the Island of *Banca*, your course is North North-west, and the best depthes twentie fathomes. It is very flat and shoald heere vpon *Sumatra* side. This course of North North-west, and North-west by North, continueth nine leagues. Then you saile twentie leagues North-west by West, the depth will be foure and twentie fathoms. The latitude in this course, is one degree, eight and thirtie minutes South. When you haue the North-end of these Islands South-east by South from you, it will shew like broken Islands. But as you go, keepe off the maine, because it is shoald still. Your next course is North ten leagues, in ten, nine, eight and seuen fathoms. Heere you haue sight of three or foure Islands, to the Northwards of the great Island, but no sight of the maine land. The latitude heere is one degree, five minutes South. Then your course is North-east by North, with a round Island, and other little Islands by it. This round Island is 60  
like the Moniton of *Dartmouth*, the depthes ten, nine, eight, and seuen fathoms, and latitude about fortie minutes South. This Isle is called by the Countrie people *Pulo Sio*, but *Linscor* calleth it *Pulo Pome*. Heere you may haue water and wood, if you need. Then your course is to go without *Linga* from hence North North-west, and the depth is fifteene or sixteene fathoms: and the distance from *Pulo Sio* to *Linga*, is thirteene leagues. At the Souther end of *Linga* are many Islands:



Ilands; and there are at the Norther end also many. This Island of *Linga* lyeth vnder the Equinoctiall line, as wee found by obseruation, where the Charts make it to lye almost a degree in South latitude. It is full of Ilands and suncken grounds hereabout. Heere we found the tide to runne South South-east, and North North-west. The depth in the offing is twentie fathomes, Ozie ground: your course is North by West fifteene or sixteen leagues, where you shall see eight other Ilands. But in your going beware of the tide, and keepe in fifteene or sixteen fathoms water, and Ozie ground: the latitude of these eight Ilands is fiftie minutes North. Heere you may likewise haue wood and water among these Ilands. These Ilands and suncken grounds continue to one degree, ten minutes of North latitude: the Tide runneth twelue houres, the flood from the Northward, and ebbe from the Southward, the depth twentie fathomes. Heere along by these Ilands is fourteene fathomes, till you come vp to the Ile of *Bintam*, which hath in latitude one degree, ten minutes North, vpon the South-east side of this Island is bold shoalding from fourteene to nine fathomes, yet hath a round hill in the midst of it, and it is a greater Island; then any that is neare it: vpon the Easter point I came ouer in seven fathomes: the Tide of the Norther side setteth West by North. And when you are past this Easter point, you are open of the Straight of *Sincapura*. Heere the Tide setteth East from the Straight of *Sincapura*. Thence you go North-east and by North seven leagues, with a strong streame against you, for an Island called *Pulo Tinge*, vpon the Coast of *Ior*, in latitude two degrees, twentie minutes North, you may see the round hill of *Bintam* euen with the water, for their distance twentie leagues, and the course is North by West. Heere wee saw an Island called *Pulo Timon*: and the other Ilands by it are called *Pulo Lore*, leauing two round hilles vpon it. And *Pulo Tinge*, where we roade, hath a piked hill vpon it. Their latitudes are two degrees, thirtie minutes, and two degrees fortie minutes.

*Linga* lyeth vnder the Equinoctiall Line.

Eight Ilands.

The Ile of *Bintam*.

The Straight of *Sincapura*.

*Pulo Tinge*.

*Pulo Timon*.

*Ior*.

The Coast of *Ior* is bold from *Pulo Tinge*. When you haue made the Straight of *Sincapura*, and would goe for *Ior*, your course is North-west by West. But beware of the Current, you may bee bold in fifteene, eightene, twentie, or fiew and twentie fathomes, and good ground to anchor.

From *Pulo Sio* steere South-east for an Island called *Pulo Paccadure*, distant from *Pulo Sio* eleven leagues, in latitude one degree no minutes South. It is a ragged Island, and hath by it two little Ilands. The depth is fifteene fathomes. Be sure to keep in that depth, and you shall goe without danger. From this ragged Island your course is South-east by East nine leagues, to another Island called *Pulo Pagadure*, and your depths are fifteene or sixteen fathomes. In that course be very carefull: for *Banca* vpon this side is all Rockes and breaches, in some places eight or nine leagues off, and so it is without you againe all bad ground. Then from this Island your course is South-east by East, to an Island called *Pulo Calasai*, or the Mariners Island: and their distance is fortie leagues: when you see this Island of Mariners, lie short off it, because you cannot anchor by it for fowle ground. Your depth from this Island to the other is fifteene fathomes. From this Mariners Island, you may see the high land vpon *Banca* beare West by North from it, and is distant fifteene leagues.

*Pulo Paccadure*.

*Pulo Pagadure*.

*Pulo Calasai*.

*Banca*.

The head of *Banca* lieth from this Ile South-west by West nine leagues. Saile not by night by any meanes when you see this Island: for if you goe neuer so well by your Compasse, the streames will deceiue you, and put you to the East-ward of an Island called *Chinabata*. Your course is to goe betweene *Banca* and these Ilands; because it is all Rockes to the East-ward like steeples. This Ile of *Chinabata* and *Pulo Calasai*, lie South and North one from the other, and are distant thirteene leagues. Your course betweene *Banca* and *Chinabata* is South South-west: looke to the streame, and borrow of *Banca* in this place in twentie or twentie fiew fathomes. The distance betweene them is tenne leagues. The Rockes in the Offing are called *Pulo Pelican*. From which straight to the coast of *Sumatra*, the course is South-west by South, till you haue shoalding off the maine. And goe as you did outward from *Bantam*, keeping the shoalding of *Sumatra* in seven or eight fathomes, till you draw neere the straight of *Sunda*.

*Chinabata*.

I haue hereunto added like Nauticall obseruations, I suppose, written by *Thomas Clayborne*, leauing the censure and vse to the more skilfull. He intituleth them,

*Certaine principall Notes, gathered by mine owne experience, in my three Voyages into these parts: wherein the true course, and distances, with shoalds and rockes is shewed: and on which side you may leaue them: as hereafter followeth.*

Note:

The Souther-most Salt hill lyeth in fixe degrees no minutes of South latitude; and if you bee bound for *Bantam*, you may goe betwixt the Salt hills, or on either side of them, if neede be: but most men goe to the South of them. If you bee South from the Southermost Salt hill, about two leagues, or lesse, your best course to *Palimbam* point, is betweene the North-East by East, and



and the East North-east. The distance betwixt the Salt hills and that point twenty leagues. In that course you shall leaue the Iland that maketh the straights of *Sunda* on the Lar-boord side, and that Iland is five leagues short of *Palimbam* point. From *Palimbam* point your course is East South-east about three or foure leagues with *Pulo Pangam*: then leauing that Iland on your Lar-boord side, and being cleare of it, you must steere East South-east, about two leagues more: then South South-west, and South by West about one league, and that will bring you into *Bantam* roade, where you may come to an anchor in three fathomes, soft Oze.

*Certaine Notes from Bantam Roade to the Ilands of the Maluccaes, with the course and distances: as hercafter followeth.*

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From *Bantam* roade North-east by North two leagues, then East by North, and East North-east two leagues, and that will bring the low point to the Eastward of *Bantam* Bay, South from you about one league: but come no neerer that point then three fathome; then East, and East by North foure leagues, and then you shall haue foureteene fathome, and shall be neere five Ilands, with white sand without them, and a Ledge of Rockes East from them about halfe a mile; these you must leaue to the North-wards of you. From these Ilands your course is East South-East, with the Eastermost Iland of *Iacatra*. From the Eastermost Iland of *Iacatra*, which is the North-east most from this Iland, your course is North-east by East foure or five leagues, then East thirtie leagues; then looke out for a sand that lieth about three leagues from the Maine, and if it be cleare weather, you shall see a low Iland to the North of you, but you may goe either betweene the Iland and the sand, or betweene the sand and the Maine: but the best way is to goe three leagues to the Southward of the Iland. Then East by South and East seuentie leagues, and that will bring you in sight of *Madura*. Note, if you be foure or five leagues from the West end of *Madura*, you shall haue thirtie three fathome; and being five leagues off the Easter end, you shall haue fortie one or fortie two fathomes. All alongst this coast, you shall haue Ozie ground. From the West end of *Madura*, your best course is to steere East by North, while you haue brought your selfe in the latitude of sixe degrees: and then keepe your selfe in that latitude if it be possible, and so (by Gods helpe) you shall goe cleare betweene the shoales of *Celebes*, and another shoale that lieth South South-west from the shoales of *Celebes*. The Southermost point of the shoales of *Celebes* lieth in six degrees. From the South point of the shoales of *Celebes*, your course is East North-East with the straights of *Celebes*: the distance betweene them is thirtie leagues. From the straights of *Celebes* to *Ternata*, the principall Iland of the *Maluccas*, vpon a straight line, the course is North-east, distant about two hundred leagues.

Note.

The straights  
of *S. Thomas*.

If you be minded to goe for the *Moluccas*, then from the straights of *Celebes*, your course is North-east by East, and North-east thirtie leagues, and that will bring you into a fraight between two lands, namely, *Celebes* and *Cambyna*: the distance betweene these two lands is five leagues: in the middle between them, you shall haue thirtie eight fathomes, sandy ground. But this is to be noted, when you come betweene these two Ilands, you cannot faile by night: for it is dangerous, while you be cleare of the straights of *S. Thomas*, distant from this place aforementioned twenty leagues; so that you must goe vpon seuerall courses, as hereafter followeth.

The straights  
of *Bengalia*.*Machian*.*Bachia*.

First, North-east by North sixe leagues, then North North-east eight leagues, then East and East by North tenne leagues, and this will bring you into the straights of *S. Thomas*, which straights you shall hardly perceiue, vntill you come very neere them: for they are narrowe, and one land thooteth in an other. The going through is East about one league, and the least water you shall haue in running of that league, is eleuen or twelue fathomes. In running of those twenty leagues afore-named, you shall be land-locked, and shall see sixe or seuen sands dry with the rimme of the water, most of them will be on your Lar-boord side: but this course aforementioned (by Gods helpe) will carry you cleare of them all. From the straights of *S. Thomas*, your course is North-east by East, and East North-east foureteene leagues, and that will carry you into the Sea, but not out of the sight of land: then North North-east thirtie eight leagues; and then looke out for a small Iland, and a shoale that lieth North North-west from that small Iland. You must bring that small Iland East from you about two leagues, or seuen miles: then steere North by East, and North North-east five leagues, then West North-west, and North-west by North two or three leagues, then North-east by North foure or five leagues, and that North-east by North course, will carry you betweene two shoales, that lie in two degrees no minutes South latitude. The distance between them is not one mile, and they are dry at low water: you shall haue foureteene fathome betweene them. When you are cleare of these shoales, and are within one league of that land, which that North-East by North course doth carry you vnto, then you must steere East South-east about two leagues, then North-east by East with the straights of *Bengalia*, which lie in one degree twenty minutes to the South of the Equinoctial: this straight lyeth North-east by North, and so you must goe through.

From the straights of *Bengalia* to *Machian*, the course is North-east by East distant seuentie two

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two leagues. *Bachian* lieth in no degrees thirty minutes to the North of the Equinoctiall, and being neere this Iland, if it bee cleare weather, you shall see all the Cloue Ilands, which shew like high piked hills in the midst of them. You may steere with any of them at your pleasure, if wind and weather serue: for there is no danger lying neere them.

*Notes of Botun.*

**B**otun is a great Iland, and an high land, the longest part of it lieth North North-east, and South South-west. Vpon the North North-West part or ende of the Iland, there is a Riuer of fresh water. If a man be at the Norther ende of *Botun*, and bee minded to saile to the Kings Towne, his course is betweene the South by West, and South South-West, and so shall sayle along the land twenty leagues, as it were vp a Riuer, betwixt two lands, *Botun* to the Eastward, and *Cambyna* to the West, distance betweene them foure leagues, in some places but three, in some places but two leagues, and in some very narrow.

In this course afore-named, nine leagues short of the Kings Towne, there is a shoale, not very bigge, yet dangerous, and dry at a low water. Now to know when you are neere it, you shall see a round hill vpon *Bustoon*, neere the water side: that hill and the shoale lie East by North, and West by South one from the other; you must leaue that shoale on your Lar-boord side. From this shoale, your course is still betweene the South by West, and South South-West, to goe with the narrow Straights, foure miles short of the Kings Towne: this Straight is one league through, and about halfe a mile broad, the course is South South-West through, and it is no great matter for the course in that place, so you keepe the shippe in the middle, which is best: for there is no riding in the narrow, by reason of the swift Tydes that runne there. Hee that goeth through, must take his Tyde with him to driue him through, for (lightly) there is neuer any wind there, the land is so high ouer the Maits on both sides. But you may anchor two leagues short of this narrowe, and ride well (by Gods helpe) in thirty fathome sand. So, when you be through this straight, you must steere South South-west one league, to goe cleare of a point of land that you must leaue on your Lar-boord side; and beeing cleare of that point, you must hale vp South South-East about foure miles, if the wind will giue you leaue, and then you may come to an anchor in eight and twentie fathome, hard sand, neere a flat Iland.

A dangerous shoale.

Then you shall see the Towne of *Botun*, vpon the side of an hill, from you about one league. The Roade of *Botun* lieth in five degrees fifteene minutes of South latitude. From *Botun* road West South-West foure leagues, then South-West, and South-West by South five leagues, then West by South and West thirtie leagues, and that will bring you to the Straights of *Celebes*.

The road of *Botun* is in five degrees fifteen minutes of South latitude;

From the Straights of *Celebes* to the Iland of *Banda* vpon seuerall courses, as followeth: First, East seven and thirtie leagues, then East by South fifteene leagues, then North-east halfe a point to the North-ward, about seveneene leagues, and that will bring you into the latitude of five degrees tenne minntes, and then your best course is East North-east, with *Buro*, distance betweene that and *Buro* sixtie three leagues. From the South part of *Buro* to the South part of *Amboyne*, are eight and twenty leagues. From the South part of *Amboyne* to *Banda*, the course is East South East distance about thirty leagues. *Banda* lieth in foure degrees fortie minutes. Your going in is betweene the high Mountaine called *Gunappi*, and the great Iland of *Banda*, the hill beeing on your Lar-boord side, and the great Iland on your Star-boord side.

*Buro.*  
*Amboyne.*  
*Banda.*



## CHAP. VII.

*A Journall of the tenth Voyage to the East-India, with two shippes, the Dragon, and the Hosiander (accompanied with the Iames and Salomon, but those for other Voyages) and in them three hundred and eightie persons, or there-about: Written by Master THOMAS BEST, chiefe Commander thereof.*

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## p. I.

## Observations in their way to Surat.

February 1.  
1611.

March 22.

Maio.

A great ledge  
of Rockes.

Another Island.  
Two or three  
high white  
rockes.  
June 28.  
They depart  
from Saldanha.

Note.

July 31.  
The Isle de  
Iuan da Noua.

Signes of the  
Isle de Iuan da  
Noua.

August 1.

**T**He first of February, 1611. we set saile from *Grauesend*, and anchored in *Tilbury Hope*.

The two and twentieth of March, at noone latitude obserued fifteene degrees, 20  
twentie minutes. At two of the clocke in the after-noone faire aboard *Maio*.  
*Bonanista* and *Maio* lye South-west by South, distant some twelue leagues. Note  
that the North North-west, and the North part of *Maio* is all foule ground;  
and due North from the high homockes, there lyeth a great ledge of rockes from the land, some  
fue or sixe miles off: and a mile without the rockes you shall haue twentie fathomes water. On  
the West-side of the Island you may borrow in twelue or fifteene fathomes, till you come into  
the Roade, where we anchored in foure and twentie fathomes.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we came close by an Island, the latitude of it is twen-  
tie degrees, thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of *Maio*, one degree, fittie minutes  
East. We did not land vpon it, but came within two or three miles of it. I take it there is hard- 30  
ly anchoring to be found: there may be some refreshing in it; wood there is, and there may bee  
water: for on the Souther part of it there is a faire plaine plot, and it was very greene: wee  
could not finde ground comming within two or three miles of it. From this Island East North-  
east, some seuen or eight leagues lyeth another Island: and from the first Island East by South, or  
East South-east, lye two or three high white rockes, some foure or fue leagues off.

The eight and twentieth of Iune, we all set to sea: we stayed in *Saldanha* Road one and twen-  
tie dayes, and bought for the three shippes nine and thirtie Beeues, and an hundred and fifteene  
sneepe, with a little brasse, which we cut out of two or three old kettles: The sheepe we bought 40  
for small pieces of thinne brasse, worth some peny or three halfe pence a piece: the Beeues with  
the brasse cut off kettles, to the value of twelue pence for a Beeve. It is a place of great refreshing:  
for besides the Beeve and Mutton, there is great plentie of good fish, and fowles of many sorts,  
great store of fat Deere, but wee could kill none, very excellent Riuer of fresh water, and an  
healthfull and good ayre. I landed eightie or ninetie sicke men, and lodged them in Tents eigh-  
teene dayes, and they all recovered their healthes, saue one that dyed. From the seuenth of Iune,  
till the day of our departure from *Saldanha*, being the eight and twentieth of Iune, we had no-  
thing but faire weather; the Sunne very warme, and the ayre very sweet and healthfull. Wee  
were an hundred leagues East from *Cabo das Aguilhas*, before wee found any current, and then  
found it strong.

The one and thirtieth of Iuly, Latitude obserued seuentene degrees, eight minutes, and lon- 50  
gitude twentie degrees, seuen and fortie minutes, the wind at South, faire weather. At foure in  
the after-noone, we saw the Island de *Iuan da Noua* from vs East South-east, distant foure leagues,  
in bignesse, so much as we saw, (and I thinke wee saw all of it) for length some three or foure  
miles, very low, and riseth like rockes; off the West-end, a mile or two from it, we saw a breach,  
but we could not get ground with an hundred and thirtie fathomes, sounding with our Pinnale  
or skiffe: the latitude of it is seuentene degrees, no minutes, very certainly obserued, and in our  
iudgements well laid in our plats, both for latitude and longitude: it is a most sure signe of be-  
ing neare this Island de *Iuan da Noua*, if you find or see great store of fowle; from hauing the I-  
land North-east to South-east, we saw much fowle, some white, their wings topped or painted  
only with blacke, and some blacke fowle.

The first of August, North North-east thirtie leagues, latitude fifteene degrees, one and fortie 60  
minutes, longitude one and twentie degrees, two and twentie minutes.

The second, North-east by North one quarter North, sixe and twentie leagues, latitude  
fourteene degrees, fue and thirtie minutes, longitude one and twentie degrees, eight and fif-  
tie minutes.

Then



The third, North-east by North, one quarter North two and twenty leagues latitude observed thirteene degrees, five and thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape twenty two degr. thirty minutes, the wind at South South-east, partly calme. Note that comming this course from the *Isle Iuan da Noua*, we haue not met with any Currents: whereby it is euident that the Current which runneth to the South-west, very strongly aboard the *Maine*, from the latitude of fourteen degr. South, doth not runne in the offing twenty leagues from land. At foure in the after-noon we saw land East North-east, and North-east by East from vs, some twelue leagues off; hauing on the Easter-part of it a very faire Sugar-loafe hill. This Ile is called *Mal-Ilha*, and is one of the 10 Iles of *Comoro*. Also at the same time we saw the Iland *Comoro* bearing off vs North North-west and North by West high-land.

Note.

*Mal-Ilha* one of the Iles of *Comoro*.

The fourth, at six in the morning, we were faire aboard the South South-east end of *Mal-Ilha*, and haling in with the hand to haue found some place to anchor in, when we were some eight or nine miles from the shoare, we saw the ground vnder the ship; but not lesse then eight or ten fathoms water: the *Hoflander* being two miles within vs, shee finding not lesse then foure or five fathoms, but her Boat was in three fathoms. Then we sent off both our Pinnasses, which kept shoalding on a Banke of eight, ten, and twelue fathomes, being from the Banke halfe a Cables length, no ground in an hundred fathomes. At the North-end of this *Mal-Ilha* there is a faire big Iland high land, and may be some five or sixe miles about; and from this little Iland to the maine land of *Mal-Ilha*, may be some eight or nine miles, full of rockes, two of them of good height. 20 Now the Banke or ledge of Rockes, for so it is, lyeth all along the West-side of *Mal-Ilha*: and continueth vntill the little high Iland (before mentioned) beare South-east of you, and then it endeth. Heere I had sixteene fathom, faire white sand, fishing ground. And thus being at the North-end of this Ledge, and the little Iland bearing South-east, you may steere in with land, keeping the Iland faire aboard: and within the rockes or broken ground and *Mal-Ilha*, you shall see a Bay, wherein there is good anchoring. The *Dutch* shipping hath been there sixe or eight 30 saile of them together: That yeare they were heere, when they assaulted *Mozambique*, two of my men now in my ship, were then in the shippes. Now to the Eastward of you, as you come in from the Banke or Ledge of Rockes, you haue likewise a great shoald, and the offermost end of it lyeth from the little Iland North-east, or North-east by East, but from the Iland at least five 40 or sixe miles, and no ground betweene, that we could find, in forty or fifty fathomes. In fine, all the North-side of *Mal-Ilha* is very dangerous: but the channell mentioned, without danger: for we stood in as farre as the little Iland: but the wind being faire Southerly, we could not lead it in. For I would haue anchored in the Bay, if I could haue got in; for a mile to the West-ward of the Bay is a Towne, the people good, and great refreshing; as Beeues, Goats, Hennes, Limons, Coco Nuts, of each great store; and good water. The aforelaid Fleet of *Hollanders*, in this place, reco- 50 uered the healthes of foure or hie hundred men in five weekes. In those parts there is no place of greater refreshing then this. Now the best way to come to this place, is to come by the South-east side of the Iland. *Mal-Ilha* hath latitude twelue degrees, thirty minutes, and longitude three and twenty degree, two minutes; Variation fifteene degrees, twenty minutes. This Iland is well 60 named *Mal-Ilha*, for it is the most dangerous of any place that euer I saw: it is the next to *Comoro*, on the South-east side of *Comoro*, and is distant some twelue or fourteene leagues.

Shoald-water.

A great Ledge of Rockes.

Six or eight ships of Hol- land at *Mal-Ilha*.*Mal-Ilha* next to *Comoro*.

September 1. Sight of land.

The first of September, at the breaking of the dawning, we saw the land East from vs, some three or foure leagues off. When we saw the land, I was short of my reckoning eightie or nine- tie leagues: which I iudge to proceed of some Current from the Coast of *Melinde*, setting to the East: neither from the latitude of *Socatra* to *Daman* could we see the Sunne, to know that va- 10 riation.

The third, at seuen in the morning, we commanded two Boats of the countrey, by shooting foure peeces to them, to come aboard of vs: and they told vs that the Church, and Castle, and Towne which we saw, and now did beare off vs South-east by South, was the Towne of *Daman*. 20 Out of these two Boats I tooke two men, which vndertooke to carry the *Dragon* to the Barre of *Surat*, with promise that they would not bring me into lesse then seuen fathoms water.

The fifth, a Boat of *Surat* came aboard of vs with *Iaddow* the Broker, which had serued Cap- taine *William Hawkins* three yeeres, and Sir *Henry Middleton* the time of his being heere; and the Customers brother, and three or foure others. All which continued with vs till the seuenth day. And then at foure in the after-noon we came to an anchor at the Barre of *Surat*: the Barre hath 30 latitude one and twenty degrees, ten minutes. Variation sixteene degrees, twenty minutes, or sixteene degr. seuen and twenty min. Heere I came to an anchor in eight fathomes and a quarter at high water, and at low water sixe fathoms and an halfe nepe tides: but in the spring tides it would rise heere in the offing, for so haue I found, three fathoms, and three fathoms and a halfe.

They arrive at the Barre of *Surat*.

60 The eleuenth, *Thomas Kerridge* came aboard, and signified their kind intreaty, and much wel- come to the people, and brought with him from the Iustice and Gouvernour of *Surat*, a Certificate vnder their Seale for our quiet and peaceable trade and entercourse with them, and also a Letter of relation written by Sir *Henry Middleton*, which hee left with the *Mocadan* of *Swally*. The same day we returned him againe with *Hugh Gittins*.



## p. II.

*Their Acts with the Mogols Subiects, and fights against the Portugals: setting a Factorie, and departure to Achen.*

**T**H E thirteenth of September, sixteene Sailes of Portugall Frigats put into the Riuer. The two and twentieth it was determined by counsell, that wee should send a Post to Agra to the King, to signifie our arriual, and to require his answere certaine, Whether hee would permit vs trade, and to settle a Factorie. Otherwise to depart his Countrey. 10

The thirtieth, this morning I heard of the taking of Master Canning the Purser, and William Chambers: whereupon I caused the *Guzerat* ship to anchor fast by me, thereby to stay her, till I might see and heare how all stood on land. Also wee stayed a Barke of Rice, being informed that it belonged to the Portugals of Bassare: and from Bassare she came. In fine, I tooke out of her twelue or fourteene Quintals of Rice, and gaue them thirteene pence a Quintall for it. After I had the ship, I wrote to the chiefe on land, that they should send me all my men, with the value of all the goods which I had landed; which being performed, I would then deliuer their ship with all their people, and gaue time till the fift of October to returne mee answere: by which time if they did not, then I would dispose of ship and goods at my pleasure. Some tenne of the chiefe men of the ship I tooke into my ship: in the ship there being some foure hundred men, or foure hundred and fiftie. 20

The sixth, *Medi Ioffer* came aboard accompanied with foure chiefe men, and many others. Hee brought me a great Present. He came to intreate of Trade, and releafe of the ship which I held.

The Gouvernor  
of Amadaur  
came to Swally.

The tenth, I left the Barre of *Surat*, and came to the Roade of *Swally*, and anchored in eight fathomes at high-water. It is from the Barre of *Surat* some ten or twelue miles North. The fteuenteenth, the Gouverneur of *Amadaur* came to the water-side. The nineteenth, I landed, hauing aboard of my ship foure men for pledges. The one and twentieth, I concluded with the Gouvernours and Merchants for trading with them, and setting a Factorie in any part of their Countrey. 30

*The Articles agreed vpon, and sealed by the Gouverneur of Amadaur, and the Gouverneur of Surat, and foure principall Merchants, and to be confirmed by the Seale and Firme of the Great Mogoll within fortie dayes after the former sealing, or else to be void; for the setting of Trade and Factories in the Cities of Surat, Cambaya, Amadaur, Goga, or in any other part or parts of this Countrey within the Great Mogols Dominions. Witnessed vnder our hands and Seales, the one and twentieth of October, 1612.* 40

1 **I**N primis, that all which concerneth Sir Henrie Middleton be remitted, acquitted and cleared to vs: that they shall neuer make seisure, stoppage, nor stay of our Goods, Wares and Merchandizes to satisfie for the same.

2 That they shall procure from their King the great *Mogoll* at their proper cost his grant and confirmation of all the *Articles* made vnder the great *Mogoll* his Land, and shall deliuer the same vnto vs for our use of perpetuall anie and dealing with them with- 50

3 That it shall be the duty of the *Mogoll* to keepe his Embassadour at the Court of the Great *Mogoll* in peace and quietnes, and to compound and end all such great and weighty matters as shall be made of the breach of peace.

4 That at all times the *Mogoll* shall bee Proclamation in the Citie of *Surat* that all sorts of people shall bee allowed to come downe to the *English* and to trade with vs.

5 That all English Commers shall be allowed to trade with the *Mogoll* at the time that it is put into the *Cash* and to beareth

6 That all pettie and Pedlerly wares shall be sold at the rate of eight Rials of eight. 60

7 That we shall haue ten Manu for our use, and for the same rate backe againe: and for Carts to be used at *Surat*, and at *Surat* to repaire to the Broker for *Cash*.



8 That if any of our men dye in those parts, that then neither the King, nor Gouvernour, nor under Officer shall make title or challenge to any thing that to the dead belonged, nor demand fees, nor any kind of Taxes, nor Customes.

9 That if all our men dye heere in these parts, betweene the times of the comming of our shippes, that then by some Office thereto appointed iust and true Inuentorie, notice, and knowledge be taken, of all such Monies, Goods, Iewels, Provisions, Apparell, and what else to our Nation belongeth: and the same shall safely preserve and keepe, and deliuer to the Generall, Captaine, or Merchants of the first ships that shall after heere arrive: and to receiue a discharge from the Generall, Captaine, or Merchants, to whom such Goods and Monies shall be deliuered.

10 That they secure our men and goods vpon the Land, redeeming all such both goods and men as shall happen to be taken vpon the Land by the Portugals: and shall deliuer both men and goods againe to vs free of all charges, or the value of our goods and men instantly.

11 That as in all Kingdomes there are some Rebels and disobedient Subiects; so in our Nation there may be some Pirats, and Sea-Rouers, which may happen to come into these parts, and heere may rob and steale: if any such shall happen, then will not we by our Trade and Factorie heere bee lyable or answerable for such goods so taken, but will ayde them with our best meanes that are so griued, by Iustice to our King, for redresse and restitution vnto them.

12 That all such provisions of victuals as shall bee spent during the time that our ships shall remayne heere in the Roades of Surat and Swally, halbe free of Custome: provided, it doe not amount vnto aboue a thousand Dollers in Money.

13 That in all Questions of wrongs and iniuries that shall be offered vnto vs, and to our Nation, that we doe receiue from the Iudges and those that be in authoritic, present and speedie Iustice according to the qualitie of our complaints and wrongs be done vs, and that by delayes we be not put off, and wearied either by time or charges.

The fourteenth, I landed the Present for the Great Mogol, and brought it to the Tent of the Gouvernour of Amadaur, who tooke notice of the particulars: also of our Kings Letter to their King to aduertise their King thereof. Which done, I returned the Present to my shippe againe, according to agreement with the said Gouvernour. For I had told him, that vnlesse their King would confirme the Articles concluded on, and likewise write our King a Letter, I would not deliuer the Present, nor our Kings Letter: for if he refused so to do, then was he not a friend, but an enemie, and to the enemie of my King, I neither had Letter nor Present. Also the same day, the former finished, I deliuered our Present to the Gouvernour of Amadaur, and another to his sonne.

The fourteenth of Nouember, 1612. the *Cassia* of Frigats came in sight of vs, some two hundred and fortie saile. I had thought they had come to fight with vs: but they were the Fleet of the Merchant men bound for Cambaya. And euery yeare there commeth the like Fleet, all Portugals from the South Coast, to wit, from Goa, Chaul, &c. to goe to Cambaya: and from thence they bring the greatest part of the lading, which the Caracks and Gallions carrie for Portugall. By which may appeare the great Trade that the Portugals haue in these parts.

The seuen and twentieth, I receiued Letters from Master Canning and Edward Christian: both signified of the comming of foure Gallions to fight with vs, and that they were readie, riding at the Barre of Goa, the fourteenth of Nouember.

The nine and twentieth, Master Canning came aboard: and the Portugall Fleet comming in sight of vs yesterday, drew neere vp with the floud: and at two in the after-noon I did set saile, and at foure I was about two Cables lengths from the Vice-Admirall, fearing to goe neerer for want of depth, and then I began to play vpon him both with great and small shot, that by an houre we had well peppered him with some fittie fixe great shot. From him wee receiued one small shot, Saker or Minion into our Maine Mast, and with another he sunke our long Boate: now being night we anchored, and saued our Boate, but lost many things out of it.

The thirtieth, as soone as the day gaue light, I set saile and steered betweene them, bestirring our selues with our best endeouours, putting three of their foure shippes on ground on the sands thwart of the Barre of Surat.

At nine I anchored. This morning the *Hosiander* did good seruice, and came through also betweene the ships, and anchored by me, vpon the floud the three ships on ground came off: we set saile, they at anchor, and came to them, and spent vpon three of them, one hundred and fittie great shot: and in the morning some fittie shot: and at night we giuing the Admirall our foure Peeeces out of the sterne for a fare-well, he gaue vs one of his Prow Peeeces, either a whole or Demi-culuering, which came euen with the top of our Fore-castle, shot thorow our Dauncie, killed one man, to wit, William Burrell, and shot the arme of another.

This day the *Hosiander* spent wholly vpon one of the ships, which was on ground, and from the enemie receiued many shot, one of which killed the Boat-swayne Richard Barker. Night being come wee birthed our selues some fixe miles from them, and anchored: and at nine of the clocke they sent a Frigat to vs, which being come neere, came driving right on the halfe of the

Notice of foure Gallions. The fight betweene foure Portugals Gallions and vs. Of these fights see a larger Relation in my *Pilgrimage*, lib. 5 cap. 7. § 4. The Portugals had foure great Gallions and some twentie fixe Frigats. They lost in these fights their quondam credit and one hundred and sixtie, or as others fiftie hundred men. And English Trade settled maugre their force. Nathaniel Salmon of Leigh, was Master of the *Hosiander*.



## p. II.

*Their Acts with the Mogols Subiects, and fights against the Portugals: setting a Factorie, and departure to Achen.*

**T**H E thirteenth of September, sixteene Sailes of *Portugall* Frigats put into the Riuer. The two and twentieth it was determined by counsell, that wee should send a Post to *Agra* to the King, to signifie our arriual, and to require his answere certaine, Whether hee would permit vs trade, and to settle a Factorie. Otherwise to depart his Countrey. 10

The thirtieth, this morning I heard of the taking of *Master Canning* the Purser, and *William Chambers*: whereupon I caused the *Guzerat* ship to anchor fast by me, thereby to stay her, till I might see and heare how all stood on land. Also wee stayed a Barke of Rice, being informed that it belonged to the *Portugals* of *Bassare*: and from *Bassare* she came. In fine, I tooke out of her twelue or fourteene Quintals of Rice, and gaue them thirteene pence a Quintall for it. After I had the ship, I wrote to the chiefe on land, that they should send me all my men, with the value of all the goods which I had landed; which being performed, I would then deliuer their ship with all their people, and gaue time till the fift of October to returne mee answere: by which time if they did not, then I would dispose of ship and goods at my pleasure. Some tenne of the chiefe men of the ship I tooke into my ship: in the ship there being some foure hundred men, or foure hundred and fiftie. 20

The sixth, *Medi Ioffer* came aboard accompanied with foure chiefe men, and many others. Hee brought me a great Present. He came to intreate of Trade, and releate of the ship which I held.

The Gouvernor  
of Amadaur  
came to Swally.

The tenth, I left the Barre of *Surat*, and came to the Roade of *Swally*, and anchored in eight fathomes at high-water. It is from the Barre of *Surat* some ten or twelue miles North. The fenteenth, the Gouverneur of *Amadaur* came to the water-side. The nineteenth, I landed, hauing aboard of my ship foure men for pledges. The one and twentieth, I concluded with the Gouvernours and Merchants for trading with them, and setting a Factorie in any part of their Countrey. 30

*The Articles agreed vpon, and sealed by the Gouverneur of Amadaur, and the Gouverneur of Surat, and foure principall Merchants, and to be confirmed by the Seale and Firme of the Great Mogoll within fortie dayes after the former sealing, or else to be void; for the setting of Trade and Factories in the Cities of Surat, Cambaya, Amadaur, Goga, or in any other part or parts of this Countrey within the Great Mogols Dominions. Witnessed vnder our hands and Seales, the one and twentieth of October, 1612.* 40

1 **I**Nprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henrie Middleton be remitted, acquitted and cleered to vs: that they shall neuer make seisure, stoppage, nor stay of our Goods, Wares and Merchandizes to satisfie for the same.

2 That they shall procure from their King the great Mogoll at their proper cost his grant and confirmation of all the Articles of agreement vnder the great Seale of his Land, and shall deliuer the same vnto vs for our securitie and certaintie of perpetuall amitie, commerce and dealing with them within fortie dayes after the sealing hereof. 50

3 That it shall bee lawfull for the King of England to keepe and continue his Embassadour at the Court of the Great Mogoll during the time of the said peace and commerce, there to compound and end all such great and weightie Questions, as may any way tend to the breach of the said peace.

4 That at all times vpon the arriual of our ships in the Roade of *Swally* there shall bee Proclamation in the Citie of *Surat* three seuerall dayes together, that it shall bee free for the Countrey people of all sorts to come downe to the water side, there to haue free trade, dealing and commerce with vs.

5 That all English Commodities shall pay custome, according to the value or price that it beareth at the time that it is put into the Custome-house, after the rate of three and an halfe the hundred.

6 That all pettie and Pedlerly ware be free of Custome, provided that it exceed not in value tenne Riials of eight. 60

7 That we shall haue ten Manu for our Manuda carryed from the waters side to *Surat*: and after the same rate backe againe: and for Carts we are to repaire to the Moccadam of *Swally* to send for *Surat*, and at *Surat* to repaire to the Broker for Carts downe againe.

8 That



8 That if any of our men dye in those parts, that then neither the King, nor Gouvernour, nor under Officer shall make title or challenge to any thing that to the dead belonged, nor demand fees, nor any kind of Taxes, nor Customes.

9 That if all our men dye beere in these parts, betweene the times of the comming of our shippes, that then by some Office thereto appointed iust and true Inuentorie, notice, and knowledge be taken, of all such Monies, Goods, Jewels, Promissions, Apparell, and what else to our Nation belongeth: and the same shall safely preserve and keepe, and deliuer to the Generall, Captaine, or Merchants of the first ships that shall after beere arrive: and to receiue a discharge from the Generall, Captaine, or Merchants, to whom such Goods and Monies shall be deliuered.

10 That they secure our men and goods vpon the Land, redeeming all such both goods and men as shall happen to be taken vpon the Land by the Portugals: and shall deliuer both men and goods againe to vs free of all charges, or the value of our goods and men instantly.

11 That as in all Kingdomes there are some Rebels and disobedient Subiects; so in our Nation there may be some Pirats, and Sea-Rouers, which may happen to come into these parts, and beere may rob and steale: if any such shall happen, then will not we by our Trade and Factorie beere be lyable or answerable for such goods so taken, but will ayde them with our best meanes that are so grieued, by Iustice to our King, for redresse and restitution vnto them.

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The thirtieth, as soone as the day gaue light, I set saile and steered betweene them, bestirring our selues with our best endeouours, putting three of their foure shippes on ground on the sands thwart of the Barre of Surat.

At nine I anchored. This morning the *Hosander* did good seruice, and came through also betweene the ships, and anchored by me, vpon the floud the three ships on ground came off: we set saile, they at anchor, and came to them, and spent vpon three of them, one hundred and fiftie great shot: and in the morning some fiftie shot: and at night we giuing the Admirall our foure Peeeces out of the sterne for a fare-well, he gaue vs one of his Prow Peeeces, either a whole or Demi-culuering, which came even with the top of our Fore-castle, shot thorow our Dawie, killed one man, to wit, William Burrell, and shot the arme of another.

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This Frigate  
was sunke with  
the shot, as Mr.  
Salmon the  
after was au-  
ther vnto me,  
and eightie of  
her men were  
taken vp drown-  
ed.

December. 1.  
1612.

The Portugalls  
gave ouer the  
fight,  
Madafeldebar.

Moha, or Moua,  
or Mea.

Six hundred  
and five and  
twentie great  
shot spent on  
the foure Gal-  
lions, and three  
thousand small  
shot.

*Hosfander*: and being discovered by their good watch, they made to shoote at it; the first, caused it to set saile; the second went thorow their sailes, and so they tooke their leaue. Their purpose, doubtlesse, was to haue fired vs, if they had found vs without good watch.

The first of December, 1612. we rode, they not comming to vs, nor we to them: they might without danger of the lands haue come to vs, not we to them. This day I called a Counsell, and concluded to go downe to haue a broader channell, hoping also that the Gallions would follow vs. The second, we went downe some fixe or seuen leagues, but they followed vs not. The third, at flood we plyed vp againe, and anchored faire in sight of them.

The fourth in the morning, we weighed, and stood away before them. In the after-noon they gaue vs ouer, and stood in with the land againe: and at night we directed our course for *Diu*. 10

The fifth at night, we anchored some foure or five leagues to the Eastward of *Diu* in fourtene fathoms, faire aboard the shoare.

The ninth, we came to *Madafeldebar*, and anchored in eight fathomes. It is from *Diu* some ten or eleuen leagues, and lyeth nearest East and by North, a faire Coast, no danger but that you see: your depth, if neare *Diu*, fiftene, sixtene, when halfe-way, twelue fathoms, then ten and nine, not lesse: it is a faire sandy Bay; and on the West-side of the Bay is a Riuer that goeth farre into the Countrey: and this place is some five or sixe miles short to the Westward of the Isles of *Mortie*. The fifteenth in the morning, we departed from *Madafeldebar*, to go to *Mohar*, only to discover the Bay: because some that were there in the *Ascension*, reported it to be a good place to winter in. At foure of the clocke in the after-noon, we anchored in the Bay of *Moha*; which is 20 from *Madafeldebar* nine or ten leagues, East North-east. Hauing found the Coast and channell very good, depth ten fathomes; no danger, but what you see. I sent our Pinnasse on land, where presently we had twenty good sheepe, at three shillings a sheepe, the best we had this Voyage.

The sixteenth in the morning, I sent our Pinnasse on land, where we found few people, but the ruines of a great Towne.

The seuenteenth in the morning, the Generall of the Campe sent to me foure men, to intreat me to send vnto him one of my men, that he might talke with mee.

The one and twentieth I landed, and had much conference with the Generall of the Campe: he much desired that I would land two peeces of Ordnance, making many and great promises of fauour to our Nation; but I refused him. He presented me with a horse and furniture, and two 30 *Agra* Girdles: And I presented him a Vest of Stammell, two Peeces, two Bottels of *Aquasinte*, and a Knife. The two and twentieth, we saw the foure Gallions comming toward vs, and at nine at night they anchored within shot of vs.

The three and twentieth in the morning, by Sunne, we weighed, and began with them, and continued fight till ten or eleuen. Then they all foure weighed, and stood away before the wind, and so went from vs: for they sailed large, much better then wee: wee followed them two or three houres, and then anchored. This day I spent vpon them an hundred thirtie three great shot, and some seuen hundred small shot. In this fight *John Hackwel* was killed with a great shot. The foure Gallions anchored from me some two leagues.

The foure and twentieth, by Sunne rising, I weighed and went to the foure Gallions, and by 40 eight began our fight, and continued it till twelue. And this day shot two hundred and fiftie great shot, and one thousand small shot. By this time both sides were weary, and we all stood into the sea, and steered away South by East. The foure ships following of vs, at two or three of clocke they laid it about and anchored. Now I began take knowledge of our powder and shot, and found more then halfe of our shot spent, and of the *Hosfanders*, hauing now spent on the foure shippes fixe hundred, five and twenty great shot, and three thousand small shot. Being from the land some foure or five leagues, we met with a sand, whereon there was some two or two fathoms and an halfe, and it lyeth from *Mosa* South South-east, or thereabout, the end of the said sand. I went ouer it in nine fathoms: and then were the two high hills, which are ouer 50 *Goga* nearest North of vs. Vpon this sand was the *Ascension* cast away. The shoallding is something fast. Betweene the land and this sand is nine and ten fathoms. Wee continued steering South, with an ebbe. At low water we anchored in eight fathoms, the tide setting at East North-east, and West South-west, by the Compasse. At twelue at mid-night I weighed, wind at North North-west, and steered South South-east, depths twelue and fourtene fathoms. At foure steered East South-east. At sixe steered East still twelue fathoms, halfe a fathome more or lesse. At nine we met with a banke, seuen fathomes, five or sixe castes, then presently ten, twelue, fourtene. Then the wind shortned on vs: we lay South-east. And about twelue saw the land of *Daman* East South-east. The high land to the Southward of *Daman* South-east by East. And being 60 ouer this sand, we had presently fourtene, fiftene, seuentene, twenty fathoms. At two, being high water, we anchored in seuentene fathoms, faire in sight of land, *Daman* East South-east. The highest land to the Southward, South-east by South. At eight at night, wee set saile halfe tide, calme, still fiftene and sixtene fathoms, anchored all the ebbe.

The sixe and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set saile, in the afternoone anchored off the Barre of *Surat*.

The



The seuen and twentieth in the morning, we were three or foure miles short of *Swally*, and about twelue of the clocke we anchored in the Road of *Swally*. In the after-noon *Thomas Kerridge* and *Edward Christian* came aboard.

The sixt of February, the *Firma* came to *Swally*, as a priuate Letter: therefore I refused to re-  
reue it, being iealous it was a counterfeit; requiring the chiefe men of *Surat* to come downe and  
deliuer it to me, with those rights that to it belonged. February 6.

The eleuenth, the *Sabandar*, his father in law *Medigoffer*, and diuers others came to *Swally*, and  
deliuered it to me, with profession of their Kings loue to our Nation.

10 The fourteenth, we landed all our cloath, three hundred and ten Elephants teeth, and all our  
Quick-siluer. The Gallions came within some three or foure miles of vs.

The sixteenth, I landed *Anthony Starkey*, to trauerse home ouer-land for *England*, with Let-  
ters and aduertisement of our good successe.

The seuenteenth, I receiued all my goods from *Surat*: at night I set saile, taking my leaue of  
these coasts: it fell calme, and I anchored. Note that in the Land of *Cambaya* it floweth South-  
west and North-east.

The eighteenth, I set saile againe, came faire by the Gallions. They all weighed and followed  
me some two or three houres, and then we departed without shooting a shot on either side.

The nineteenth, thwart of *Basaim* we tooke three *Malabars*, which had nothing in them: we  
tooke a Boat from one of them.

20 The twentieth, still we were faire aboard some five leagues off, and came along the shoare in  
fourteene, eightene, twentie fathomes water. At night we were faire ouer-against *Chaul*, see-  
ing both Towne and Castle.

The one and twentieth in the after-noone, wee were faire aboard *Dabul*, and heere were a-  
board three Iunckes, all of *Calicut*, laden with Cokers.

The two and twentieth, the *Hoflander* in the morning sent her Boat vnto two Iunckes. At  
twelue of the clocke we were at the rockes, which lye at the Northward of *Goa*, ten or eleuen  
leagues, and lye from the Maine fixe or eight miles. Two or three of these rocks are higher then  
the hull of any ship. At fixe we were thwart of *Goa*, which is easily knowne by the Iland, which  
lyeth at the mouth of the Riuer, and vpon the Iland a Castle. From *Daman* till you come to  
30 *Goa*, the shoare is very faire, no danger, and faire shoalding, not without sixteene or seuentene,  
nor within ten fathoms: good anchoring all the Coast. And all this Coast from *Daman* to *Goa*,  
lyeth nearest South and North, we steered along the Land.

The foure and twentieth, we saw a Fleet of Frigats, some sixtie or eightie saile. bound to the  
Southward: heere Norther latitude thirteene degrees, halfe a minute. The high land by the wa-  
ters side left vs; and the land began to be very low, and faire shoalding sixteene or seuentene  
fathomes, some three or foure leagues off. In the after-noone we came into a Bay, where all the  
Frigats, and three or foure Gallies were, and fetched out a ship laden with Rice: all the *Portu-  
galls* fled in their two Boates; and also there were two Frigats aboard of her, so that all good  
things they carryed away with them.

A Fleet of Fri-  
gats.

A prize taken.

40 The five and twentieth, we romaged our prize, finding nothing but Rice and course Sugar, of  
which we stored our selues, and tooke out both high masts, and what firing we could, and at night  
suncke her, taking out of her all the people, twentie or five and twentie, all *Moors*.

The sixe and twentieth, wee met with a little Boate of *Maldina*, laden with Cokers, bound  
for *Cananor*, into which I put all the people of the prize; onely eight I kept for labour, one of  
them a Pilot for this Coast. At twelue we were thwart of *Cananor*, latitude eleuen degrees.

*Cananor*:

The seuen and twentieth, we were shot a little past *Calicut*, and were thwart of *Pannaire*, at  
noone latitude ten degrees, thirtie minutes.

*Calicut*.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we saw *Cochin*, which maketh it selfe by the Towers  
and Castle: and in latitude nine degrees, fortie minutes, or there-about. Note that from *Goa* to  
50 *Cochin*, we neuer had about twentie fathomes, being sometime foure or five leagues from land:  
and being three, foure and fixe miles off ten or twelue fathomes, from latitude eleuen degrees,  
thirtie minutes to *Cochin*, very low land by the waters side; but vp in the Countrie all along  
high land. Note that short of *Cochin* foure or five leagues, you shall see a high land in the Coun-  
trie, somewhat like a table, but rounding aloft. And to the Northward of this round hill, high  
long hills or mountaines. All this day we ran within six or eight miles of the land, in nine, ten,  
twelue fathomes.

*Cochin*.

Shoaldings.

Marks of land.

The nine and twentieth, calme, latitude eight degrees, some fixe leagues off, no ground in for-  
tie or fiftie fathomes.

They ancho-  
red before *Be-  
ringar*, a place  
of great re-  
freshing.

\* Our Mari-  
ners vsually  
call it *Bring  
Iohr*.

February 1,

60 The thirtieth, we anchored in fiteene fathomes, some fixe and twentie leagues short of *Cape  
Comori*, against a little Village: and presently fixe or eight Canoes came aboard, and brought vs  
all prouisions, water, Hennes, Cocos, &c. The name of this place is \* *Beringar*: the Kings name  
*Trauancar*.

The one and thirtieth, all the day the people came to vs with Hennes, and other victuals.

The first of February, the people came with prouisions, and the King sent a messenger to me,



to know whether I would trade with him : which if I would, he offered to lade my shippe with Pepper and Cinamom.

The fourth, the people still came to vs with prouisions. At two of the clocke in the after-  
noone, we set saile from *Beringar* : all the night I anchored.

The fifth in the morning we set saile, being faire aboard Cape *Comorin* : and heere met with a  
freshe gale of wind at East by North, which split our fore-top-saile and maine bonnet, yet a Ca-  
noa with eight men came aboard me, three or foure leagues from land : in the after-noon came  
another Canoa. Heere we were troubled with calmes and great heate, many of our men taken  
sicke, my selfe one of them. The eight, we came againe into the Roade of *Beringar*.

The Thirteenth, we set saile from *Beringar*. Note that this place giueth good refreshing, with  
plentie of water, and the people harmelesse, and not friends with the *Portugals*. From this place  
to the Cape, all the people that dwell by the waters side are Christians, and haue a *Portugall*  
Frier or Priest that dwelleth among them. All the night we anchored some foure of fve miles  
from the two rockes, which lye off the Cape in eightene fathomes. The two rockes lye fve or  
sixe miles from land.

Variation at  
Cape Comerin,  
fourteen degr.  
latitude seuen  
degrees, thirtie  
minutes. And  
longitude from  
the Cape of  
Good Hope fiftie  
sixe degrees,  
thirtie min.  
A very dange-  
rous suncken  
rocke.

The fourteenth in the morning, I set saile, wind at East, and plyed to windward : wee haue a  
little current to the Southward. Note that the Coast of *Malabar*, euen from *Daman* to Cape  
*Comorin* is free of danger, and faire shoalding on all the Coast from *Cochin* to the Cape : more  
neale sixteene, eightene, twentie fathoms faire by the land : and fve or six leagues off no ground  
after you come within fve and twentie or thirtie leagues of the Cape. The variation at *Daman*  
is sixteene degrees, thirtie minutes. And halfe way to the Cape, it is fifteene or thereabout : and  
heere at the Cape it is fourteene. And the Cape hath latitude North seuen degrees, thirtie mi-  
nutes. In the after-noon, we ran off open of the Cape, and found much wind at East South-east,  
which gaue no small hope of going to the Eastward, till the end of the Monson, which will bee  
the fifth of Aprill, or thereabout, as the *Indians* report. So I bore vp and anchored foure or fve  
leagues within the Cape, in twentie fathomes, faire by the two rockes. Right off from these two  
rockes, lyeth a suncken rocke, which is very dangerous, and is some two miles without the fore-  
said two Rockes. If you come within twentie fathomes, you shall be in danger of them : but safe  
and free of danger, is not to come within foure and twentie or fve and twentie fathomes. Heere  
we stayed nine dayes.

The Isle of  
*Ceylon*.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, at sixe of the clocke, we saw the Isle of *Ceylon*, East  
South-east, off some eight or nine leagues : little wind at South, latitude obserued seuen degrees  
North. At foure of the clocke, we were faire aboard the land, depths thirteene, fifteene, sixteene  
fathomes. At eight stood off till day : little wind at South, being from the land fve or six leagues,  
no ground in sixtie or seuentie fathomes.

March 1.  
*Columbo* in sixe  
degrees, thirtie  
minutes.

The first of March, all the morning becalmed : in the after-noon a Sea-turne at North-west  
and West. At sixe of the clocke, we were faire aboard *Columbo*, the latitude whereof is six de-  
grees, thirtie minutes, or neare there-about, dephts foure and twenty, fve and twenty fathoms,  
three leagues off.

The twelfth, we stood in with the land, and anchored in foure and twentie fathomes, wind  
at South-east and South. I sent my Boat on land, foure leagues to the North of *Punta de Galle* :  
and after some stay, a woman came to talke with an *Indian*, that went out of our Boat : shee told  
him that we should haue there no prouisions : but said shee would go and tell the men ; which we  
desired. Afterward two men came to my *Indian*, and told him, that we should not haue any thing  
there, for that our Nation had sometimes taken a Boat of theirs : but it was the *Hollanders*, and  
not our Nation.

The fourteenth in the morning, at sixe of the clocke, the Southermost point of *Ceylon*, called  
*Tenadare*, whose latitude is fve degrees, thirtie minutes, and lyeth from *Punta de Galle*, East  
South-east, some ten or twelue leagues, bare East North-east some fve leagues off.

A sand lying  
some two  
leagues off the  
shore.

The seuenteenth, we were neare to one of the sands that *Linscot* writeth of : it lieth from the  
land two leagues. We had fve and twenty fathomes when we staid : vpon the land right against  
this sand is a high Rocke like a great Tower. The land lieth here East North-east.

#### Captaine Best his entertainment at Achen.

Aprill 12.  
They anchor  
in the Road  
of *Achen* in  
twelue fa-  
thomes.  
The Kings  
Present.

The twelfth of Aprill at noone, we came to an anchor in the Road of *Achen*, in twelue fa-  
thomes ; but you may ride in tenne or eight fathomes. Your best road is, to the East-ward  
of the Castle, and Riuer mouth. The thirteenth, I landed the Merchants, the King not beeing  
in Towne. The fifteenth, the King came, and sent his Chap to me for my landing, brought by an  
Eunuch, and sixe or eight more, and also the *Xabandar*. To whom we gaue an hundred and twen-  
ty Mm. With them the same day I landed : and two houres after my landing, the King sent  
me a Present in victuals : I hauing presently vpon my landing sent the King two peeces : for the  
custome is, at landing to present the King with some small thing, and he requiteth it by seuerall  
dishes of meate.

The



The seuenteenth, the King hauing sent an Elephant with a bason of Gold for our Kings letters, I rode to the Court accompanied with fortie of our men, all admitted into the Kings presence; and after many complements, the King returned the Letter vnto me, for to read it: and so the substance of it was deliuered vnto him in his owne language. The contents pleased him very well. The day wel spent, the King told me, he would now shew me some of his pleasures; and caused his Elephants to fight before vs: and after sixe of them had fought, then he caused foure Buffles to fight before him, which made a very excellent and fierce fight. Their fiercenesse was such, that hardly sixtie or eightie men could part them, fastening ropes to their hinder legges, to draw them asunder. And after them some tenne or twelue Rams, which likewise made a very great fight, and so continued till it was so darke that we could not see any longer. The King presented me with a banquet of at least foure hundred dishes, with such plentie of hot drinckes, as might haue sufficed a drunken army. Betweene nine and tenne at night, he gaue me leaue to depart, sending me two Elephants to carry me home; but I rode not on them, they hauing no couerings on them.

Our Kings letter read to the King of Achen.

The eighteenth, I went to the Court againe, the King so appointing; where we beganne to treat of the Articles formerly made by his Grand-father, and M. James Lancaster. And comming to the matter of hauing all goods both brought in, and carried out free of custome, wee ended, without concluding any thing.

The nineteenth, the Embassaour of *Siam* came to visit me, telling me of the three *Englishmen* that came to the King of *Siam*, and of their great entertainment, and ioy of their King to receiue a Letter from the King of *England*: and that it was some thirty Moneths since. They also told me how ioyfull their King would be, if our shipping came to his coasts; telling me what great quantities of cloath of *Portugall*, which is *English* cloth, would sell in their Countreys. The colours most in request, stammel and reds, with some others, as yellowes, and other pleasing light colours, as at *Surat*. They also told me, that their King had made a Conquest ouer the whole Countrey of *Pegu*, and so is now the greatest King of this Orientall part, except the King of *China*, and hath vnder him twentie sixe petty Kings; and in the warres is able to make sixe thousand Elephants. Their coyne is all Siluer. Their Gold is lesse esteemed then the valew thereof. In their Countrey is great store of Pepper, and rawe Silke. He saith, that the *Hollanders* haue their Factories, whom they call *English*, at *Patane*, which is an excellent Port: the entrance twelue and foureteene fathomes. Likewise *Siam* is a good Port, and is neerer vnto the Kings Court then *Patane*. Those that doe goe to the Citie of the King, alwaies come to this Port of *Siam*. And from this Port of *Siam* to the Kings Court, is some twenty dayes iourney by land. I moued the Embassaour for his Letter to the King, which he promised me, and also for his Letter to the Gouvernours of Ports, in fauour of our Nation, when we should come vpon those coasts. And lastly, changed coynes with him, giuing of our *English* coyne, and receiuing the Kings coine of *Siam*. I had after this, often entercourse with these Embassaours.

The Embassaour of *Siam* came to visit me. Of this you may read in M. Floris his Iournall. *English* broad clothes well sold in *Siam*. Gold of lesse esteeme then the value thereof in *Siam*. *Hollanders* called or calling themselves *English*.

The twentieth, I went to the Court, but spake not with the King: whereupon I sent to the Kings Deputie, and complained of my dishonour, and of some abuse by the *Xabandar* offered vnto me. He promised that I should haue present redresse, and that he would enforme the King thereof: which accordingly he performed the same day. The twentie one, the King sent two Officers vnto me, to signifie that at all times I might repaire vnto his Court, with free acceffe, and passe all the Gates without stoppe, or attending for his Crest, and likewise remooued the *Xabandar*, and appointed me the Gentleman, whom the King sent Vice-Embassaour into *Holland*, to attend, and accompany me at all times to the Court, and elsewhere at my pleasure.

The foure and twentieth, I wrote vnto the Court, and had acceffe vnto the King, who gaue me all content, and promised the ratifying of all the Articles, formerly agreed vpon by his Predecessour, and M. James Lancaster. So after diuers complements, he tooke leaue, and sent me home presently after my returne an Elephant to attend me, and to carrie me whither soeuer it pleased me to trauell. And this is a signe of the honourable esteeme that they hold of the parties to whom they send their Elephants: for none may haue an Elephant, nor ride on them, but those whom the King doth honour.

A signe of most honourable esteeme.

The second of May, the King inuited me to his fountaine to swimme, and I was with him; it being some five or sixe miles from the Citie, and he sent me two Elephants to carrie me and my prouision; and hauing washed and bathed our selues in the water, the King presented me with an exceeding great banquet, with too much Racke, all to be eaten and drunken as we sate in the water; all his Nobles and great Captaines being present. Our banquet continued from one of the clocke till towards five: at which time the King released me; and halfe an houre after all strangers, and presently after followed himselfe.

May 2. 1613.

The foureteenth, certaine *Portugalls* came into *Achen*, which came from *Malacca* with an Embassage from the Gouvernour to this King. The wind short, they landed three leagues to the Eastward of the Road of *Achen*. This day I sent the *Hofander* to seeke the Barke which came from *Malacca*, making Edward Christian Captaine in her. The seuenteenth in the morning, the *Portugall* Barke was brought vnto me aboard the *Dragon*. But before she came aboard, the King

Edward Christian as Captaine of the *Hofander*.



Captaine Best  
honoured with  
a Noble title  
by the King.

Letters from  
Surat, with the  
Copie of the  
Great Mogols  
Firma.  
Iune, 1613.

Iuly, 1613.  
The Factorie  
of the Hollan-  
ders destroyed  
in Ior.  
He departeth  
from Achen.

sent two Messengers to me, to desire me to release both her, and that which might bee in her: which I refused to doe: answering, that I would not release her, vntill I had seen both the Barke and that which was in her: but willed them to tell the King, that in honour of him, whatsoeuer he required, I would doe for him. Afterward the Barke came, and by *Edward Christian* I was informed, that there were some foure or fise fardels in her, and that nothing was medled withall, that was in her. Wherein being certified, I came on land, and found my Merchants to be at the Court, who by and by after came in, informing me of the Kings great displeasure, for taking the *Portugall* Barke in his Port, protesting by his god, That he would make them all prisoners, if the Barke were not released. The King hauing intelligence of my comming on land, presently sent for me. And on the way to the Court, as I was going, I met a Gentleman that came from the King, to desire me to release the Barke. But I told him, I would first speake with the King. In fine, I came to the Court, and presently was brought before the King: where after much discourie, at the Kings request, I gaue him the Barke, and all that was in her, with which hee was much pleased, and gaue me an honourable title, to wit, *Arancaia Puto*: which signifieth, *The honourable White man*, requiring his Nobles to call me by the same name. And further, to acknowledge his thankfulness to me, he sold me his Benjamin at mine owne price; namely, at twenty Tayls the Bahar, it being worth thirty foure and thirty fise, professing by generall tearmes his loue, and much esteeme of mee, willing me to aske whatsoeuer I would of him. I required onely his Letters of fauour vnto *Priaman*, which he most willingly promised. Of his Mangoes, whereof himselfe did eate, he gaue me to eate, and likewise to carry to my lodging, and so I tooke leaue and departed.

The seuen and twentieth, *Malim Gany* came to *Achen*, by whom I receiued Letters from our Merchants at *Surat*, and also a Copie of the Kings *Firma*, sent them from *Agra*, bearing date the twenty fifth of Ianuary, and the seuenth yeare of the Great *Mogols* raigne, confirming all that was passed betweene the Gouvernour of *Amaduan* and me.

The seuenteenth of Iune, 1613. came there a Merchant of the *Hollanders* into *Achen* from *Masulipatan*, and had been eight moneths on his iourney. He told vs of the death of Captaine *Anthony Hippon*, who died in *Patane*, and of *M. Browne* Master of the Globe, who died in *Masulipatan*, and that they had been euill dealt with at *Masulipatan*.

The foure and twentieth, I receiued of the King his Present for the King of *England*; namely, 30 his Letter, a Cryse or Dagger, an *Hasega*, foure pieces of fine *Callicott* lawne, and eight Camphire dishes.

See this Letter transcribed, as a raritie for the Reader, out of *M. Copelands Iournall*, which was Minister in that Voyage, and followeth in the next Chapter.

The third of Iuly, the Kings Armada arriued, and had been but twenty dayes from the coast of *Ior* to *Achen*. In *Ior* they tooke the Factorie of the *Hollanders*, and made a prey of all their goods, and brought hither prisoners of the *Hollanders* some twenty or twenty foure. The seuenth, I receiued the Kings Letter for *Priaman*, and the Chap for my departure. The twelfth, I tooke my leaue in *Achen*, and came aboard.

The thirteenth in the morning, I set saile, and comming neere the great Westermost Iland, open of the Northermost gut; in the same Ile we found faire shoalading twenty fathomes, cleane ground, sand, a good birth from the land. This depth with cleare ground continued almost to the end of the Iland: so that on the East side of this Iland, there is very good anchoring, and on the Iland great store of wood. But beeing neere the great Iland, to the East-ward of this, wee could get no ground: betweene these two great Ilands is the best and safest course, going on or out to the road of *Achen*. Likewise, to the Eastward of the Eastermost Iland, but that is out of the way. Note, that from the twelfth of Aprill to the middest of Iune, we had much raine, seldome two dayes without raine, with gusts and much wind. From the fifteenth of Iune, to the twelfth of Iuly, very much wind, very fore strestes, alwayes at South-West, and West South-West, and West.

### §. III.

Trade at Tecoo and Passaman: their going to Bantam, and thence home.

*Priaman.*

*Tecoo.*

*Passaman.*

They arriue  
at Tecoo.



He third of August, we were in sight of *Priaman*, nine or tenne leagues off, it bearing from vs North-east by East, it shewing with two great high hills, making a faire swamp or saddle betweene them both. We sawe also *Tecoo* the high land on it: it is not more then halfe so high as *Priaman* land, and riseth something flat. Then we saw also the high land of *Passaman*, which lieth some seuen or eight leagues to the North-ward of *Tecoo*, euen mid way betweene *Passaman* and *Priaman*, which Mountaine is very high, and riseth like *Monte Gibello* in *Sicilie*.

The seuenth in the afternoone we came to *Tecoo*, and anchored on the East side of the three Ilands



Ilands in seven fathomes. The Southermost Ile bore West South-west. The middlemost West North-West. The Northermost North, and halfe East a mile from the Ilands.

The ninth, I landed my Merchants; and in the afternoone I landed with the King of *Achens* Letter. The eleventh, I called a Counsell for sending the *Hosiander* for *Priaman* with the Kings Letter, which departed the next day, and returned the eighteenth, and was sent to *Bantam*.

The five and twentieth, there came in a Juncke of *Bantam*, the Owners *Chineses*. They confirmed vnto me the death of Sir *Henrie Middleton*, with the losse of most of the men of the *Trades Increase*, and Maine Mast which brake with forcing her downe to carine her, and that now she was gone from *Pulo Panian* to *Bantam*: that three hundred *Chineses* dyed in working on her.

Death of Sir  
H. Middleton.  
The Trade per-  
isheth.

The eight and twentieth, my Boat and men returned from *Passaman*, hauing beene well in- treated, and brought with them the Scriuane of the place to deale with me: with whom I dealt and went through.

The fourteenth, the Gouvernour called me on Land, being set with all the chiefe: I came to him, and after much talke agreed for the price of Pepper: Money, eightene Dollers the Barre. Laftage, eight pence the Barre. Canikins, thirtie the Barre. Seilars, thirtie five the Barre. They indented for Presents to sixteene great men.

The thirtieth, *Henrie Long* came from *Passaman*, and gaue mee knowledge of the sicknesse of Master *Oliver* and diuers others dead, whereupon I sent my Shalop to fetch both him and all o- ther of my men away, and to surcease my Factorie there.

The one & twentieth of October, the *Hosiander* returned. The Merchants from *Bantam* wrote to me that they had readie seuenteen thousand bags of Pepper: all which, if it pleased me to come thither, I should haue, or as much thereof, as should seeme good vnto me, at thirteene Dollers the Timbane. Out of these and many other considerations, I presently called a Counsell: wherein we concluded that the *Dragon* should goe for *Bantam*; and the *Hosiander* should stay in the Road of *Teco*, vpon the sale of *Surat* goods: all which being put aboard of her, I departed from the Roade of *Teco* the thirtieth of October.

In this Roade I had stayed eleuen weekes, and bought one hundred and fiteene or one hun- dred and twentie tunnes of Pepper, and buried of our men five and twentie. All which either dyed, or contracted their deaths at *Passaman*, and not at *Teco*. And certainly, had wee not at- tempted trading at *Passaman*, they had beene either all, or the greatest part of them now liuing. Therefore I doe with all our Nation neuer to attempt the sending of our men to *Passaman*. For the Ayre is so contagious there, and the water so euill, that it is impossible for our people to liue there.

*Passaman* is a  
very contagi-  
ous place.

The thirtieth, in the after-noon I set saile from *Teco*: at sixe at night wee were thwart of the offermost of the three Ilands; all night we steered South South-west.

He departeth  
from *Teco*.

The eleventh of Nouember, we arrived in the Roade of *Bantam* in foure fathomes one quarter lesse. The twelfth, I called the Merchants aboard, and concluded on the price of Pepper at thir- teene Dollers the Bahar: which is sixe hundred pound of our weight.

They arrived  
in the Road of  
*Bantam*.

The fourth of March at eight at night I set saile from *Saldanha*, hauing bought heere with a little Copper, which at ten pence the pound might be worth some three pound tenne shillings, foure hundred ninetie foure Sheepe, foure Beeues, nine Calues. On the day of our coming to Sea the people brought vs more then we could buy, or knew what to doe withall. We brought to Sea eightie Sheepe, two Beeues, and one Calfe.

The foure & twentieth North North-west halfe West till nine, ten leagues & an halfe. Then West till sixe in the morning twelue leagues. Then we saw *Santa Helena* from vs West North- west some eight or nine leagues off. I find the latitude of it to be sixteene Southerly. Also we ob- serued at noone: and it hath longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of *Good Hope*, twentie two degrees. At three of the clocke we anchored in the Roade right against the Chappell.

They saw *San-  
ta Helena*.

While I was at *Santa Helena*, I sent my Boates to the West-ward to find a shorter way to the Limon Trees, and to bring downe Goates and Hogges with more ease. For from the Chappell to the Limon Trees is a most wicked way: and euen a dayes worke to goe and come. In fine, in seeking they found some three or foure miles to the South-west a faire Valley, which leadeth directly vp to the Limon Trees. It is the greatest and fairest Valley from the Chappell; and ei- ther the next or the next saue one from the South-west point from the Chappell: Heere in this Valley is better water, and more cleere, then at the Chappell, the Reade all one for ground and depth. Heere at this Valley it is much better being then at the Chappell, both for getting of all prouisions, and for watering. It is from the Chappell some three or foure miles, and is from it the fourth Valley or Swampe: and from the Point to the West-ward of it, the second. So that you cannot misse of it. It is heere much better riding then at any other place on the Iland. From this place you may goe vp to the Limon Trees, and downe againe in three houres. Heere we got some thirtie Hogges and Pigges, and some twelue or fourteene hundred Limons. In eight or ten dayes a man may heere get two hundred Hogges, and many Goates, lying on land of pur- pose to kill them. The variation is here seven degrees thirtie minutes.

Another Road  
at *Santa Helena*,  
better then  
the former.

The best water

The



The Lizard.

The fourth of June 1614. we saw the *Lizard* North from vs, some foure or five leagues off. And now our longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* was twentie seven degrees twentie minutes, and two degrees carryed by the Current. So tha. the difference of longitude betwene the Cape of *Good Hope* and the *Lizard* is twentie nine degrees twentie minutes, or very neere thereabout.

Comming suddenly out of long heat into the cold, seemeth to bee a great cause of the Scuruie.

They arrive in the *Thames*.

Note, that this day three moneths at night I did set saile in the roade of *Saldanha*: yet notwithstanding our short passage, hauing bene from *Santa Helena* but two moneths and nine dayes, the one halfe or more of our Company are laid vp of the Scuruie: and two dead of it. Yet had we plentie of victuals, as Beefe, Bread, Wine, Rice, Oyle, Vinegar, Sugar; and all these without allowance. Note, that all our men that are sicke, haue taken their sicknesse since wee fell with *Flores* and *Corno*. For since that time wee haue had it very cold, especially in two great stormes, the one with the wind at North and North North-east: The other with the wind at South-west. From the Cape of *Good Hope* to the Ilands of *Flores* and *Corno*, I had not one man sicke. The variation foure or five leagues off, the Start is nine degrees thirtie minutes, little more or lesse.

The fifteenth, wee came into the Riuer of *Thames*, it being that day fixe moneths since wee came from *Bantam* in *Iana*.

Blessed bee God.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Certaine Obseruations written by others employed in the same Voyage,*  
Master *COPLAND* Minister, *ROBERT BONER*  
Master, *NICHOLAS WITHINGTON* Merchant.

### §. I.

*Remembrances taken out of a Treatise written by Master PATRIKE COPLAND Minister in the former Voyage.*



In the Tropickes are seldome or no stormes, but a smooth Sea with soft gales: flying fishes are frequent as bigge as a small Whiting: they flye twice the length of a ship. *Turnados* (gusts within two degrees of the Line) cause all things, specially cloaths, to smell. They had ninetie or a hundred sicke, the rest weake, before they came to *Soldania*.

Commendarions of *Soldania*.

Their persons and their apparell.

The Table. Porcupins Quills.

The Bay of *Soldania* and all about the Cape is so healthfull and fruitfull, as might grow a Paradise of the World; it well agrees with *English* bodies, for all but one in twentie dayes recovered, as at the first day they set forth. They had then in June, Snow vpon the hills, the weather warmish. The Countrey is mixed, Mountaines, Plaines, Medowes, Streames, the Woods as if they were artificially planted for order. There is free stone to build with, plentie of fish and fowle, wilde Geese, Partridges and Duckes, Antilopes, Deere, Riuers. They had thirtie nine Beeves, one hundred and fiftene sheepe for a little Brasse cut out of two or three old Kettles. For the sheepe worth one penny, or one penny halfe penny the piece; the Beeves twelue pence. The people are louing, afraid at first by reason of the vnkindnesse of *Dutch* (which came there to make traine Oyle, who killed and stole their Cattell) and at our returne more kind: of middle size, well limmed, very nimble and actiue. They dance in true measure all naked, only weare a short Cloke of sheepe or Seale skinnes to their middle, the hairie side inward, a Cap of the same, and a kind of Rats skinne about their priuities; some had a Sole on their feet tyed about; their neckes were adorned with greasie Tripes, which sometimes they would pull off and eat raw. When we threw away their beasts entrailes, they would eate them halfe raw, the blood lothsomely slauering: Bracelets about their armes they had of Copper or Iuorie, with many Ostrich feathers and shels.

The Womens habit is as the Mens. They were shame-fac't at first; but at our returne homewards they would lift vp their Rat-skinnes and shew their priuities. Their Breasts hang to the middle, their haire curled. Copper with them is Gold; Iron, Siluer; their Houses little Tents in the field, of Skins, moueable at pleasure, their Language with doubling the tongue in their throat. There is a high hill, called the Table, ouer-covering all the adioyning Territories one hundred miles. Some went and discouered many Bayes and Riuers. The *Negroes* behaued themselves peaceably at *Sinon*, yet seeme of little or no Religion; they cut their skinnes like *Baals* Priests, one seemed (by making price) to be Commander.

The



The *Guzerates* tooke sea-coale to carry for a wonder to the *Mogol*. The *Portugall* Fleete was two hundred fortie sayle of Frigats, Merchants bound for *Cambaya*, which furnish the Carracks, foure Gallions, with twenty five or twenty sixe Frigats. The Admirall was *Nuno de Ancona*. When the *Sabandar* perswaded him to keep between vs and shoare; he answered proudly, that he scorned to spend a weekes prouision on his men in hindering vs, being able to force vs to yeeld in an houre. They had all red colours displayed. After three fights, they manned a Frigat, with sixe or seuen score best men to fire vs, which were all sunke.

Portugal pride.

The first fight.

Medbaprabadi.

*Medbaprabadi* is now ruined by the *Mogols* warres, which sometime hath beene a faire Citie, and walled. Here was a Castle kept by the *Ratspuches*, in which at that time a strong Rebell to the *Mogoll*, was besieged by the *Nabob*, with fiftie or sixtie thousand people in his Campe. The *Nabob* had a stately and spacious Tent; couered aboue with Cloth of Gold, beneath spread with *Turkie* Carpets. The Generall would not stirre till he had taken the Castle. He sent a horse, and two Vests wrought with Silke and Gold to our Generall, and foure Vests for foure other. They haue store of good Grapes, yet none but *Rasin* wine.

The three and twentieth and foure and twentieth of December, in view of the whole Army we had a second fight, and forced them first to cut their Cables, and then flee from vs, being better of saile then we.

The second place of fight.

M. Copelands journey hence ouer-land

Taddy or Palme-wine.

I rode to *Surat* in a Coach drawne with Oxen (which is most ordinary, though they haue store of goodly horses) here in the way was the goodliest Spring and Haruest together that euer I saw; the Fields ioyning, one Greene as a Meadow, the other yellow as Gold, ready to bee cut: their graine Wheat and Rice; they haue excellent bread. All along were goodly Villages, full of Trees yeelding Taddy, like new sweet wine, much strengthening and fattening. *Surat* hath stone and bricke houses faire, square, flat-roofed, goodly Gardens; with Pomegranats, Pomecitrons, Limons, Melons, Figs, continuing all the yeere, with curious springs of fresh water: the people are graue, iudicious, neat, tall, goodly cloathed in long white Callico or Silke robes.

The *Sabandar* assured vs, that we had killed of the *Portugals* aboue three hundred and fiftie: we heard after that there were spoyled and killed aboue five hundred. The Generall sent Letters by land, and the Messenger with his *Indian* were poysoned by two Friers homewards; but a second Letter was deliuered to a Mariner, which came to their hands.

Anno 1613.

The twelfth of Aprill, they anchored in the road of *Achen*, where the King welcomed our men. The *Arancaia* came riding in a Tent on an Elephants backe, with two or three of the Kings boyes (for he is attended with Boyes abroad, Women within) holding a Bason of Gold, to receiue the Kings letter. Our Generall followed with fortie or fiftie men. After the Letter and Present deliuered, the King told vs we should see some of his Pastime, and called for his Cockes, which after they haue fought about once or twice, they take them vp, bath them, picke their feathers, and sow vp their wounds. After an houre thus spent in Cock-fighting: his Rammes fought very fiercely; then his tame Elephants more cruelly: then his Buffles most stomackfully. Finally, our Antilopes wherewith our Generall had presented him, whole fight best pleased him. Hee all this while drinke Tobacco in a Siluer Pipe; giuen by his Women which are in a close roome behind him. After this, Supper was serued in by young Boyes of foureteene or fiftene yeeres in *Swasse* (a mettall halfe Copper halfe Gold.) This Supper continued from seuen till almost twelue, in which we had foure hundred dishes with hot drinkes. The next day the King sent the Generall an Elephant to ride on, and appointed one of his chiefe *Arancaias* to attend him alwayes. They had continuall free access granted, without the Kings Creefe (which is vsed as a Scepter) and promise to ratifie the Articles agreed vpon by his Predecessors, and Sir *James Lancaster*.

The second of May, all Strangers were invited to a banquet sixe miles off, for which purpose two Elephants were sent for our Generall. Here were all the dishes brought by water, the boyes holding the dish with one hand, and swimming with the other: so did they carrie the strong drinke also, whereof when they had tasted (which they must of all) they threw the rest into the Riuer. It continued from one till five. In it were five hundred dishes well dressed. Our General (weary with sitting by the King thus long in the water) was dismissed an houre before the rest. The Captaine of the *Dutch* house, taking there his bane, either with hot drinke, or cold sitting so long in the water, soone after died.

The second of Iune, they were entertained with a fight of foure Elephants, with a wild Tygre tied at a stake, which yet fastening on their Trunks and legges, made them to roare and bleed extreame. This day we were told, that one eye of a Noble man was plucked out, for looking on one of the Kings women washing in a Riuer. Another Gentleman wearing a Shash, had his head round cut so farre as that was too large. Some he is said to boyle in scalding oyle, some are sawne a peeces, others their legges cut off, or spitted aliue, or empaled on stakes.

The twentieth, was before the King a fight of wild Elephants, which would quickly kill each other, but that some tame are made fast to them, which draw them backe, sometime eighty or an hundred men helping. They set one wild betweene two tame to tame them. He sent the King a Letter, for painting and writing most stately, a Creefe, &c. for a Present.

Elephants:

The



The Letter is thus Englished.

**P**EDVCKA SIRIE SVLTAN King of Kings, renowned for his Warres, and sole King of Sumatra, and a King more famous then his Predecessors, feared in his Kingdome, and honoured of all bordering Nations: in Whom there is the true Image of a King, in whome raignes the true methode of Government, formed as it were of the most pure Metall, and adorned with the most finest colours; Whose Seat is high, and most compleat, like to a Christall Riner, pure and cleare as the Christall Glasse: From whom floweth the pure streame of Bountie and Iustice: whose Presence is as the finest Gold, King of Priaman, and of the Mountaine of Gold, viz. Solida, and Lord of nine sorts of Stones, King of two Sombrieroes of beaten Gold, having for his Seats mats of Gold, his furniture for his Horses and Armour for himselfe, being likewise of pure Gold. His Elephant with teeth of Gold, and all Provisions thereunto belonging: his Lances halfe Gold, halfe Siluer, his small shot of the same; a Saddle also for an other Elephant of the same Metall: a Tent of Siluer, and all his Scales halfe Gold halfe Siluer. His Vessels for bathing of pure Gold, his Sepulchre of Gold (whereas his Predecessours had all these halfe Gold halfe Siluer) his seruices compleat of Gold and Siluer. A King, vnder whom there are many Kings, hauing taken the King of Arrow: All the Countrey of Priaman, Tecoo, Baroule, being subdued by him, is now vnder his Command: Seuentie Elephants, and much Prouisions carried by sea, to make his Warres at Arrow, where God gaue me more Victory, then any of my Predecessors.

This Great King sendeth this Letter of Salutation to IAMES, King of Great Britaine, viz. England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, To signifie the great content he hath received by his Highnesse Letter, deliuered by the hands of Arancaia Pulo, Thomas Best his Maiesties Embassadour, at the receipt whereof, his eyes were surprized with a Celestiall brightnesse, and his spirits raniſhed with a Diuine ioy: the opening thereof rendred a sauour more fragrant then the most odoriferous Flowers, or sweetest perfumes in the World. For which cause, I the great King of Sumatra, doe professe my Selse to bee of one heart, of one mind, and of one flesh with the most Potent Prince IAMES K. of England, and do earnestly desire that the League begun, may be continued to all Posterities. And herein I take my greatest Felicitie, there being nothing in the World more pleasant or ioyfull to me. And for a Testimony of my desire, that the League and Amitie begun may be continued betwixt Vs, I haue returned this Letter vnto your Maiestie, making also my Prayers vnto the Great GOD for the continuance of the same. And it shall be my greatest Honour, to receiue Memorials from so Great a Potentate, and so remote a Nation. And for a Pledge of my Love, and Honour, and continuance of Our League, I send your Maiestie a Creeſe wrought with Gold, the Hilt thereof being beaten Gold with a Ring of Stones, an Assagaya of Swasse, halfe Copper halfe Gold, eight Purſlan Dishes small and great, of Camſire one piece of ſowring ſtuffe, three pieces of Calico Lawne: Which your Maiestie accepting as from a Brother, I shall rest satisfied, and much honoured. And so with my Prayers to the Great GOD, Creator of Heauen and Earth for your Maiesties long life, with Victory ouer your enemies, and Prosperitie in your Land.

Given at our Pallace of Achen, the 1022. yere of Mahomet, by the accompt of the Moores.

Description of  
the King and  
Court.

This King of Achen is a proper Gallant man of Warre, of thirty two yeares, of middle size, full of spirit, strong by sea and land, his Countrey populous; his Elephants many, whereof wee saw one hundred fixtie, or one hundred eightie at a time, his Gallies and Frigats carry in them very good Brasse Ordnance, Demicanon, Culuerin, Sakar, Minion, &c. his building stately and spacious, though not strong; his Court at Achen, pleasant, hauing a goodly branch of the Maine Riuer about and through his Pallace, which branch he cut and brought fixe or eight miles off, in twenty dayes, while we continued at Achen. Sumatra is very Mountainous and Woodie: the people courteous: wept at our departure, leauing little without his chop. Strangers may neither come at him, nor depart from him. He desired the Generall to commend him to the King of England, and to entreat him to send him two white women. For (said hee) if I beget one of them with child, and it prooue a Sonne, I will make him King of Priaman, Passaman, and of the Coast from whence you fetch your Pepper: so that yee shall not need to come any more to mee, but to your owne English King for these Commodities. Iuly the twelfth we tooke leaue of Achen.

The aire and  
water at Passa-  
man naught.

The ninth of August they went on shoare at Tecoo: here they stayed eleuen weekes, bought one hundred twenty Tunne of Pepper, buried twenty five men, which got their death at Passaman, for Tecoo is healthfull. Pepper growes most at Passaman, and the Countrey about.

I haue thought good also here to adde a word or two taken out of the Iournall of Nathaniel Salmon, Master of the Salomon.

Ian. 3.

The Sabandar counſelled the Admirall Nunha del Cunha, to cause his Frigats to ride betwixt the shoare and vs, so to keepe vs from watering, which he refused: yea, M. Canning (which had been taken by them) was deliuered at our house in scorne, they professing this their only feare and care, least we should run away. The three that were driuen a ground had there perished, but for their Frigats. Out of the fire-Frigat were taken vp eightie foure men drowned. The Dragon in these fights hath spent fixe hundred thirtie nine great shot, and we three hundred eightie foure.



## §. II.

Notes taken out of M. Robert Boners Journall, who was then  
Master in the Dragon.

**T**He first of February, hauing receiued in all prouisions for so long a Voyage, we set saile from *Grauesend*, and the same day at ten of the clocke we anchored in the *Hope*.

Departed from  
*Grauesend*.  
The generall  
wind blowed  
betwixt East  
South-east, &  
South-east.  
*Ternadoes*.

April the thirteenth, wee had the generall wind. Note that you shall seldome meete with the generall wind, till you come in two or three degrees to the South-ward of the Line, and then, when you cometo meete with the *Ternadoes*, (as you shall be sure to meete them in two or three, and sometimes in foure degrees to the North-ward of the Line: you must be very diligent to ply to the South-ward) for therein lyeth the mayne of your good or bad passage, and likewise for the health of your men, or they are very vnhealthfull, and for passing the Line, order it so by your course from *Mao*, that you may passe the Line betwixt seuen and ten degrees of longitude from the *Lizard*. But couet not to come within sixe degrees, for feare of the calmes vpon the Coast of *Guinea*, and not without ten degrees of longitude from the *Lizard*, if it be possible, for feare of meeting with the West North-west streame, that sets alongst the Coast of *Brasil*, and so into the West-Indies. And so passing the Line in seuen, eight, or nine degrees to the West-ward of the Meridian of the *Lizard*, you shall not feare the flats of *Brasil*. For the generall wind will blow at the East South-east, and at South-east; so that you shall make a South South-west way commonly, and so keepe the ship good full, that she may goe through, for there is losse of time, in hawking of the ship crosse by the wind; therefore giue her a fathome of the sheete.

This endanged  
red and much  
hindered the  
*Dragon* and *He-  
bor* in the third  
Voyage, as you  
may read in  
the Relations  
thereof.

Note, he that comes out of the Sea, bound in for the of Bay of *Soldania*, let him keep himselfe betweene thirtie three degrees fiftie minutes, and thirtie foure degrees twentie minutes of latitude, so shall you be sure not to come much wide of the Bay. If seeing the land you find it high, then you are to the South-west-ward of the Bay; if low land hills, then know that you are to the North-ward of the Bay of *Soldania*. But falling with the high land to the South-ward of the Bay, which is betwixt the Cape and the Bay, the land lyeth North North-west; and South South-east from the Cape seuen leagues, and then it trents away North-east and South-west, towards the point of the Sugar-loafe, some foure leagues: and from this point of the Sugar-loafe lyeth *Penguin* Iland, but keepe faire by the point: for two miles from *Penguin* Iland lyes a shoales: it is from the point to the Iland some seuen or eight miles North and South, and so borrowing on the said point, at eight or nine fathome, your course South-east, and East South-east, vntill you bring the Table South South-west, and the Sugar-loafe hill South-west and by West, and so you may anchor in sixe and an halfe or sixe fathome, as you will, and then will the point of the land by the Sugar-loafe beare from you West North-west, and *Penguin* Iland North North-west some three leagues off, and the point some two miles off. The latitude of the Bay of *Soldania*, I meane of the point going in, is thirtie foure degrees five minutes, the variation of the Needle is fortie minutes Easterly: when you come in with the land heereabouts (although it be thicke) feare not: for the land is bold within a Cables length.

*Soldania*.

I am of opinion that the Current neere Cape *Das Aguilhas* sets Southerly not past fiftie or sixtie leagues off the land, and therefore being bound to the East-ward haule off the land sixtie leagues, after you are to the East-ward of Cape *Das Aguilhas*, so shall you find no Current. The land lyes from the Cape *Das Aguilhas*, ninetie or one hundred leagues East Northerly, and not as in the Cards East North-east.

Current neere  
Cape *Das A-  
guilhas*.

*Ino de Noua*, is a low ragged Iland, about foure miles in length, lying South South-east, and North North-west. This Iland hath latitude seuentene degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope*, nineteene degrees fortie minutes, &c. Wee had no ground at one hundred fathome: we can perceiue no danger from it, only at the South South-east end of it lies a small breach about a mile off: therefore feare not to haule in sight of it, being bound this waies, for if you shall haule ouer for the *Maine*, you shall be mightily troubled with a strong Current setting to the South-ward, and there are likewise many dangerous bankes, whereon many *Portugals* haue lost their ships, wherefore be sure you haule not much to the West-ward of this Ile *Ino de Noua*, for you may very boldly haule in sight of it without danger, and so shall you not meete with the Current.

Note.

The eight & twentieth day of Nouember, we receiued a Letter from M. *Canning*, & our Purser concerning foure Gallions of War, with thirty saile of Frigats, which were comming to fight with vs. And this day we saw them some two leagues to the South-ward of the Barre of *Surat*. This day the *Sabandar* of *Surat* came aboard to view vs as wee iudge being a friend to the *Portugals*, but the more he looked the worse he liked, we hauing all things readie, &c.

Foure Gallions  
& 30. Frigats.  
*Sabandar* a  
Spyc.

The nine and twentieth day, at two in the after-noon we set saile, and stood with the foure Gallions and Frigats which were come within some two leagues of vs. The first which we met withall was the Vice-Admirall: wee gaue her such a welcome, as that she was glad to haste vnto the rest with all speed: night being neere and our long Boat sunke, at our sterne with an vnluckey shot, we anchored.

This day wee  
began our  
fight.

R r r

The



Three of the  
ships aground.

The thirtieth day, early in the morning wee set saile, and stood with them, and after some houres fight put three of the Gallions ashore on the offermost sand, and then wee stood into deeper water, and anchored: their Frigats were straight aboard the ships aground, and shoared them vp with their yards, or els I thinke they had neuer come off. Alloone as the Floud came wee weighed, but they were afloat ere wee could get to them: wee fought with them till it was darke, and had one man kild, and another hurt.

The first day of December, 1612. we roade within a league one of the other, alwayes we had thought they would haue come to vs, we hauing gone to them three seuerall times, but they are not so hastie, I thinke they haue more minde to goe for *Goa* againe.

The nineteenth day, there came a second Messenger from a great Lord of the great *Mogels* 10 from a place called the Castellet, which place this great man lyes in Campe against, sending our Generall word that if he will but come thwart that place with his ships to grace him, hee will be a sworne friend vnto the *English* for euer. The Generall hearing that hee was a great man in fauour with the King, resolved to goe spend a day or two with him, to see what his desire was.

The twentieth day, we anchored thwart of the Campe beeing close by the Sea-side, for the Castle be sieged butted vpon the Sea, they in the Castle being a companie of Rebels and Routers on the Sea.

The one and twentieth day, vpon the receipt of good caution for his person, our Generall landed, and at three returned to ship.

The two and twentieth day, we saw the foure Gallions and Frigats againe in sight, hauing 20 beene at *Diu* for more fresh Souldiers, to haue a bout more with vs. At night they anchored within a mile of vs.

The three and twentieth day by day light, we were vnder saile, and stood with the Admirall, and so fought till two of the clocke, at which time they cut their Cable, and began to runne, the Admirall hauing receiued a shot vnder water: but the helpe of the Frigats brought her vpon the Carine presently, and stopped it, and so for this time fled, all the Campe standing by the Sea-side looking on vs, within a league or two miles of vs. For a great Commander did there iust by vs besiege a Castle holden by Rebels and Pirats, and were willing Spectators of this Sea-fight.

Portugals faine  
to flye.

The number of  
shot spent in  
our five fights.

The foure and twentieth day, we stood with them againe, and fought with them till two or three of the clocke in the after-noon. They fled, and being light ships and cleane, went from vs: 30 one man kild, and no more hurt, prayesd be God for all his mercies. Note, that wee haue spent sixe hundred eightie great shot, and three thousand small shot out of the *Dragon*, and some sixtie Barrells of Powder: their Admirall had thirtie eight Peeeces, and the rest thirtie by ship, very good Ordnance. This night we steered for *Surat* South-east, to haue without the sands. South from *Mea* some sixe leagues off lyes the first spit, on which sand the *Ascension* was lost.

The fourth day of February 1612. wee set saile and stood to the South-ward, wind at North North-west.

Sunken rocks.

The fifth day, being some eight leagues short of Cape *Comorin*, wee met with the wind at East very much wind, so that we plaine see there is no going to the East-wards, the Easterly 40 Monson not being done. Heere we anchored at a point of the land, from which point the land trents away East South-east with the Cape of *Comorin*, and distant eight leagues: but beware how you come neere this point, for thwart of it foure miles off lyes two sunken Rockes close by the edge of the water, and lyes in the streame of twentie or twentie two fathomes: wherefore keepe off in twentie eight or thirtie fathome, and feare them not. But bee sure that you keepe within thirtie five or fortie fathome, for the Current sets off South with the *Maldines*, and being calme some *Portugall* ships haue beene driuen to the *Maldines*, and beene in great danger. You shall know this point from the which these two sunken Rockes lye, by this. Thwart of the point lye two bigge Rockes a good height about the water: a league right off from the Eastermost of the dry Rockes lye the two sunken Rockes, where we roade, the two dry rockes did beare from vs South-east and by East foure miles of the Northmost: here the people will come 50 aboard of your ship every day with prouisions as Hens, and Hogges with linnesse in their little Canoes.

Note, for the  
Cape of *Comorin*,  
for longitude,  
latitude,  
and variation.

The five and twentieth day at foure a clocke, the Cape of *Comorin* did beare North North-west some foure leagues off. Note, that the Cape it selfe is very low land with two craggie 60 Rockes lying a little from it, but vp in the Countrey, high ragged land; the Cape of *Comorin* hath latitude seuen degrees fiftie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of *Good Hope*, fiftie seuen degrees twentie minutes East. The variation is foureteen degrees thirtie minutes Westerly: we haue very faire shoallding off from it twentie foure fathomes, foure leagues of sand, from the Cape the land trents away East North-east.

Many wormes  
at *Surat*.

I doe thinke that the Gulfe of *Cambaya* is the worst place in all the *Indies* for Wormes, and therefore the ships which goe for *Surat*, must haue good prouision. The Barre of *Surat* hath latitude twentie one degrees ten minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* fiftie three degrees thirtie minutes Easterly. Variation sixteene degrees fiftie minutes Westerly. Latitude of *Swally* is twentie one degrees twentie minutes. Variation seuenteen degrees no minutes. The



The Road of *Achen* hath latitude five degrees fortie minutes South, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* of seuentie three deg. thirtie foure min. East. And from the Cape of *Comorin* about sixteene degrees twentie minutes East. The variation is sixe degrees thirtie minutes Westerly. As you ride in the Road one high great Iland will beare North of you, distant some sixe leagues, and the two other bigge Ilands will beare from the West South-west to the North-west and by West, anchor hold good: in the Westerly Monson, you shall haue many times very much wind, with gusts of raine, but you shall ride very well: there goes a small Current to the Eastward, and West-ward in manner of a tyde, but not so certaine, and heights and fells some five or sixe foot water.

The latitude, longitude and variation of *Achen*.

The King loueth our Generall exceeding well, in so much that hee maketh no sport, but hee commands some one of his Nobles to goe for the *Arrankaia Putee*, for so hath hee named him: so that all the Citie through is he called by that name, and all our men by the common people very kindly entertayned, more then euer any strangers heretofore haue beene.

In steering North North-west from the little Iland, which lyes South-west and by West seuen leagues from *Priaman* Iland, wee saw a shoald bearing from the said little Iland South-east and by South five miles off. We sent our Boat to it, who found it but three fathome Rockes. From this shoald the Homockes of *Tecu* beare North and by West: wherefore beeing bound for *Tecu*, keepe off, so that the Homockes may beare North, or North and by East, and feare not. The Homockes are two round hills standing vpon the low-land close by the Sea-side. At two a clocke we saw the three little round Ilands of *Tecu*, which Ilands you must ride vnder, they beare of vs, North and by East some foure leagues off, wee steere North, keeping the Ilands open on our starboord bow.

Notes for the Road of *Tecu*.

Note, that by good looking out you shall perceiue any danger by this: it will shew it selfe in white spots. For otherwise the Sea is of his perfect colour, as in the maine Ocean. At night wee anchored within two leagues of the two outermost Ilands of *Tecu* in thirtie fathomes, the Ilands bearing North and by East, and the Homocks North Easterly.

Note, the Homockes doe stand some three leagues to the Northward of the Ilands of *Tecu*, there being in all three of them, but the Northermost of the three Homockes doth not shew it selfe so perfectly, as the other doe.

Variation of *Tecu* is 4. degr. 40. minutes Northeasterly.

The seuenth of August in the morning, weighed and plyed in, the wind at the North North-east of the land we see a shoale, bearing from the two offermost Ilands of *Tecu* South-west & by South foure or five miles off, right in the faire way. We sent our Boat to it and found it but two fathome & a halfe, being a Rocke of two Cables length long. This is the vnluckey Rocke whereon the Princely *Trade* receiued her destruction, as we vnderstand by those people. About eleuen of the clocke we anchored on the Easter-tide of the vttermost Iland in nine fathome, soft, *Ozie*, praysed be God. Riding vnder this outward Iland of the three we saw a breach, bearing South halfe Easterly, and another South and by East some three or foure leagues off, which breach as you come for this place, you must leaue betwixt you and the shoare: wherefore keepe this outer Iland North and by East, or North North-east, and feare nothing. But beware when you come within two leagues of this Iland. For South-west and by South two leagues or five miles off lyes the Rocke whereon the vnhappie *Trade* grounded. Wherefore keepe this Iland North and by East, and vpon life feare not, your depth as you come neere the Iland will bee from thirtie to ten, nine and eight fathomes soft, *Ozie*, you shall haue nine fathomes within your ships length of either side of the Iland.

A ledge of Rockes. The Rocke whereon the *Trades-Increase* was bruised.

The ninth day, some people came aboard: we find them very base and subtle.

The eleuenth day, the *Hozlander* departed for *Priaman*, to shew them likewise that wee haue brought the Kings Letter of *Achen*, without the which you cannot trade. Note, that as wee ride here vpon the Poope, we see the foure Ilands of *Priaman* bearing South-east and by South some seuen leagues off.

This day at nine of the clocke wee sailed into the inner Roade, which is betwixt the Mayne and the innermost Iland, halfe a mile from the Mayne, and a Cables length from the Iland, your depth foure fathome soft, *Ozie*, our depth in was twentie two foot beeing halfe tyde, it highes and fells some five or sixe foot water, the tyde, as I perceiue, runnes twelue houres North North-west, and twelue houres contrarie. To the North-ward of all the Ilands in comming in you shall haue foure fathomes and an halfe: but keepe neere the inner Iland, for from the Mayne on that side lyes a shoald. The Ilands are all of one bignesse, being halfe a mile a piece in circuit, they will beare from the South-west and by South to the North-west: your best water is on the Ilands: digge a Well, and presently water comes. Thus much out of Master *Boner*; the rest you haue before in Captaine *Best*.



## B. III.

Extracts of a Tractate, written by NICHOLAS WHITHINGTON,  
which was left in the Mogols Countrey by Captaine BEST, a Factor,  
his Adventures and Trauels therein.

\* Captaine Sa-  
ris told me that  
some haue two  
testicles, but  
those the baser,  
and (as the one  
stoned gallants  
affirmed to  
him) were  
slaves, the o-  
thers marked  
with this note  
of Genric.



He eleuenth of Aprill, 1612. we crossed the Equinoctiall: foule weather eight daies together, wind and raine. *Soldania* sheepe are hairy: the Beeres large, and most leane; the people *Negros*, woolly pates, flat nosed, very straight of body: the men haue but one stone a peece; the other is cut out when they are yong: apparelled with a skin about their shoulders, which reacheth downe to the waste, the skin of a Ratte before their members, another on their bumme, else naked: some cappes of leather close to their pates, and shoes to their feet, much broader and longer then their feet: their armes very small: Lances with heads artificially made: Bowes and Arrowes of little or no force: they are very expert in throwing their Darts, wherewith they kill many fish in the Sea: they weare about their neckes guts of sheepe and oxen, smelling, which being hungry they eate; and would scramble for our garbage like dogges, and eate it raw and foule.

The six and twentieth of Iuly, they had sight of Saint *Lawrence*. The thirteenth of August, crossed the Equinoctiall, temperate weather: on the thirtieth, they saw Snakes in the Sea in eightene degrees and a halfe, one and thirtie min. white water at nineteene fathoms. The first of September, they saw land. The second, anchor against *Daman* Towne, inhabited and conquered by *Portugalls*. The Fluxe infested them all that remained on land at *Surat*. Master *Aldworth* was sicke forty dayes. Strangers heere present any Inhabitants of fashion whom he visits; and they returne presents. Notwithstanding Sir *Henry Middleton* taking their ships in the Red-Sea, yet they promised vs good dealing, considering else they must burne their ships (said *Mill Jessed*, one of the chiefe Merchants of *Surat*) and giue ouer their trade by Sea. Impossible it was to haue any trade at *Surat*, by reason of *Portugall* Frigats in the Riuer's mouth. Therefore the Generall repaired with his ships to *Swally*, whence he might by land go and come without danger.

Pride goeth  
before the fall.

Fleet of *Portu-  
ga's*.  
The first fight.

The second.

The third.

The last fight.

Nicholas whi-  
thington Factor.  
Master Canning  
sent to *Agra*.

The third of October, *Sheke Shuffe*, Gouverneur of *Amaduanar*, chiefe Citie of *Guzerat*, came to *Surat*, and so to *Swally*, and agreed vpon Articles. Master *Canning* had been taken by the *Portugals*, but the Vice-Roy commanded to set him ashore at *Surat*, saying, Let him goe helpe his Country-men to fight, and then we will take their ship, and the rest of them altogether. But the *Parfer* made an escape, and so came to vs on land: Master *Canning* was set on shoare at *Surat*, according to promise, and so went aboard. And the same day, being the twentieth ninth of October, the foure *Portugall* Gallions, with a whole Fleet of Frigats, came in sight. The Generall, after words of encouragement, met them, and neuer shot one shot, till hee came betweene their Admirall and Vice-Admirall, gaue each a broad side, and a volly of small shot, which made them come no more neare for that day. The other two ships were not as yet come vp; and the *Hosiander* could not get cleare of her anchors, and shot not one shot that day. In the euening all came to an anchor in sight of other; and the next morning renewed their fight: the *Hosiander* brauely redeemed the former dayes doing nothing: the *Dragon* droue three of them on ground, and the *Hosiander* daunced the Hay about them, so that they durst not shew a man vpon the Hatches. In the after-noone they got ashore with the flood, and fought till night; then anchored, and lay still the next day.

The next day after, the *Dragon* drawing much water, and the Bay shallow, remooued to the other side of the Bay, rode at *Mendafrobay*, where all that time *Sarder Cham*, a great Noble-man of the *Mogolls*, with two thousand Horle, was besieging a Castle of the *Raz-booches* (which were before the *Mogolls* Conquest, the Nobles of that countrey now liuing by robbery). He presented our Generall with a horse and furniture, which he againe gaue to the Gouverneur of *Goga*, a Port Towne to the West of *Surat*. After ten dayes stay heere, the *Portugalls* hauing refreshed, came thither to our ships. *Sarder Cham* counselled to flee: but the Generall chased the *Portugals* in foure houres, driving them out of sight, before thousands of the countrey people, *Sarder Cham* relating this to the King (after the Castle razed) to his admiration, which thought none like the *Portugalls* at sea. The seuen and twentieth of December, they returned to *Swally*, hauing lost three Saylers, and one mans arme shot off: *Portugals* confesse of theirs an hundred and sixtie, some report three hundred and odde.

The thirteenth of January, I was entertained Factor, and bound to the Company in foure hundred pound. The ship departed the eighteenth of January, the Gallions neuer offering one shot. *Anthony Starkey* was sent for *England*. Master *Canning* was seuentie dayes on the way betweene *Surat* and *Agra*, with many troubles, set on by the enemy, who shot him into the belly with an Arrow, and another *English* man thorow the arme, and killed and hurt many of his Pi-  
ons. He was cured before his arriual at *Agra*. Two of his *English* fell out with him and returned, leauing two *Mulicians* onely to attend him. The ninth of Aprill he arriued: the tenth pre-  
sented



sent the King with our Kings Letter, and a Present of little value. He asked if our King sent that present : who answered, it was sent by the Merchants. The King graced him with a cup of wine from his owne hands, and referred him to *Moracke Chan*. One of the Musicians dyed, and was buried in the *Portugalls* Church-yard, whom they tooke vp, and buried in the high-way : but vpon complaint, were compelled by the King to bury him there againe, threatening to turne them all out of his Countrey, and their buried bodies out of their Church-yard,

After this Master *Canning* wrote of the feare hee was in to be poysoned by the Iesuits, and therefore desired that I might come vp to assist him ; which amongst vs at *Surat* was concluded. The nine and twentieth of May, 1613. he dyed : and so Master *Kerridge* went the two and twentieth of Iune. I should haue been sent by the way of *Mocha* to *England*, but the Master of the ship which went, said it was impossible, except I were circumcised, to come neare *Mecca*.

Master *Canning*  
poysoned by  
the Iesuits.

The thirteenth of October, 1613. the ship returned, and our Messenger taken, notwithstanding their late passe at the Barre of *Surat*, by the *Portugalls* Armada of Frigats, worth an hundred thousand pound, with seuen hundred persons going to *Goa*. This is like to be their ouerthrow heere, for no *Portugall* might passe without a suretie, nor in, nor out. Merchants of *Surat* are by this meanes impouerished, and our goods left in our hands : with which we went to *Amadabar*. *John Alkin* which had runne from Sir *Henry Middleton* to the *Portugalls*, came now to vs, told vs of diuers their Townes besieged by the *Decanes*, and other neighbouring *Moore*s : in so much that they were faine to send away many hundreths of *Banians*, and many others that dwelt amongst them, for want of victuals : three Barks of which came to *Surat*, and diuers others to *Cambaya*. Their weaknesse in fight with vs caused all this. *Robert Claxon* of the *Dragon*, fled to *Portugall* for feare of punishment, and came to vs with an *Almayne*, which had been slaue in *Turkie*. *Robert Johnson* came to the *Portugals*, and thence intending to vs, passing thorow the *Decanes* Countrey, was perswaded by another *English* man, which was turned *Moore*, and liued there : and was circumcised, and receiued seuen shillings six pence a day of the King and his diet at the Kings table : But eight dayes after his Circumcision he died. *Robert Trully*, the Musician in *Agra*, not agreeing with Master *Kerridge*, went to the King of *Decan*, and carrying with him a *German* for interpreter, offered both to turne *Moore*s. *Trully* had in his Circumcision a new name giuen, with great allowance from the King, with whom he continues. But the *German* formerly cut in *Persia*, now thought to deceiue the *Decan*, but was not entertained : he returned to *Agra*, and serueth a *French* man, and goeth to *Masse* againe. *Robert Claxon* also turned *Moore*, at the *Decan* Court had good allowance : but not content, came to *Surat*, and prouoked pitie with seeming penitence, but getting some fortie and odde pounds, vnder pretence of buying commons, gaue them the slip, and returned whence he came. So there are foure *English* with the *Decan*, and diuers *Portugal Moore*s.

*Portugal* perils.

Fugitiues and  
Rencgado's.

The seuen and twentieth of October, 1613. we receiued letters from *Mesulopatan* of Master *Gurney*, written by Captaine *Marlo* of the *James*, of their arrivall and trade. From *Surat* I went to *Periano* three Course : to *Cosumbay* a little Village 10 c. *Baroch* 10 c. a prettie Citie on a high hill, compassed with a wall, a great Riuer running by, as broad as *Thames* ; diuers shippes of two hundred tunnes and odde there riding : best Calicoes in the Kingdome, store of Cotton : to *Saringa* 10 c. to *Carron* 10 c. to *Boldia* a lesse Citie then *Baroch*, but faire built, a strong wall, and three thousand horse vnder *Mussuff Chan* : to *Wassach* a Riuer 10 c. where *Mussuff* was ready to fight with the *Razbooches* or *Radgepoots* that lay on the other side the Riuer : the chiefe of these of the race of the old Kings of *Surat* : to *Niriand* 14 c. a great Towne where they make Indico. To *Amadabar* 10 c. chiefe City of *Guzerat*, neare as great as *London*, walled with a strong wall, situate in the Plain by the Riuer side, store of Merchants *Moore*s, *Christians*, *Heathens* : Commodities are Indicoes, Cloath of gold, siluer Tissue, Veluets (not comparable to ours) Tassataes, Gumbuck, coloured Bassataes, Drugges, &c. *Abdalachon* Gouvernor, a man of five thousand horse pay. I went from thence to *Cambaya*, seuen course to *Barengeo*, where euery Tuesday the *Casily* of *Cambaya* meete, and so keepe company for feare of theeuers. Hence sixteene course to *Soquatera*, a fine Towne well manned with souldiers. Departed at midnight, and about eight of the clocke next morning came 10 c. to *Cambaya*.

A description  
of his iourney  
by land thorow  
the *Mogolls*  
Countrey, his  
red thor for  
guard against  
theeuers.

A Course is a  
mile and halfe  
*English*.

In Nouember, we rode to *Serkeffe*, three course from *Amadabar*, where are the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Guzerat*, a very delicate Church and faire Tombes, which are kept very comely, much resort to visite them from all parts of the Kingdome : a course off is a pleasant House, with a Garden a mile about, by the Riuers side, which *Chou Chin Naw*, the greatest of the *Mogoll* Nobilitie, built in memoriall of the great victory which he got of the last King of *Guzerat*, whom he tooke prisoner, and subiected his Kingdome, the battell being fought in this place. No man dwells in this house, but a few poore men keepe the Orchard. We lodged one night in it, and sent for six Fisher-men, who in halfe an houre tooke vs more fish then all our company could eat.

The eight and twentieth of Nouember, we had newes at *Amadabar* of three *English* shippes arriued at *Lowribander*, the Port Towne of *Gutu Negar Tutta*, chiefe Citie of *Sinda*. A *French* Iesuit at *Amadabar* made poore, by the *Portugals* imbarquement, begged of our Agent, who gaue him ten Rupias. I was sent thither, and the thirteenth of December came to *Cassampara*, where

*Tutid.*  
Master *Ale-*  
worth was Agent.



A Towne of  
common wo-  
men.

Salt water.

Anarchy worst  
Tiranny.

Sarruna within  
14 c. of Tutta.  
Of these things  
see M. Peytons  
Voyage.

Abuse of Sir  
Rob. Sherley.

Treacherous  
robbery.

Nich. Whithing-  
ton robbed and  
sent by-way.

Robbed again.

1614.

Large River.

where I ouertooke a *Caphilo*, traueiling to *Radenpare*, six dayes journey on my way, fourteene to *Callatalowny*, a faire Castle: thirteene 7 c. to *Callwalla*, a pretty Village, which *Ecbar* gaue to a company of women, and their posterity for euer, to bring vp their children in dancing, &c. they did this in our Carauan, euery man giuing them somewhat; and then they openly asked if any wanted a bed-fellow. The sixteenth 8 c. to *Carrya*, where is a well manned Fortresse: and the eighteenth (till which, for feare of theeues, wee stayed for another Carauan) to *Deccanaura*, our Camell itolne, and a man slaine. The nineteenth 10 c. to *Bolodo*, a Fort kept by *Newlock Abram Cabrate*, for the *Mogoll*, who that day came with an hundred sixtie nine heads of the *Coolies* (a robbing people.) The twentieth 13 c. to *Sariandgo*, a Fort. The one and twentieth 10 c. to *Radempooore*, a bigge Towne with a Fort. Heere we stayed to prouide vs of water and necessa- 10  
ries for our desert journey: and the three and twentieth trauelled 7 c. and lay in the fields, met a Carauan robbed of all from *Tutta*. The foure and twentieth 12 c. dispeeded one of my Pions to *Lowribander* with a Letter, which promised to doe it in ten dayes; but I thinke was slaine. The five and twentieth 14 c. lodged by a well of water so salt, that our cattell could not drinke it. The six and twentieth 10 c. to such another well, there gaue our Camells water, not hauing drunke in three dayes.

The seuen and twentieth, 14 c. lodged in fields. The eight and twentieth, 10 c. to a Village called *Negar Parkar*. In this desert we saw great store of wild Asles, red Deere, Foxes, and other wild beasts. The nine and twentieth, we staid and met with an other Carauan, robbed within two dayes journey of *Tutta*. The thirtieth, we departed from *Parkar*, which payes a yearly tri- 20  
bute to the *Mogol*: all hence till *Inno*, halfe a dayes journey from *Tutta*, acknowledge no King, but rob and spare at pleasure. When any army of the *Mogols* comes against them, they fire their houses, and flee into the Mountaines: their houses are made of straw and mortar like Bee-hiues, soone rebuilded. They take for custome what they please, and guard Passengers, being loath any but themselves should haue the robbing of them. We trauelled 6 c. and lay by a Tanke or Pond of fresh water. The thirty one 8 c. and lay in the fields by a brackish Well.

The first of Ianuary, we went 10 c. to *Burdiano*, many were sicke of this water, we prouided vs yet of it for foure dayes, and trauelled more the second 18 c. all night. The third in the afternoone till midnight 10 c. the fourth 12 c. Here I fell sicke, and vomited by reason of the water. The fifth 7 c. and came to three Wells, two salt, one sweetish. The sixth, to *Nuraquimire* a pretie 30  
Towne 10 c. Here our *Raddingpoore* company left vs. We remained, two Merchants, my selfe, five of their seruants, foure of mine, with tenne Camels, five Camel-men. This Towne is within three dayes of *Tutta*, and seemed to vs after our Desert a Paradise. We agreed with one of the Ragies or Gouvernours kinred for twenty Laries (twenty shillings) to conduct vs, who departed with vs the eighth, and we trauelled 10 c. to *Gundaiaw*, where we had beene robbed but for our guard. The ninth, we were twice set on, and forced to giue each time five Laries: wee came to *Sarruna*, a great Towne of the *Razbootches*, with a Castle, whence it is 14 c. to *Tutta*. We visited the Gouvernour *Ragee Bouma*, eldest sonne to *Sultan Bulbul* (who lately captiued by the *Mogol*, had his eyes pulled out, and two Moneths before this had escaped) now liuing in the Mountains, and causeth all his kinred to reuenge. This *Ragee* was kind to me as a stranger, asking many que- 40  
stions of our Countrey, made me sup with him, gaue me Wine till he was itared. A *Banian* here told me, how Sir Robert Sherley had been much abused by the *Portugals*, and Gouvernour at *Lowribander*, his house fired, men hurt in the night: and arriuing at *Tutta* thirteene daies iourney thence, *Mersa Rusto* vsed him vnkindly. He aduised to get this *Ragee* to guide vs, told of the great trade of *Tutta*, the chiefe that he had seene, and that a shippe of three hundred Tunne might come to *Lowribander*.

We hired the *Ragee* for fortie Laries with fifty horsemen to the gates of *Tutta*: and on the eleuenth departed from *Sarruna* 5 c. and lay by a Riuer side. At two in the morning we departed, and he lead vs a contrary way, and came about breake of day into a Thicket, where he made vs vnload, then caused vs to be bound, and tooke our weapons from vs, sudainly hanged the Mer- 50  
chants and their five men, with their Camels ropes fastened about their neckes with a Truncheon; stripped and threw them into a hole they made in the earth. He tooke from me my horse, and eightie Rupias, sent me and my men 20 c. vp the Mountaines to his brothers, Ianuary the foureteenth, where I continued two and twentie dayes shut vp. February the seuenth, order came to send me to *Parkar* to the Gouvernour of their kinred, to send me to *Radingpoore*. But I was robbed by them in the way of all my clothes, and all I had. February the twenty eighth, we begged for our victualls, finding the inhabitants charitable: for my horse (which not beeing worth the taking, they left me) I could get but foure Mamoodies, or foure shillings: but chancing on a *Banian* of *Amadabar* whom I had knowne, I was releued with my men. Wee were five dayes between *Parkar* and *Raddingpoore*, whither I came March nineteenth. I came to *Amadabar*, April 60  
the second, being absent one hundred and eleuen dayes. Thence I went to *Brodia*, *Barengeo* thence 16 c. to *Soquitera*, 10. to *Cambaya*: then the large Riuer 7. course broad, yeerly swallowing many hundreds to *Sauran*. On the other side the Riuer is a Towne and Castle of the *Razbootches*. The sixteenth of Aprill, I trauelled 25 c. to *Borocho*: the seuenteenth, passed that Riuer, and 10 c. to *Cassimba*: the eighteenth, 13 c. to *Surat*. Con-



Concerning *Sinda*, no Citie is by generall report of greater trade in the *Indies* then *Tutta*, the chiefe Port *Lowribander*, three dayes iourney from it; a faire roade without the Riuer's mouth, cleare of Wormes, which about *Surat* especially, and in other places of the *Indies*, after three or foure Moneths riding (if it were not for sheathing) would hinder returne. The Ports and Roads of *Sinda* are free. In two Moneths from hence by water they goe to *Laheer*, and returne in one downe. There are these Commodities, Bassitas, Stuffles, Lawnes, Indico course, not so good as *Biana*. Goods may be conueied from *Agra* on Camels to *Bucker* twenty dayes, which is on *Sinda* Riuer, thence in fiftene or sixtene dayes aboard the ships. One may goe as soone from *Agra* to *Sinda* as *Surat*, but there is more theeuing, which the *Mogoll* seekes to preuent.

10 Inhabitants of *Sinda* are most *Razbootches*, *Banians*, and *Boloches*: in Cities and great Townes, *Razbootches*, the *Gouernours* are *Mogols*. The Countrey people are rude, naked from the waist vpwards, with Turbants contrary to the *Mogoll* fashion. Their Armes, Sword, Buckler, and Lance; their Buckler great, in fashion of a Bee-hiue, in which they will giue their Camels drinke, and Horses prouender, their horses good, swift, strong, which they ride vnshod, most desperately. They back them at twelue Moneths old. The *Mogoll* sayes, the *Razbootch* knowes as well to die as any in the world. They eate no Beefe nor Buttol, but pray to them.

The *Banians* kill nothing: there are thirtie and odde seuerall Casts of these that differ something in Religion, and may not eat with each other; but all burne their dead. When the husband dies, the wife shaueth her head, and weares her iewels no more, so continuing till death. When 20 the *Rasbut* dies, his wife accompanies his bodie going to be burned, in her best array, accompanied with her friends and kinred, and Musique, and the fire beeing made at the place appointed, compasseth the same twice or thrice, bewailing first her husbands death, and then reioicing that she shall now liue with him againe, after which, embracing her friends, she lastly sits downe on the top of the pile, and dry sticks, taking her husbands head in her lap, and bids them put fire, which done, her friends throw oile and other sweete perfumes on her, she enduring the fire with admirable patience, loose and not bound. I haue seene many, the first in *Surat*, the woman but 30 tenne yeeres old, and a Virgin, he a Souldiour slaine in warre, from whence his cloathes and Turbant were brought home. She would needs burne with his cloathes; the *Gouernour* forbad her, which she tooke grieuously, bidding them put to fire presently, her husband was a great way before: which they durst not, till her kinred intreated, with a Present giuen; the *Gouernours* licence, to her exceeding ioy. The husbands kinred neuer force this, but the womans holding it a disgrace else to their family. They may choose, (but few doe) but then must shaueth their haire, and breake their iewels, and thenceforth are not suffered to eat, drinke, sleepe, or company with any body, and so continue till death. If after purpose to burne they leape out of the fire, her father and mother will bind her, and throw her in, and burne her perforce. But this weakenesse is seldom.

The *Boloches* are of *Mahomets* Religion. They deale much in Camels; most of them robbers *Boloches*, by land, and on the Riuer, murdering such as they rob. When I was in *Sinda*, they tooke a boat with seuen *Italians*, one *Portugall* Friar, the rest slaine in fight, this was ripped by them for 40 Gold. There are very honest of them in *Guzerate*, and about *Agra*.

*Banian* marriages are made at the age of three yeeres, and vnder; sometimes they make mutual promise if two pregnant women prooue to haue one a male, the other a female. But alwayes 50 one of their owne cast and religion, and of the same trade, as a Barbar, &c. When they be three or foure yeere old, they make a great Feast, set the two thus espoused on horsebacke (a man behind each to hold them) in their best clothes, accompanied with the *Bramens* or Priests, and many others according to their state, and so lead them vp and downe the Citie where they dwell, and then to the Pagod or Church: and after Ceremonies there done, come home, continue certain dayes feasting, as they are able. Being tenne yeeres old they lie together, of which they giue this reason, not to leaue them wiuelesse, if their Parents die and leaue them Parentlesse. Their *Bramens* 60 keepe their Pagods, and haue Almes or Tithes, esteemed maruellous holy, married and follow occupations, good workemen, apt to learne any patterne. They eate but once a day, and wash before and after meat all their bodies, as also after vrine or stoole.

*John Mildall* \* an *Englishman* had bene employed with three *English* young men, which hee poisoned in *Persia*, to make himselfe Master of the goods, but he was likewise poysoned, yet by 60 preseruatiues liued many Moneths after, but swelled exceedingly, and so came to *Agra*, with the value of twenty thousand dollers: thither therefore I went, May the fourth, 1614. from *Surat*: came to *Bramport*, where *Sultan Perues* lies, situate in a plaine, the Riuer of *Surat* running by in a great breadth, hauing a large Castle. Hence to *Agra* twenty sixe dayes, betweene *Surat* and *Agra* are seuen hundred courses, 1010. *English* miles, which I trauelled in seuen and thirty daies in Winter, wherein it almost continually raineth. From *Surat* to *Bramport* is a pleasant and champion Countrey, full of Riuers, Brookes, and Springs. Betweene *Bramport* and *Agra*, very Mountainous, not passable for a Coach, hardly for Camels; by *Mando* is the nearest way: there are high hills and strong Castles in the way many, Townes and Cities euery dayes iourney, well inhabited, the Countrey peaceable, and cleare of theeuers.

*Mildall*

*Banian.*

Funerals.

Burning of the *Rasbut* wiues.

*Boloches.*

*Banian* marriages.

\* See before his Letters.



*Mildnall* had giuen all to a *Frenchman*, to marry his bastard-daughter in *Persia*, and bring vpan other.

Iesuites.

The Iesuites haue a very faire Church built by the King, and a house: the King allowes the chiefe seuen Rupias a day, and the rest three, with licence to conuert as many as they can: which they doe, but alas, it is for moneys sake. For when by the fact of the *Portugalls*, they were debarred of their pay, their new conuerts brought them their beads againe, saying, they had beene long without their pay, and therefore would be Christians no longer. The *Portugals* not deliuering the goods taken in *Surat*, the King caused the Church-doores to bee locked vp, as they haue continued euer since: so the *Padres* make a Church of one of their Chambers, where they say Masse twice a day, and preach euery Sunday in *Persian*, first to the *Armenians* and *Moors*, after in *Portuguese*, for themselves, the *Italians* and *Greeks*. These told me the particulars of *Mildnals* goods, who gaue all to a *French* Protestant, himselfe a Papist, which he denying, was put in prison. After foure Moneths all were deliuered.

The second of March, 1614, tenne Gallions, two Gallies, sixtie Frigats fight.

Pilgrimage.

Betweene *Agminere* and *Agra* euery tenne course (which is an ordinarie dayes iourney) a *Serailia*, or place of lodging for man and horse, and Hostesses to dresse your victuall, if you please, paying a matter of three pence for both horse and meat dressing. Betweene these places (120 c.) at euery course end is a great pillar erected, and at euery tenne course a faire house built by *Echar*, when he went on Pilgrimage from *Agra* to *Aggimere* on foot, saying his prayers at euery course end. These houses serue the King and his women, none else. This King lies in *Agimere*, vpon occasion of warres with *Rabna* & *Razboch*, who hath now done homage, and peace is betweene them.

Ganges.

I rode to the Riuer *Ganges*, two dayes from *Agra*. The *Banians* carry the water of *Ganges* many hundred miles thence, and as they affirme, it will neuer stinke, though kept neuer so long. By *Agra* runnes a large riuer *Geminie*. *Agra* is a huge Towne, the wall two course in compasse, fairest and highest that euer I saw, well replenished with Ordnance: the rest (except Noble-mens houses, faire seated by the riuer) ruinous. The annient royall seat was *Fatipoore* (twelue course from *Agra*) now decayed. Betweene these two, the Sepulchre of the Kings Father, to which is none that euer I saw to be compared. And yet the Church of *Fatipoore* comes neere it, builded by Geometry as is the other.

Agra.

The foure and twentieth of May, 1616. we in our returne entred the Bay of *Soldania*, where were diuers *English* ships outward bound, the *Charles*, *Vnicorne*, *James*, *Globe*, *Swan*, the Generall was *Beniamin Ioseph*.

The fifteenth of September, we arrived at *Douer*.

## CHAP. IX.

The eleuenth Voyage to the East-India in the *Salomon*, begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1611. after the account of the Church of England, and ended in the yeere 1613. Written by RALPH WILSON, one of the Mates in the said ship.

February. 1.  
1611.



He first of February 1611. we set saile from *Grauesend*, being foure ships, the *Dragon*, the *James*, the *Salomon*, and the *Hosiander*; being counted as three seuerall Voyages: the *James* the ninth; the *Dragon* and *Hosiander* the tenth; and wee in the *Salomon* the eleuenth. The reason was, because we were directed to seuerall parts of the *East-India*.

In our course betweene the *Iles* of the *Canaries*, and the *Iles* of *Capo Verde*, we must steere a more Westerly course, then that which the *Plats* lay downe, without they be *Portugall* *Plats*; which lay it a quarter of a point more then the truth is.

A new Island  
discovered in  
19. degrees  
34. minutes  
Southerly.  
*Santa Maria*  
*d'agosta*.  
The Isle of  
*Martin Vaz*.

The seuen and twentieth of Aprill, we in *Salomon* descried an Island in the South latitude of nineteene degrees, foure and thirty minutes, and it bare from vs, South-east one third part Southerly, fifteene leagues off. This Ile is a place, which in my opinion yeeldeth water, and fish in great abundance: the Sea-fowle were so many, that our people in the galleries of our ship might strike them downe, they were so tame. To the Eastward of this Ile lye two Ilands more, the one about the bignesse of the first, the other a great Ile. By these Iles we found a Current, which setteth to the Northward.

The eight and twentieth of Iune, we departed from *Soldanha*. I would aduise them which go forth of *Soldanha* Bay, with the wind at East, or South-east, to get off some pretie distance from the land, before they hale vp to the Southward: for if they doe otherwise, the high land will take their wind from them. And if a man should be becalmed, he should very much be troubled: for most commonly thereabout you shall meete a mightie Westerne Sea. Secondly, the streame setteth



setteth to the shoare-ward, if the wind haue been at the North North-west, West or South-west. And thirdly, the shoare is neald to; so that a man cannot anchor.

The sixt of October, wee met a great Current setting to the Northwards, when wee were October 6. within one degree of the Equinoctiall.

The twelfth, wee met with a great deale of rubbish, as Canes, Sties, and many other things, which vsually are on the shoare about *Sumatra*.

The sixteenth, draue by our ship rubbish, as Rock-weeds, Canes, branches of trees, the huskes of Coco Nuts, and such like.

The seuenteenth at noone, draue by vs a bed of rubbish, which was at least two miles long: 10 it lay North North-west, and South South-east, and draue off West South-west.

The eighteenth in the morning, we descried land, which lyeth by *Celeber* in the Ile of *SUMATRA*, which Towne of *Celeber* standeth about three degrees of Southerly latitude.

They discerie  
*Sumatra*, *Ilabat*  
or *Celeber*.

The seuen and twentieth, wee had a Current setting to the Southward. The nine and twentieth, the salt hill, or Ile bare East North-east sixteene or eightene leagues from vs.

The first of Nouember, at six of the clocke at night, we were shot within the salt Ile.

Nouember 1.

The second at noone, comming betweene the Land of *Iaua* and a ragged Ile, which lyeth to the Westward of the point of *Palymbam*, we met a great tide running out so fast, that we could scarce stemme it with a Riffe gale of wind. And afterward the wind slaked, so we chopped to an anchor, and then I found that tide to runne three leagues and an halfe in a watch. Heere I haue 20 noted, that the tide or streame keepeth no course, but in the day time setteth out, and in the night time in. This day at noone, the point of *Palymbam* bare North-east by East three leagues off vs. From thence to the Road of *Bantam* is fve leagues; South South-east one third part Easterly: So the longitude of *Bantam* is an hundred fortie fve degrees, two minutes. The latitude six degrees, ten minutes. The variation three degrees. This longitude of an hundred fortie fve degrees, and two minutes, is somewhat to Easterly for the Road of *Bantam*. But for the first falling with the land, for an hundred fortie foure degrees is the truest longitude for *Bantam* from the Island of *Flores*.

The eighteenth, nine sailes of *Hollanders* came into the Road, and the other two, which went out the day before, came with them to *Pulo Panian*: they had refreshed themselves at the Iles 30 *Mascarenhas*, which stand in one and twentieth degrees and an halfe of South latitude. Of which place they gaue singular commendations for great plentie of refreshing which they found there.

Excellent re-  
freshing at the  
Ile Do *Masca-*  
*renhas*.

The seuen of March, at fve of the clocke in the afternoone, in the latitude of twentieth degrees, foure and thirtie minutes, we descried land, which bare North-east, halfe a point Northerly, nine leagues off: the South-east part is somewhat high, but falleth downe with a low point; the Wester part is not very high, but flat and smoth towards the end of it, and falleth right downe. This Ile is very full of shoalds and broken ground, the Souther and Wester parts: for we discovered neither of the other sides. By all likelihood it seemeth to haue good refreshing on it: the longitude of this Ile is an hundred and foure degrees from *Flores*, but by my computation an hundred and seuen degrees; but in these courses we rely not altogether on our reckonings, vsing as much diligence for the finding out the true longitude, as possibly wee may, it being a maine point to giue vs light to other helps. 40

March 7.

An Ile disco-  
uered in twen-  
tie degrees,  
foure and thir-  
tie minutes.

The tenth, we had sight of the Land of *Diego Roiz*. The fourteenth in the morning, wee descried land, which was part of the Ile Do *Cyrne*, which the *Hollanders* call the Ile of *Mauritius*. There is an Island that lyeth from the maine Ile foure leagues off; and two other small Iles ten leagues off. We sounded a league and a halfe off, but found no ground at fortie fathoms. When you are thwart of the Road, the hill with three pikes will beare South-east.

The Island of  
*Diego Roiz*,  
The Ile of  
*Cyrne*, or *Mau-*  
*ritius*.

The sixteenth, at six of the clocke in the morning, we descried the Ile Do *Mascarenhas*. There is a breach which lyeth foure miles off, and lyeth three leagues long; and heere is very good refreshing. The Ile *Mauritius* hath longitude ninetie nine degrees, latitude twentieth degr. fifteen minutes. The Ile Do *Mascarenhas* hath longitude ninetie seuen degrees, and latitude one and twentieth degrees, no minutes. 50

The Ile *Mascā-*  
*renhas*.

The second of Aprill, 1613, about seuen of the clocke it began to lighten, continuing with such mightie great flashes, as I neuer saw the like, vntill eleuen, and then it began to raine, or powre downe mightily, and on a sudden became flat and calme: and in lesse then a quarter of an houre, a hard gale at South-west, blowing for the time, which was not long, as much as it did before, at North-east. By these two contrary winds the sea grew so exceeding loftie, that our ship stricke into the sea abaft, as if the galleries would haue flowne off. About twelue of the clock the wind veered to the South, and on a sudden vp at the North-east againe. Our sailes were split, so as we held till morning.

Aprill 2. 1613.

The tenth of Iune, we descried the Ile of *Ascension*. This Ile hath shoalds lying on the Wester part, at least two miles off. 60

Iune 10.  
The Ile of *As-*  
*ension*.

The one and twentieth, we had a great ripling of the sea, in the seuen and twentieth degrees of North latitude, which came out of the Easter-board like a fresh out of a Riuer, like many spouts or whirlewinds.

The



August 6.

The sixth of August wee had great riplings or ouer-fals of the Sea.

The fourteenth day, being in thirtie eight degrees fiftie nine minutes North latitude, wee had great riplings of the Sea; which made a noyse, as if water had runne out of a sluice: they came out of the North-east.

## CHAP. X.

*A Iournall of all principall matters passed in the twelfth Voyage to the East-India, obserued by me WALTER PAYTON, in the good ship the Expedition: the Captaine whereof was M.*

CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, being set out, Anno 1612. Written by WALTER PAYTON.

## §. I.

20

*Their comming to Saint Augustine, Mohelia, and diuers parts of Arabia.*



He seuenth of Ianuarie we set saile from *Gransend* for the East-India, in the good ship, the *Expedition of London*, being about the burthen of two hundred and fixtie tunnes: which carryeth in her fiftie sixe persons, besides the *Persian* Ambassadour and his followers, who aue in number fiftene, which we had order to receiue into our ship, to be transported into the Kingdome of *Persia*, at the costs and charges of the Worlhipfull Company afore said. The names of the Ambassadour, and his people, are these. Sir Robert Sherley, the Ambassadour. *Teresha*, his Ladie, a *Circasian*. Sir Thomas Powell. *Tomasin* his Ladie. *Leylye*, a *Persian* Woman. *Morgan Powell*, Gentleman. Captaine *John Ward*. *Francis Bubb*, Secretarie. *John Barbar*, Apothecarie. *John Herriot*, Musitioner. *John Georgson*, Goldsmith and *Hollander*. *Gabriel*, an olde *Armenian*. *Nazerbege*, *Scanderbege*, *Molhier*, all *Persians*.

Connie Iland.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, 1613. in the morning, wee fell with a part of the land of *Ethiopia*, whereunto, close adioyning, is an Iland of small compasse, called *Connie Iland*, beeing a very low land, and inuironed about with many dangerous Rockes, to Sea-ward: and standeth in the latitude of thirtie three degrees, and thirtie minutes. The wind taking vs short, we were inforced to come to an anchor betwixt this Iland and the *Maine*: where wee had very good ground in nineteen or twentie fathom water. Here we sent our Schiffe ashore to the Iland, where we found *Penguins*, wild Geese, and other Fowles, & Seale-fishes in great abundance, whereof we tooke for our refreshing, as much as we would. By a carued boord, wee perceiued the *Hollanders* had beene there, who made great store of the traine Oyle of the Seales, as it should seeme, for their necessary spending, outward bound. They left their Implements wherewith they wrought, and a great Copper Caldron, standing vpon a Furnace, full of traine: all which wee left as wee found. Thus hauing spent two dayes at an anchor, and the wind fauouring vs to proceed, we set saile from hence for *Caput Bona Spei*.

The Bay of Saldanha.

The thirtieth day, by Gods grace, we arriued at *Saldanha*, where wee found riding at an anchor sixe ships, whereof two *English*, namely, the *Hector* and the *Thomas*, the other foure were *Hollanders*: all bound homeward. Here we watered and refreshed our selues very well, with reasonable store of that Countrey sheepe, and Bullockes, which we bought; and fresh fish which we caught with our Sayne.

Cape do Arceife.  
Variation fixe  
deg. nine min.

The tenth of May, 1613. the *Pepper-corne* arriued heere at *Saldanha*, also bound homewards. Shee hauing beene long out, was not very well fitted with necessaries, which wee supplied out of our small store, so much as we could spare: who also dispatched and was readie to set saile with the first faire wind, which was, on the fifteenth of May, from whence we set saile all together, out of the Bay, taking our leaue each of other, according to the common fashion of the Sea, directing our course for Saint *Augustine*. And in our way we had sight of *Cape do Arceife*, being part of the mayne land of *Ethiopia*; and standeth in the latitude of thirtie three degrees twentie five minutes, the Compasse varying there fixe degrees and nine minutes, which was on the foure and twentieth of this present.

The fifteenth of Iune, we had sight of Saint *Laurence* Iland, and on the seuenteenth day, we came



came to an anchor, by Port *Augustine* of purpose, to search the sounding and way into the Bay, Port *de S. Augustino*. before we entred; because there was none in our ship well acquainted therewith. Which being done, wee entred and came to an anchor, on the eighteenth day in ten fathome water: but our ship rode in fortie fathomes. Heere we had wood and water, and great abundance of fresh fish, which we tooke with our Sayne, sufficient to haue satisfied halfe a doozen ships men; if they had bene there. But for flesh, we could get none of the Countrey people, they being as it seemed, fearefull of vs, who came to vs once, and promised to bring vs Cattell, the next day in the morning: which, I thinke, was rather in policie to carrie away their Cattell, wherein they employed themselues in the meane time, for they neuer returned to vs againe. We marched  
 10 vp into the Woods, with about fortie shot, to see if we would haue met with any of them, to buy some of their Cattell: but wee found none but emptie houses made of Canes, where wee perceived that people had bene not long before, by the fires which were yet burning, and scales of fish which had bene broyled thereon. Also we perceived the footing, and tracing of many Cattell, which had bene there not long before: so wee returned emptie as wee came. This Port *Augustine*, standeth in the latitude of twentie three degrees and thirtie minutes. The variation of the Compasse is fiftene degrees fortie minutes.

Houses made of Canes.

Fiftene deg. 40. minutes variation.

The entrance into this Port resembleth *Dartmouth*, and to goe in there, you must bring that which is called *Westminster-Hall*, being not vnlike, North-east by East off you, and so steere in due East, borrowing a little to the South-side of the Bay, where you shall haue sounding thir-  
 20 teene, nine, eight, and seuen fathomes water, good ground, till you bee shut within the shoale: and then you haue deepe water, vntill you come to the Road, and then you haue seuen, eight, and ten fathomes water. But if you goe in too farre behind the hill on your larboord side (which resembleth an old Barne) then you shall haue thirtie fve or fortie fathomes. From hence wee set saile, on the three and twentieth of this present, directing our course for the Iland of *Mohelia*.

The third of Iuly 1613. we had sight of an Iland called *Iuan*, being to the East-ward of *Mohelia* some nine or ten leagues, and beareth from it East and by South. Also this day we came to an anchor at *Mohelia*, betwixt broken land (which lyeth on the Souther side) and the Iland. Here we had great store of refreshing and very cheape, for we bought fve Bullockes in trucke of  
 30 one *Leuant* Sword: also we bought Goates, Hennes, Pines, Cocker Nuts, Plantanes, Oranges, Limons, and Limes, for Trifles or little Money. One Riall of Plate we paid for a Bullocke, or else ten pieces of foure pence halfe-penie, and so we bought about fortie one head of Cattle, besides other refreshing aforesaid.

*Mohelia* Iland  
 neere vnto *Comora*.  
 Great store of  
 refreshing.

The fifth, the Inhabitants of this Iland, are chiefly *Moore*s: but there are *Arabians*, *Turkes* and other Nations amongst them, and are in Warre with the people of *Iuan*, and *Comora* Ilands neere adioyning. They told vs that the King of *Mohelia* dyed the same day, that we came into the Roade: and *Phanobomale* his sonne succeeded in his place, being as yet but of tender yeeres, was to raigne vnder protection of his Mother Queene. His Brother-in-law came downe (as  
 40 chiefe man accompanied with diuers other men of sort) to speake with vs, who bad vs very kindly welcome. Both he and many other of the same Iland do speake reasonable good *Portuguse* Language, by reason whereof I had great conference with them, and was resolved in any thing I demanded.

The largenesse of the *Portugale* Tongue.

They build Barkes vpon this Iland, and trade with them, alongst the Coast of *Melinde*, and *Arabia*, with slaues and fruits, whereby they furnish themselues with Royals of Plate, and other necessaries. Also I thinke, they haue some Trade with the *Portugals*, but they will not bee a knowne thereof, because we should not suspect any treacherous dealings amongst them. They told vs, that we were very welcome, and that the whole Iland was at our command: but if we had bene *Portugals*, they told mee, that they would haue put vs all euery man to the Sword. But howsoeuer, I hold it not good to repose too much confidence in them. The Kings Brother  
 50 shewed me a Letter of commendations of the place, left there by an *Hollander*, which was written in *Dutch*: and withall desired vs to leaue another to the same effect, thereby to specifie their honest and kind dealings towards vs, and to shew it vnto others of our Nation, which should come thither after vs: to which we consented, and I made them a Writing accordingly, which was sealed by the Captaine of our ship, expressing therein our good entertainment, and the prices of victuals. But neuerthelesse, with such a Prouiso, that our Nation should not trust them any further then in their discretions they should thinke requisite for their owne safeties. They speake a kind of *Morisco* Language, which is somewhat difficult to learne, and our continuance there short: so that I only tooke notice of these few words following, which are sufficient to call for victuals and fruits, when *Portuguse* Language is wanting; and to speake to any of the  
 60 Countrey people, who vnderstand not the *Portuguse*. viz.

*Gumbey*, a Bullocke. *Buze*, a Goat. *Coquo*, an Henne. *Tudah*, Oranges. *Deimon*, Limons. *Mage*, Water. *Surra*, a kind of Drinke. *Quenane*, a Pine. *Seianoye*, Cocker Nuts. *Figo*, Plantans. *Cartassa*, Paper. *Sinzano*, a Needle. *Arembo*, Bracelets. *Soutan*, the King.

This Iland standeth in the latitude of twelue degrees ten minutes, and in the Road is good  
 ground

*Mohelia* in 12. deg. 10. min.



ground in forty fathomes water. From hence we set saile on the tenth day (having watered, and refreshed our selues very sufficiently, God be thanked) directing our course for the Island of *Socotora*.

The Islands of  
*Curia Muria*.

The nineteenth, we passed vnder the Equinoctiall line: and on the twentieth fifth day, wee had sight of land, which we supposed to haue been Cape *Guardafuy*, which lieth at the entrance of the Red Sea: and so thinking to steere for *Socotora*, found it not. Whereupon we were enforced to bethinke our selues, where to goe that wee might shelter our selues from the cruelty of the Winter in those parts, and also to refresh vs againe. So we determined to saile for the Islands of *Curia Muria*, the bodies whereof lie in the latitude of about eightene degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, ouer against the wast of *Arabia Felix*. In our way, we neuer had other weather then fogges, which were so thicke, that we could not discry halfe an *English* mile before vs (being a thing vsuall euery yeare in Iuly, August, and part of September.) In all this time, both the Sunne and the Starres were so obscured, that we could not helpe our selues any way by obseruation: but God being our guide, at length we groaped out the land by our lead, well perceiving the colour of the water to be changed white, and many yellow grassy weeds swimming thereon; we sounding still as we sailed, and our first ground was fortie three fathomes. So as we neered the land, our sounding lessened to twenty two fathomes, where we anchored in very good ground, but could see no land (although we heard the rut of the shoare not to be farre off) vntill the next day, which was somewhat cleare weather. And then we sent our Skiffe ashore, to see if they could discouer a place of more securitie for our ship to ride in: but by reason of the great Seas which came rowling into the Bay, there went so great a seidge that they could not come neere the shoare, and therefore returned as they went: onely they had descied a situation of faire houses, built of stone, hard by the Sea side, which prooued to be the Citie of *Doffar* in *Arabia Felix*. When God had sent vs a little cleare weather, we perceiued an high Cape land, on the Wester side of the Bay, the which we discouered with our Skiffe (at the second time of her going) to be a very good road for all winds, except from East to the South by East (God make vs thankfull) for thither we warped in our ship, although with much toyle of our men, beeing distant fixe or seuen leagues from the place where we were.

*Doffar* a Citie  
on the Coast  
of *Arabia*.

August. 3.  
*Resoit* a small  
Village.

The third of August, we came to an anchor in the said roade, and went ashore with our Skiffe at a little Village, called *Resoit*, standing close by the Sea side. The Inhabitants thereof are *Arabians*, and for the most part fishermen, who gaue vs very kind intertainment, and told vs all concerning the Countrey, that we desired. Also the chiefe Gouvernour of *Doffar* came downe to vs (whose name is *Meir habamud Madoffar*) and bade vs very kindly welcome, and presented vs with three Bullocks, Sheepe, Goates, Sugarcanes, Hennes, Plantans, and Coco-nuts, and such like. For requitall whereof, we presented him againe, with a fine piece of Damaske double lockt, which was greatly by him esteemed: he desiring our friendship as much, as we desired his, and gaue vs licence forthwith to come ashore when we would. Also he gaue order to haue a Market kept at this little Village of *Resoit*, purposely for vs to buy any kind of victuals which the Countrey did afford. Their cattell are both deare and leane, and their fresh water is very scarce and bad, and very hard to come by: so that we were enforced to hire people to bring it downe to the sea side in skinnes, paying therefore twenty foure shillings sterling, for euery hue pipes filling. Before our departure from hence, *Meir habamud Madoffar* desired vs to leaue a writing of commendations in his behalfe, specifying the good and kind intertainment we had receiued there; which was graunted: and I made it in parchment, begun with great letters, the effect whereof beeing correspondent to the other writing, before left at *Mohelia*, also signed by the Captaine. And the Gouvernour sent vs three notes, by him signed, to the end we might send them in seuerall ships, if they should happen to come vpon that coast (as we did perforce) whereby he might know our ships from others, and to giue them intertainment accordingly. This Cape *Resoit* standeth in the latitude of sixteene degrees, and thirty eight minutes, to the Northward of the Equinoctiall line, and is good anchorage, in five and an halfe or fixe fathomes water.

Sixteene de-  
grees, thirtie  
eight min.

\* For Captain  
*Hawkins* com-  
ming away in  
distast, and de-  
nied trade, the  
*English* wrong-  
ed by the *Mo-  
gol* in often  
breaking pro-  
mise (as before  
is shewed) for-  
ced trade at  
the Red Sea on

The eight and twentieth, we set saile from hence, directing our course for the coast of *Persia*. still coasting alongst the *Arabian* shoare: for there were our cheifest hopes fixed, in setting the Lord Embassadour ashore. By reason of the newes, and aduises wee heard and receiued at the Cape *Bona Esperanza*, our expectations were frustrated, both of *Surat*, *Dabul*, and all other parts thereabouts.

The second of September, we sailed close by an Island, lying alongst the *Arabian* shoare called *Maryra*, the body of which standeth in twentieth degrees thirtie minutes, North latitude, the variation of the Needle being twenty degrees tenne minutes.

The fourth day, we passed the Eastermost part of the *Arabian* land, called Cape *Rasalgat*, standing in the latitude of twenty two degrees, and thirty foure minutes, and nineteene degrees twenty minutes variation.

his Subjects: which after (least the Sea and Merchandizing should be shut vp to them) procured the Priuiledges obtained by Captaine *Bell*, especially seeing the *English* able to withstand the *Portugals*, whose sea-forces held the *Guzerats* in Marine subiection, and made them afraid of trading with *Englishmen*. The Ile de *Maryra*, in 20. degr. 10. min. variation. Cape *Rasalgat*.



## §. II.

*Their comming on the Persian Coast: the treacherie of the Baluches.*

**T**He tenth of September, crossing the Gulfe, wee had sight of the Coast of *Persia*, our ship being in the latitude of twentie five degrees and tenne minutes: the variation of the Compasse eightene degrees thirty minutes: and being some seven leagues off from the shoare, we sent our Skiffe with Sir *Thomas Powell*, accompanied with two of the Embassadors *Persians*, together with *Albertus* our Linguist, of purpose to discover the Countrey, and to seeke some conuenient place to land his Lordship. Where when they came to a little Village, called *Tesseque*, they spake with Camell men, and others of the Countrey people, by whom they vnderstood, that that Countrey was called *Getche Macquerona*, and the inhabitants *Baluches*: all liuing vnder the gouernment of one King, named *Melicke Meirza*, whose chiefe residence was some five or sixe dayes iourney from hence, at a Port called *Guader*. And they further told them, that all that Countrey of *Macquerona*, paid yeerely Tribute vnto the King of *Persia*. Also they vnderstanding our intents to land the Embassadour, told vs, that by *Melick Meirza* his conueiance, his Lordship should haue safe conduct from *Guader* in nine dayes to *Chirman*, and from thence to *Spahann* in *Persia*, in eleuen dayes. So we sayled alongst the Coast, and sent our Skiffe againe ashore on the eleuenth of this present, with Sir *Thomas Powell* and others, accompanied as before, both to enquire further of the Countrey, and to see if they could hire a Pilot to direct vs for *Guader*; because we knew not how the Coast did lie. And they lighted on a place called *Tesseque*, about one dayes iourney from the other place before; where we found the like newes and reports of these people to agree directly with the former; all commending the Port of *Guader* to be our best place of landing. Whereof we being very glad to heare, presently set downe our determinations, with Gods leaue, to saile thither with all the speed we might, although we had no Pilot. And in our way, on the thirteenth of this present in the morning, wee espied comming from the East-ward, two great Boates called *Teradas*, sayling alongst the shoare towards *Ormus*: whereupon, to the end we might haue a Pilot out of them, we manned our Skiffe sufficiently, of purpose to bring them to our ship (if intreaty did faile) perforce; yet without any intent to haue offered them the least discourtesie, or to haue sent them away vngratified. But when our Skiffe came vp to them, in stead of answering our mens hailes, they weaned our Skiffe to Leeward with a naked Sword. Wherefore our men thinking to feare them, and to make them amaine their sailes, shot off a peece at randome towards them; for answer whereof, they discharged another peece at our Skiffe, with halfe an hundred of arrowes to boote: which our men perceiuing, plyed all their Muskets at them againe: but our Skiffe not able to hold way with them sayling, was constrained to leaue them, and returne to our ship againe, with one man very dangerously hurt with an arrow in his breast, although after recovered. Now wee aboard perceiuing our Skiffe to be too weake, and returning againe without them, presently hoysed out our long boat, and sent her after them; we following with our ship so neare to the shoare as conueniently wee might with safetie. For it imported vs much now to speake with them, whereby wee might auoid the spreading of their scandalous reports of vs, in that Countrey; which might haue frustrated our chiefe hopes in landing the Embassadour there, beeing the place whereon wee most depended, especially considering how destitute we were of any other place, if this should faile, by reason aforesaid. So our long Boat fetching the *Teradas* vp, draue them into a Bay, from whence they could not escape; which strooke such a feare into them, that they desperately sayled so farre into the Bay, that one of them was cast away vpon the shoare; and the other neere vpon following, had not our men saued her from the breach thereof. All the *Baluches* for the most part leaped ouerboard, whereof some of them narrowly escaped drowning; and other taken in againe by our men, were brought with the *Terada* aboard our ship, beeing onely nine *Baluches* left of about twenty sixe. Who when they came aboard, perceiuing them to be of *Guader*, wee told them, that we were sory for the losse of their other *Terada*, and that we meant them no harme; but onely to speake with them, whereof they were glad to heare (for they thought we had been as mercilese as themselves) imputing their losses vnto their owne follies. Then we told them, that we were bound to *Guader*, to land a *Persian* Embassadour there, and that we would intreat the Master of the Boat, whose name was *Noradim*, to pilot our ship thither, and we would content him for his paines. To which (knowing himselfe not to be freed by deniall) he yeelded, conditionally that we would let the *Terada* and his men proceede in their Voyage for *Muscat*, which wee thought not fit, for feare of clamours and newes to be spread about the Gulfe, of our beeing there amongst the *Portugals*; but rather to carry the *Terada* with vs to *Guader*, thereby to make manifest our good dealings towards them. The Pilot perceiuing himselfe to be vrged between feare and friendship, in the end agreed; of whom we made very much, and in our way to *Guader* had much conference with him and his men, both concerning the state of the Countrey and King, and touching the passage of the Embassadour into *Persia*, through the same. Their answers, reports,

Septemb. 10.

Tesseque a small Village. Baluches.

Tesseque.

Two great Boats called Teradas.

One of the Teradas cast away.

Onely nine Baluches saued.



and speeches all concurring with the former, in a manner confirmed our hopefull intents, without any dislike.

September 15. This *Terrada* was about the burden of fifteene Tunnes, her lading, for the most part, was victuals of those parts; as Rice, Dates, and Wheat, and such like. They had a *Portugall* passe, which they shewed vs, thinking at the first we had benee *Portugals*. The Originall whereof I translated out of the *Portuguese* language, because it might be knowne in what subiection the *Portugals* doe keepe all these Countrey people: without which Passe, they are not suffered to saile to nor fro, vpon paine both of losse of life, ship, and goods: The Copie whereof followeth, viz.

The Castle of *Mascat*.

*Antonio Pereira de Laferda*, Captaine of the Castle of *Mascat*, and the Iurisdiction of the same, for his Maiestie, &c.

10

A *Portugall* Passport by sea, shewing how althoſe parts are awed at sea by them, *Moore* *Guzerat*, and others: A *Baluche*.

ALL those, to whom these Presents shall bee shewed: Know that I haue thought good, to giue secure licence vnto this *Terrada*, of the burden of fiftie Candies, the Master whereof is *Norradim* a *Moore*, and *Baluche*, and a dweller in *Guader*, of the age of fiftie yeeres, and carrieth for his defence foure Swords, three Bucklers, fise Bowes with their Arrowes, three Caliuers, two Launces, and twelue Oares: That in this manner following declared, she may passe and sayle from this said Fort, to *Soar*, *Dobar*, *Must-macoraon*, *Sinde*, *Cache*, *Naguna*, *Diu*, *Chaul*, and *Cor*. In going, she carrieth goods of *Conga*, as *Raisons*, *Dates*, and such like: but not without dispatch first out of the Custome house of this said Fort, which shall appeare by a Certificate, written on the Back-side hereof. And to performe well the said Voyage, she shall neither carry nor bring any prohibited goods, viz. Steele, Iron, Lead, Tobacco, Ginger, Cinamon of *Seilon*, and all other things whatsoever prohibited, and not tollerated by the Regiment of his Maiestie. And in this manner shall the said *Terrada* make her Voyage, without let or hinderance of any Generalls, Captaines, or other of the said Signories Fleete, or Ships whatsoever, which she shall happen to meet withall. And this shall be of force and sufficiency for one whole yeere, in going and comming. If it be expired, then to serue other so long time, as the making hereof.

Given from the said Castle of *Mascat*, this sixteenth of Nouember, Ann.Dom. 1611.

I *Anthony de Peitas*, Notarie of this said Factorie, haue written this, &c.

Sealed and Signed,

ANTHONIO PEREIRA.

30

The Certificate written on the backe side hereof is this: viz.

Registered in the booke of Certificates, in Folio xxxij. and so forwards.

Signed, ANTH. PEITAS.

September 17.

*Iuane* a Village.

*Guader*.

The seuenteenth of September, we sayled by high ragged Clifſes, whereto close adioyning, is a good watering place, at a Village called *Iuane*, (as *Norradim* told vs) beeing about fifteene leagues distant from the Port of *Guader*, to the Westerside thereof, which beareth North of you.

Also, vpon this day in the euening, wee arriued at *Guader*, and anchored at the Ports mouth vntill the next day in the morning; where, about thirty Boates came out of *Guader* to fish. Some of them came to speake with the *Baluches*, which wee had aboard; but what they said was spoken in *Baluche* language, and therefore not by vs vnderstood. So betimes this morning, we cleared our *Balucha* Pilot, with his Boat and men; and told him, that when he would come aboard againe, hee should be satisfied for his paines: and so hee departed, being very well contented therewith.

And presently after, the Ambassadour sent one of his *Persians*, named *Nazerbeg*, ashore in our Skiffe, with a message to the chiefe Gouvernour concerning his landing, and passing thorow that Countrey into *Persia*: who by the way was met with the Gouvernours Boat, comming aboard our ship, into which *Nazerbeg* was taken out of our Skiffe, and went with them ashore to performe his message, according to direction, being accompanied with many people vnto the Gouvernours Tent. Where, he hauing deliuered his message to the said Gouvernour in the *Persian* language (which is as well vnderstood there, as their owne) was very much made of, and kindly entertained. The answere of which message by the Gouvernour, was, that although that Countrey of *Macquerona* was not the King of *Persia*; yet they did acknowledge a kind of dutifull loue vnto his Maieſty, and that they had been Tributaries vnto him and his Predecessors for many yeeres past, as they were now at present. Also, he further said, that the King of *Macquerona* was the King of *Persia* Slaue, with such like fained and trapping complements; and the Ambassadour should be as welcome, as if he were in the *Persian* Land; only tending by treachery to allure his Lordship ashore, as by the euent it appeared.

The Countrey of *Macquerona*, is not the King of *Persia*.

This answere being returned by *Nazerbeg*, hee had to accompany him aboard (and to confirme the same with addition) about a dozen of the ancientest men there of *Baluches*: who, when they came aboard our ship, saluted the Ambassadour with great submission, both in their Gouvernours behalfe, and in their owne: some of them offering to kisse his feete, telling his Lordship, that he was the happiest man aliue in comming thither to that place. For, but one day past, the Vice-Roy

60



Vice-roy was come downe with a troope of men, to visite a Saint; and therefore his Lordship should bee conducted with more safetie thorow his Countrey (from the danger of Rebels and Theeues, which were beewene *Guader* and *Persia*) either to *Chirman* or *Sistan*, and so to *Spahann*. Also that the Vice-roy would furnish his Lordship with Camels and Horses, and other necessities requisite, and that he would accommodate him with all the meanes he had in his power. And moreover said, that they much rejoyced to haue such fit opportunitie, to shew their vnfained loue towards the King of *Persia*: and withall, he should be dispatched from *Guader* (if hee would) in two dayes at the furthest: and told vs, for our ship, we should haue both water, and other necessities whatsoeuer we needed: they bringing then with them three bagges of bruised

September 18.

10 Dates, being about three hundred pound weight, with two Goats, and sent aboard the said fish-boats, that euery one of them should send two fishes (vpon the Gouvernours account) aboard our ship, who did accordingly. So that, what with their exterior shew of vnfained loue and kindnesse towards vs, together with all mens speeches (of whom enquiry was made, as aforeiâid) agreeing so iumpe one with another, wee were throughly perswaded, without any kinde of distrust, that they meant vs as well as they said: Especially, the Lord Ambassadour was exceedingly well conceited of them, being ioyfull to arrive in *Persia* in twentie dayes; and wee not sory, in bringing to perfection our long desired hopes. But God, from whose Diuine knowledge the secrets of no hearts can bee hidden, knew their contrary meanings towards vs: for had not his Mercy exceeded his Iustice, we had been consumed, and it neuer could haue

20 been knowne what had been become of vs, ship nor goods.

For, hereupon the Ambassadour resolved, and fitted all things in a readinesse, and on the nineteenth of this present, which was the morning following, sent both his money, treasure, and all his carriage ashore, with the *Baluches* Boates, that came aboard for that purpose. Very early also they brought a message from the Vice-Roy and Gouvernour, that they had provided a Tent for his Lordship, and all his followers, neere adioyning vnto their Tent: and therefore he might come ashore so soone as he pleased. All things were ready; into which Tent all the Ambassadors goods were carryed, and by his order, some of his followers were appointed to remaine with them, vntill his Lordship should come ashore himselfe. Intending to haue followed the same day in the afternoone, at foure of the clocke, he sent the Vice-Roy word, that hee would

30 then come. And in the meane time our Skiffe went ashore with emptie caske, to bring fresh water aboard: wherein went the Ambassadors *Persians*, and three or foure others of his followers, to see the landing of the goods, and carefull carrying of them into the Tents. And at the landing thereof, the countrey people demanded if the Ambassadour had no more goods then those to bring ashore? To which answer was made, that there was all, except Iewels, and such like things, which should be brought when himselfe did come. Other *Baluches* standing by, replied to each other amongst themselves, that it was no matter; for there was enough for the souldiers: which *Nazerbeg* ouer-heard, and vnderstood, yet concealed it for that time, although it possessed him with a ialous conceit; and as hee said afterward, that neuertheless he had no power to continue in the same, by reason of such equal correspondencie of all matters passed before;

40 but was somewhat more attentiu vnto what should be said afterwards amongst them, and could heare nothing contrary vnto honest dealing: vntill at length meeting with one *Hoge Comal* (whom God had made an instrument to disclose their deuillish proiect vnto vs) hee vnderstood the particulars of their bloody intents, by him reuealed. At which *Nazerbeg* was somewhat amazed, and angry with the man, that he did not tell him of it before the goods were brought ashore. Also, the houre appointed of the Ambassadors comming ashore drew neare, which made him feare, lest he should haue come ashore before he should get to our shippe, to forewarne him: but as God would haue it, our Skiffe was yet a filling of water by the sea side; where, when he came, he told our men, that there was treachery plotted against vs ashore: and withall wished them to row him aboard our ship with all the speed they could; and so was brought aboard immediatly, although not one eighth part of an houre too soone: for both the Ambassadour, and all his followers, together with the Captaine of our shippe, and all the chiefe of vs (who were willing to grace his Lordship all we might, for the honour of our Countrey) stood in the ships wasse, ready to go ashore. But *Nazerbeg* bringing these newes, wee were not halfe so

50 hasty in our proceedings, he telling vs what had passed; the chiefe effect whereof was this, That the Vice-Roy, and Gouvernour, did entice so many of vs as they could ashore, of purpose to cut our throats: Which being done, they meant to haue set vpon our ship, and to haue made spoile of all. And further, that they were all Rebels to the King of *Persia*, being present death for any once to name the King of *Persia* in that place. Also, that they had made enquiry of euery particular man in our ship, both of our places, profession and estates: for they had consulted and concluded vpon the Massacre of vs all (except the Chirurgions, Musicians, Women and Boyes) with determination to haue put all the rest to death without mercy. Now, God be thanked, although we vnderstood of their intended plots so sufficiently, whereby we were forewarned to preuention thereof, by arming our selues, (we knew, vnder Gods protection, wee were able to defend vs from receiuing any iniury aboard, notwithstanding their great store of Boats and men,

Baluches persi-  
die.

Hoge Comal.

September 19.

The great trea-  
son of the peo-  
ple of *Guader*  
reuealed.



Fifteene hundred shot of the enimie.

September 30.  
Sic ars deludatur  
ars.

Long knives  
worne by their  
sides.

September 30.

These Baluches  
are Mahumetans.

they hauing at that instant about fifteene hundred shot, besides others) yet we were to seeke how we might procure againe his Lordships goods, and his three men, which were ashore in their custodies. For performance whereof, God, that had thus miraculously deliuered vs from their tyranny, likewise opened our vnderstandings, in so much that wee obtained all, according to our owne desires, in this manner following, *viz.* Whereas they expected the comming ashore of the Ambassadour, his followers, and our Captaine, and vs, accompanied together: we presently sent *Nazerbeg* ashore againe, with directions what he was to doe, and to tell the Vice-Roy, that the Ambassadour was not very well, and therefore deferred his comming till the next morning, which was Munday, the twentieth day of September. Also, to request the Vice-Roy and Gouvernour, that they would send two or three of their Boats very early for him, the women, and the rest of his company, because the ship-boats were too small. And withall, that the Ambassadour did expect to bee receiued by some men of sort from the Vice-Roy, to come in the said Boats, in regard of the King of *Persia* Honor, whose person he did represent. This message being well deliuered tooke effect, and willing grant was made for performance thereof. Which businessse *Nazerbeg* hauing finished, he was to go to the Tent, where the goods were, and to bring out of one of the Trunkes two bagges of money, containing two hundred pound sterling, with some other things of worth, if conueniently hee could without being spied; because they should not suspect that we had discovered any of their villanies. Also, wee gaue him order to returne instantly, and to with the three men to stay still in the Tent, till the next morning, and they should be freed. All which was done accordingly; and not only the said money brought away, but also a Trunck, wherein was the Lady *Sherleyes* apparell (notwithstanding the *Baluches* demanded why that Truncke was brought aboard againe) and were being made, that therein was the Ladies night-cloathing, and that it should bee brought againe the next day: and so passed on for current. Now the Ambassadour made account, that if he could but get one great Trunck more (wherein were things of moment and charge, with his said three men) to lose the rest without care. And for the better bringing to passe hereof without suspicion, we fitted ouer-night a great Chest, and a close-stoole bound and maled vp together with cords, very fast and handsomely: which were filled with billets, rubbish and stones, to make them heauie, to bee left in the place of that Truncke which should be brought aboard: and the three men should come forth of the Tent, with each of them their instruments of musicke in their hands. And for excuse, if the *Baluches* should demand why they brought that Truncke aboard againe, answer should bee made it was one of the Merchants, and it was mistaken. Likewise, if they demanded why the men came aboard againe, answer should be made, that his Lordship did send for them, to accompany him ashore with their musicke. So all being ready, the next morning very early, wee perceiving the three Boats comming aboard to fetch his Lordship, according to promise, presently manned our Skiffe, and sent her ashore, to put our plot in execution: whereby wee hoped to catch them in the same snare that they had laid for vs. And in the meane time we receiued the three Boats of men into our shippe, with entertainment requisite: wherein came about fortie or fiftie persons; but not about seuen or eight of any reckoning, whereof our friend *Hoge Comal* was one, the rest Slaues and Fisher-men. We kept them in talke, and much conference of by-matters, to passe away the time, because our Skiffe might returne before we did meddle with them. Amongst which talke, one of them earnestly requested vs, as from the Vice-Roy, that we would carry our *Slurbow* ashore with vs, he being very desirous to see it. So we smoothed them in their desires. And not long after, we espied our Skiffe returning, with her successe, which, God be thanked, fell out prosperously: For they did not only bring the three men, and the Truncke, but also one chiefe man of the *Baluches*, whom *Nazerbeg* inticed aboard. And so soone as hee was entred into the ship, hee, with the rest, desired to see our Gun-roome, wherein, hee knew (by intelligence) we had all our fire-workes, they standing in much feare thereof, especially of our *Slurbow*, with the fiery Arrowes; which fell out fit for our purpose. For wee had meant to haue sent them downe thither, to take away their knives which they wore by their sides. So all the chiefe of them being gone downe into the Gun-roome, and our ship fitted, with euery one of vs our weapons in our hands, we diuided our selues, some about the Deckes, some betwixt, and others, as was needful, in the Gun-roome, to lay hold of the Traytors (so soone as the word should be giuen) to take away from them their long knives: all which was done in an instant, without any disquietnesse or resistance. Then we began to parle with them vpon plaine termes, laying open to them their bloodie intents: also telling them, that their liues lay in our hands, and they were now themselves caught in the same snare, which they had plotted for vs: and that if wee serued them rightly, wee should cut them in pieces, as they had determined to serue vs. All which, they, like stony-faced *Mahumetans* denied. So we kept sixe of them, which were the chiefe, with two of their Boats, the rest of the crew we sent ashore, being all, for the most part, naked Rascalls, except one, to whom we deliuered a message in particular, to tell the Vice-Roy and Gouvernour, That vnlesse he would send vs aboard all our goods, and things wee had ashore, without one peny-worth diminished, wee would carry away those men we had aboard for satisfaction. This message being deliuered to the Vice-Roy and Gouvernour, they presently sent



sent answer backe againe, by the same messenger we sent: that if wee would release the *Balu-ches*, then they would send vs all our goods againe; and with many lame excuses, would make vs beleue they meant vs no hurt. Whereupon, presently in the sight of the messengers, we clapped them all in Irons, and writ one letter to the Vice-Roy, and the Prisoners wrote another (both tending to one effect) in the *Persian* Language: threatening the liues of those Prisoners, if they did not send vs all our goods, as aforesaid, and that without delay, within the space of two houres at the most: to which purpose we set vp the running glasse, before the messenger departed out of the shippe, because he should make the more speed backe againe. By these sharpe meanes, we vrged them forthwith to returne all our goods againe, in very ample manner, as we desired. Which being receiued into the ship, wee freed both the men and Boats, and sent them away according to promise: only one named *Malin-Simsadin*, who, by *Hodge Comal*, was discovered to be a good Pilot for *Sinde* and *Cambaya*; we kept with vs for the same purpose, conditionally to reward him according to his deserts. They stay a Pilot for *Sinde*.

Thus with Gods assistance (to whom bee alwayes endlesse praise for our happie deliuerance) we had dispatched all this intricate businesse, by six of the clocke in the euening, being the twentieth day of September: and set saile from hence the same night, with our new Pilot and *Hodge Comal* (who came aboard from amongst the cursed crew, to saue his life) for *Sinde*: because wee would be sure to auoyd all insuing inconueniences there, which they might attempt by their future circumuentions. And in our way to *Sinde*, we had much conference with *Hodge Comal*, our good friend, of whose company we did much esteeme. He was borne at *Dabul*, but his Father was a *Persian* by his profession, he was a Church-man of that Sect, and had some skill in Chirurgerie and Physicke, for which vse he was resident in the Gouvernours Tent: and by this meanes he ouer-heard all that passed. And excusing his comming aboard for certaine Oyntments, which our Surgeons had promised him, hee told vs that when hee heard of their intents, his heart was full of bemoaning compassion, to thinke that we should come like innocent sheepe, to the slaughter of such butcherly Bloud-suckers: and therefore he perceiued well, that God would haue him reueale it. And he further told vs, that to his knowledge, they had betrayed three ships before in the like manner; and that they were all rebels to the King of *Persia*, denying to pay the Tribute, which both they and their Ancestors had formerly done. Wherefore, the King of *Persia* had leuyed a great Armie of Souldiers, not farre from *Guader* of purpose, to come vpon that Countrey the next Winter.

This Countrey *Macquerona*, is bordering close vpon the *Persian* Land, beeing part of the Maine Continent of *Asia*: and *Guader* Port standeth in about twentie five degrees of North latitude, and the variation seuentene degrees fiftene minutes; good anchorage betweene foure and five fathomes.

The one and twentieth of September at night, our *Baluche* Pilot brought our ship in danger of a shoale: where we were inforced to chop to an anchor, till the next morning.

The foure and twentieth at night, as we lay a hull (because we were not farre from Cape *Camelo*) there passed close by vs a *Portugall* Frigat bound for *Sinde*: which at the first wee supposed to haue beene a Galley, and therefore armed our selues for defence.

### §. III.

*Their comming to Diuulginde landing the Embassadour, seeking Trade, and crossed by the slanderous Portugals, going to Sumatra and Bantam; and returne.*

**H**E six and twentieth, we came to an anchor right before the mouth of the Riuer *Sinde*, with directions of a Pilot, which we had out of one of the Fisher-boats which were fishing there. We roade in a foot lesse then five fathome water (the Riuer's mouth bearing East & by North) in very good ground: and is in the latitude of twentie foure degrees and thirtie eight minutes, to the Northward of the Equinoctiall Line, the variation is sixteene degrees fortie five minutes.

The mouth of the Riuer *Sinde* in 24. degrees 38. minutes in the *Mogols* Dominions: Variation 16. degrees 45. minutes.

Hereupon the same day the Ambassadour sent two of his people ashore, to speake with the Gouvernour concerning his Lordships comming ashore: and to tell him his intent, to haue passage through that Countrey into *Persia*. Which Gouvernour, named *Arab Manewardus* beeing of *Diul*, was very willing to welcome the Ambassadour, and to shew him all the kindnesse hee could (for the loue he professed to the King of *Persia*) both in his Royall entertainment, and passage through his Countrey, or Iurisdiction: and sent a principall man aboard vs, accompanied with five or sixe more to welcome his Lordship, with many Complements, assuring him of kind entertainment.

So presently, there were Boates sent for from *Diul*, to carrie him, his people, and his goods ashore, which came on the nine and twentieth of this instant: vpon which day, we were clea-



Tatta a great  
citie one dayes  
iourney from  
Diul.

red both of him and his (both in number and health) as when they first entred into our ship: and for his farewell, eleuen Peeces of Ordnance were shot off from our ship. Also *Simsadin*, our treacherous *Balnche* Pilot, wee set ashore at the same time (beeing intreated of the *Gusurats*) notwithstanding his desert to haue bene set in the Sea, in that hee would haue cast vs away twice: whereof, once by himselfe, and another time by his Deuillish counsell giuen to another Pilot, which we had of the Fisher-boates here. At the Ambassadors departing out of the ship the Captaine deliuered him a fine piece double locked, to present the Gouvernour of *Tata*, a great Citie one dayes journey from *Diul*, both Cities standing in the Great *Mogols* Dominions. Also we intreated his Lordship, that hee would send vs word how he found the Countrey, and whether we might haue trade there or not: and withall deliuered his Lordship a note in writing, to what we chiefly desired. They Copie whereof doth follow.

*Inprimis*, that our comming hither to this Port, as it is purposely to land your Lordship, so withall we haue brought certaine Commodities and Money, to the end if we obtaine safe protection for quiet and peaceable Trade, we may make sale of such and so much of our Commodities as shalbe fitting: otherwise we desire but leaue to refresh, and so depart. Likewise, if the Gouvernour please, that we may settle a Factorie heere, we also desire it: and although now wee are but slenderly provided, yet, hereafter we will bring such store, and sorts of Commodities, as shalbe most required and conueniently vented in this Port.

The Commodities we now haue brought are these, viz.

20

**E**lephants Teeth. Fine Peeces. Lead in Barres. *Morses* Teeth. Tinne in Barres. Some Rials of Plate.

A Portugall  
Liedzer in Diul  
His slander of  
the English.

The thirtieth of September, the Ambassadour had audience with the Gouvernour of *Diul* concerning all his businesse, vnto whom he shewed the King of *Persians* Firma, as also the King of *Spaines* Passe, thinking thereby to satisfie and resolue the iealous doubts of the *Portugals* Liedger there, (who reported, vpon intelligence from *Ormuz*, that *Don Roberto Sherley* was come forth of *England* with three shippes into the *Indies* of purpose to steale) but they peremptorily denyed credence to any Writing hee shewed them, saying, it was neither their Kings hand, nor Seale. For if it were, they could not be ignorant thereof, considering they knew it so well: and further said, it was counterfeit. Whereat the Ambassadour was much moued to impatience, and replied againe vnto them, saying, that it was meere folly to shew them any Kings hand or Seale: for they had no King, and therefore could not know it. And that they were a waste Nation only subdued, and brought vnder subiection perforce by the King of *Spaine*, and were scruile both to him and his subiects. Notwithstanding the *Portugals* were not danted, but stood stiffely in their former opinions: and said, that he had two ships more in the *Indies*. Then *Arach Manewardus* spake in the Ambassadors behalfe, rebuking them sharply for such vnseemely contradictions of the *Persian* Ambassadour: and so concluded, absenting the *Portugals* out of the roome. Afterward the Ambassadour made a speech vnto the said Gouvernour and assembly, concerning the admittance of vs into his Port, to trade (according to directions, giuen his Lordship from vs, as aforesaid) which was very kindly imbraced of the Gouvernour: with willingness to do therein what he might, all inconueniences vnderstood. For which purpose he willed the Ambassadour to send for one or two Merchants from aboard, to conferre with him vpon the same. Whereupon the Ambassadour wrote a Letter vnto vs, by two of his people, who came aboard our ship on the second of October 1613. in the morning: by which Letter we perceiued his Lordships proceedings in our desired businesse with the Gouvernour, with assurance for our safe going and returne: being in such good sort and fashion, that our hopes were great in establishing a trade there, if not a Factorie: especially to make sale of the small quantitie of goods which wee now brought. Wherefore Master *Ioseph Salbancke*, and my selfe, fitted our selues with the aduice of the Captaine and others in our ship, and went ashore in one of the Countrey Boates the same morning about eight of the clocke, our ship riding about foure or fise miles from the riuers mouth, from whence we had fiftene miles to the Citie *Diul*, where the Ambassadour was, so that it was late in the euening the same day before we landed.

Ioseph Salbancke  
and Walter Payson.

Portugals slanderous policies

And in our way we met with a *Portugall* Frigate bound for *Ormuz*, which I saw went to carrie newes of our ships being there: because none of their ships (which were daily expected) should come till we were gone. This Frigate came close by our shippe, and tooke view of her, and so departed. Now when we were landed, there came three or foure *Portugals* vnto vs, demanding if we had brought any goods ashore, and such like questions: to whom wee made no reply, making shew that we vnderstood them not, because we might vnderstand them for our aduantage, if occasion serued. Then there came another *Portugall* (who spake the *Dutch* Tongue very perfectly) telling me many things concerning the people and Countrey, all tending to disgrace, in an idle and friuolous manner: thinking thereby to dissuade vs from desiring Trade there. Not long after, the Officers of the Custome-house came and conducted vs vp to the Castle, where the Gouvernour dwelt, who we thought would haue spoken with vs that night, but did not, because

60



it was so late: yet the Officers (being for the most part *Banians*, and spake good *Portuguse*) searched every part about vs for money, not leauing so much as our shooes vnsearched. Which being done, and peceiuing vs to take it strangely, they prayed vs to be contented, for it was the order of that place. To which I answered, that although the *Portugals* might giue them cause to ordaine so bad a fashion, yet *English* Merchants did not, Meazle like, hide money in their shooes: but notwithstanding, we were therewith contented. Then the *Gouernours* Seruants came to vs, excusing it likewise, saying, that he was displeased thereat. And so they brought a great light, and directed vs from the Castle, vnto the house where Sir Robert Sherley, the *Persian* Ambassadour did lodge: to whom wee found our selues very welcome, and lodged there all the time of our abode in *Diu*, expence free. The *Portugals* seeing vs landed, and hearing that wee were to treat with the *Gouernour* about the setting of Trade there, did nothing all this time but (like enuious and lying Malignants) spread clamorous and scandalous speeches, in disgrace of our King, Nation, and Countrey: reporting that we were theeues, and not Merchandizers, but liued chiefly by robbing of other Nations on the Seas.

The malice of the *Portugals*.

October 3.

The third of October in the morning, the *Gouernour* sent the Ambassadour word, that in the afternoone he would haue speech with vs. In the meane while, wee had intelligence that the *Portugals* were labouring all they could with him, and others, to preuent our intertainment: both by offering him gratifications if he would refuse vs, and by threatning to be gone, if he did receiue vs, alledging as before, that they would not trade where theeues did trade. Neuerthelesse, according to our expectations, the *Gouernour* sent for vs; and withall commanded foure great horses gallantly trapped, to be brought vnto the Embassadours house, for his Lordship, Sir Thomas Powell, Master Salbancke, and my selfe; also a certaine company of his seruants, to conduct vs to the Castle: also all the Embassadours followers went with him, each of them carrying an Halbert on their shoulders.

They goe to the Castle in honourable fashion.

Their entertainment at the Castle.

Thus we rode through some part of the Citie, wherein the people in euery street came flocking to see vs, they hauing of long time heard talke of *Englishmen*; but neuer had seene any before now: for we were the first that euer came into that part of the Countrey. When we came to the Castle, we were receiued very orderly, and directed through some spacious roomes, (where souldiours were standing on each side as we went in rankes, cloathed all in white linnen from head to foot) vp to an high Turret, wherein the *Gouernour*, and some other were set: who at our entrance arose, and saluted vs, bidding vs kindly welcome. Then we all sat downe together round vpon the Carpets, which were spread vpon the floare according to their fashion. Then the *Gouernour* againe said, we were very welcome, and that he was glad to see *Englishmen* in those parts; and proceeded to further talke concerning our businesse, and told vs (whereas wee desired trade) the *Portugals* would not consent that we should driue any trade, or haue to doe where they were, threatning to be gone if he did entertaine vs. Notwithstanding, if he could be assured of a greater benefit to arise by our trade then by theirs, he would not care if they did forsake him: for hee did well affect our Nation. But in the meane time, he hauing farmed the customes of that Port from the King, vnto whom he stood bound for the payment of certaine summes of money yeerly for the same, whether it came in or not: it behooued him carefully, to be circumspect in ordering those busineses, whereby to auoid the Kings Highnesse displeasure; which vnhappily might fall out to his vtter ouerthrow and vndoing.

This King is the Great *Mogol*.

A *Rupia* is two shillings, or somewhat more, and a Leck is 100000.

And then he began to tell vs further, that the custome of the *Portugals* trade, together with their meanes in letting out their ships to *Guzerates* and *Banians*, amounted vnto a Leck of *Rupias* yeerely, which is tenne thousand pound sterling. Then he demaunded of vs, what sorts of Commodities we had now brought, and the quantities of each; also what store of money? All which we answered him, a little more or lesse, and withall told him, that although now we brought but small quantities, yet wee could furnish that Port at our next returne, with any Commodities whatsoeuer the *Portugals* did bring; and such a quantitie of each, as we should perceiue requisite and fitting to be vented there. Of this he liked well, and asked in what time we could returne from our Countrey thither againe? We answered him, in about twenty two moneths. So hee concluded, saying, That in regard of our small stocke, the *Portugals* would both laugh at him, and vs, if we should be entertained now. Wherefore, he wished vs to deferre it vntill our next coming, and in the meane time he would giue vs a writing vnder his hand and seale, thereby to assure vs of entertainment at our next coming, conditionally, that we come provided as aforesaid, and we to leaue him another writing, to assure him that our ship should not molest any of the King of *Mogors* ships, goods, nor subiects; which we agreed vnto: withall requesting him, that although hee would not receiue vs whereby to establish a trade now; yet that he would permit vs to make sale of those goods we now had: which in no wise he would grant, for feare of offending the *Portugals*, alledging as before. Then we desired him that wee might haue water, and other refreshing for our money, and we would depart so soone as we could. For this he said, that so soone as we did send him our writing aforesaid, he would both send vs another, and giue order to his Officers for the same: but he would not haue the *Portugals* to know thereof. So we seeing no remedie, demaunded of him what sorts of commodities he would haue vs bring thither; all



also what Commodities that countrey did afford: who answered these, viz.

Broad cloath of diuers prices, and light colours, as Stammels, Reds, Greenes, and Sky-colours, and Aniles, Blewes, and Azures, &c. Elephants teeth, Iron, Tinne, Lead, Steele, Spices, Mony. These Commodities are to be carried for *Sinde*.

*Commodities to be had there.*

**I**ndigo of *Labor*. Indigo of *Cherques*. Callicoes all sorts. Pintadoes of all sorts. *Guserat* and *Cambaya*. Commodities of all sorts, with many sorts of Drugges.

Then wee tooke our leaues of him and parted, returning to the Embassadours house againe, where I framed a Letter, and sent him according to our promise, signed by M. *Salbancke*, and my selfe; and receiued another from him likewise, which was in the *Persian* language, much like the *Hebrew* Letter backward: the *English* whereof was interpreted to vs by the Ambassadour; as followeth, viz. 10

**W**Hereas here arrived at this Port of *Diul*, in the Kingdom of *Mugore*, one English ship called the Expedition, whereof is Captaine Christopher Newport, and Merchants, Ioseph *Salbancke* and Walter Peyton, to land Don Robert Sherley, the King of *Persians* Embassadour, who desired grant of trade in this Port (being vnder my gouernment) which willingly I would haue graunted, but onely for preiudiciall inconueniences insuing: for they brought not merchandize, sitting in quantitie to begin such trade: neither the Portugals by whose trade at present I reape benefit, would consent thereto, threatening to bee gone if I did receiue the English Nation. So that thereby, I should haue bene left destitute of all trade, whereof those Summes of Money doe arise yearly, which I am bound to pay vnto the Kings Maestie: and in default therein, I should put in hazard his Highnesse displeasure, to my utter overthrow and undoing. Yet notwithstanding, for the loue I owe vnto the King of *Persia*, by whose Embassadour I am requested, and the affection I beare vnto the English Nation; together with the faithfull performance of their writings, left with me vnder their hands and scales, of the two Merchants aforesaid, (which is not to molest or meddle with any of the said Kings shippes, goods nor subiects, in the time of this their Voyage, in the shippe aforesaid) I haue giuen them this writing vnder mine owne hand and scale: hereby promising the English Nation (that if they will come like themselves, so fitted that I may aduantage my selfe more by them, then by the Portugals) infallible assurance of intertainment to trade, with such reasonable grant of Priuiledges as we shall agree vpon. Dated in *Diul* the third day of October, Anno 1613. 20

Signed, Arah Manewardus.

Sealed with Incke. 30

The fourth of October, we receiued the writing from the Gouvernour, together with order to his Officers for our watering and refrething: and then wee hastened to retorne aboard our ship againe. And a little before our departure, the Ambassadour fell into discourse with vs, about the procuring of a *Firma* from the King of *Magore*: and withall, wished Master *Salbanck* to go along with him for *Agra* (which is the chiefe place where the great *Mogoll* keepeth his Court) and he would warrant vs, that he would procure the same in very short time: especially now, at this so fit an opportunitie offered, both in regard of his businesse with the *Mogoll*, as also the willingnesse of *Arah Manewardus*, to entertaine vs at this Port: which opportunitie being let slip, we should neuer obtaine the like; his Lordship protesting and vowing to doe his best endeavour therein, and shew himselfe a true hearted English man towards his Countrey, howsoever the Company of Merchants (he said) did conceit him. And further, that Master *Salbanck* should be an eye-witnesse of his constant and faithfull proceeding therein, to doe the Merchants good, in obtaining the said *Firma*: not only for *Diul*, but also for any other part in the *Mogolls* Dominions: and also should bring it for *England* ouer-land himselfe. All which being grounded vpon some reason, and Master *Salbanck* hauing been in those parts before, hee was willing to vnder- take: Provided, he might haue the consent of the Captaine, my selfe, and others in the ship. To which purposes, the Ambassadour writ a letter to the Captaine, perswading his consent thereto, and sent it aboard by vs. 40

So we parted from *Diul* this day in the after-noone, and when we came to the Riuer side to take Boat, there flocked about vs many of the Countrey people: also there came downe to vs about a dozen of the enuious Portugals, who began to talke with vs in *Dutch*, as before, demanding of vs many friuolous questions: which, when I had answered, I spake in their owne language, (because the *Banians* which were there present, might vnderstand) and told them that they were a shamelesse and lying people, in spreading of so many deuised scandals, and slanderous reports of our Nation; vnto whom they knew themselves much inferiour in many respects; and that they did it only in malicious policie, because they would not haue vs to trade in the *Indies*, as well as they. Also I told them, that if they did not containe themselves within the compasse of better peace, reforming themselves hereafter, both in their sayings and doings, they should be all rooted out of the *Indies*, and a more honest and Royall Nation placed in their roomes. Then one of the chiefe of them singled out himselfe, and answered thus: That they had enemies too many already, and therefore they desired no more. And as for scandalous speeches they did not deny 60



deny, being vrged thereunto : for not long past, off from *Surat*, they had a ship taken by *English* men, as they supposed : to which I answered them, that it might bee rather the *Hollanders*. So they concluded, in the end very plyant and sociable, wishing that we might trade in all parts of the *Indies* with them, and they with vs, like neighbours and friends ; and that there were some agreement made betwixt our King and theirs, for the bringing to passe thereof. Thus they taking their leaues of vs in very kind manner, we parted.

The sixt, we arriued aboard our ship againe, where it was agreed vpon, that Master *Salbank* should goe, as aforesaid, with the Ambassadour for *Agra*. Wherefore he fitted himselfe, thinking to haue gone ashore the next day ; and in the meane time, the Captaine sent the Purser and his man to buy fresh victualls, and prouision for the Sea : who, when they came to the Citie, were by the Gouvernour presently turned backe againe as they went ; and expresse command by Proclamation, vpon paine of death, the Country people should bring no more *English* men ashore. These sudden and strange alterations made vs much to maruell ; for wee could neuer know the certaintie whereupon it grew, or what should be the cause.

All the time of our being heere at *Sinde*, we could neuer vnderstand of any trade settled at *Surat* : for if we had, we might haue taken other courses. The Ambassador had aboute seuen moneths journey, (from *Sinde* to *Spahann* in *Persia*) by Carauan ; or if he procured to trauell otherwise, then it is one moneth lesse.

They depart from *Sinde*.

The ninth, we set saile from hence, directing our course, with Gods leaue, for *Sumatra*.

20 The twentieth of Nouember, we came to an anchor in the Roade of *Priaman*, where we went in betwixt the two Northermost little Ilands, and anchored close by the Northermost of them both in fise fathome water. And in the meane time wee beat the price of Pepper at *Priaman*, and brought it from two and twentie Rials, to seuentene Rials a Bahar, first peny : at which price we bought two Bahars, which were brought aboard our ship. But the Gouvernour, although we had presented him with a piece, would not suffer vs to take an house, nor to buy any Pepper ashore, vnlesse wee would bestow some twentie Presents vpon the Officers and Merchants there.

Nouember 20.  
*Priaman*.

30 The two and twentieth, we receiued a letter from Captaine *Christen*, out of the *Hosiander* at *Tecoo*, earnestly wishing vs to come to *Tecoo* with our ship, so soone as we could, and wee should not faile to lade so much Pepper as we determined, and that in short time. And because we were not well acquainted with this place ; Captaine *Christen* sent one of his Masters Mates, named *Richard Hall*, to Pilot vs into the Roade, by reason of many dangerous shoalds that lye about *Tecoo*.

40 The eight and twentieth, we came to an anchor in *Tecoo* Road, in foure fathom water, where *Richard Hall* returned aboard the *Hosiander*, and being troubled with the Fluxe, dyed the same night. Now we being come to *Tecoo*, found all things contrary to our expectation. For, whereas before our comming hither, the Countrey people offered their Pepper to Captaine *Christen* after twelue and thirteene Rials a Bahar, in trucke of *Surat* commodities ; they now demanded two and twentie Rials ready money, refusing to trucke with him at all for commodities. Also, heere they demanded as many presents, as they of *Priaman* ; besides seuentie two Rials of plate for anchorage. So that we were now worse to passe then before, and time not permitting vs to make delay, we grew into short termes with them : and told them, that although wee did not buy a Cattee of Pepper there, wee would not agree, nor yeeld vnto their vnreasonable demands. And withall, I framed a letter, as from the Captaine, by him firmed and conigned to the chiefe Gouvernour, shewing him that they did not vie our Nation so well, as we did expect at their hands, both in regard of their vniust demanding of presents ; (which we did not vially giue by compulsion, but either for affection or deseruing) and also their vnreasonable delaying the performance of their promises, falling out to be so vncertaine, that wee could not account them to bee Merchant-like dealings. For our ships haue stayed there diuers times, three, foure or fise moneths, 50 only depending vpon their posting promises, to haue their full lading ; which might haue beene as well dispatched in one moneth, with that small quantitie of Pepper which they had. This letter was *Englished* by the *Hosianders* Linguist (named *John*, an *Indian*, who spake the language very well) vnto the chiefe Gouvernour : who hereupon gaue present order, that wee might buy Pepper of any man that would sell. And withall sent a messenger aboard our ship, to wish one of vs to come ashore, and it should be weighed there. But we doubting their delayes, accepted not thereof ; and therefore sent him word againe, that wee could not stay so long, as to weigh it ashore : if they would bring it aboard and weigh it, we would giue them eightene Rials a Bahar for their Pepper, and two Rials vpon each Bahar, for the custome and Gouvernour, being iust 60 twentie Rials, conditionally they would bring it aboard ; otherwise we would not stay. So they lingring somewhat long before they came, we set saile, making shew to depart : which the Gouvernour perceiuing, forthwith sent another messenger (who spake the *Portuguese* language indifferently well) to entreate vs to come to an anchor againe, and wee should haue as much Pepper brought aboard immediatly as we would lade : which we did, and they came as fast with Prawes lading of Pepper, as conueniently we could weigh it : and so continued for the space of three or foure

*Tecoo*.

December 2;  
1613.



- four days, till they had brought about some two hundred Bahars, and then began to slack their bringing. Which we perceiuing, and fearing to spend ouer-much time heere (lest we should lose the seasons of the Monsons) we departed for *Bantam*.
- December 8. The eight of December, we set saile from *Tecoo*, where we left three of our men in the *Hof-ander*, their necessitie so requiring. In our course to *Bantam*, for the most part, we sailed within sight of *Sumatra*.
- The sixteenth, at our entrance into the Straights of *Sunda*, being the sixteenth of this present, we met with the *Dragon* bound homeward, by whom we writ home.
- They arrive in *Bantam* Road. The seuenteenth, wee brought our ship to an anchor in *Bantam* Road: where wee presently went ashore, to prouide her lading. On the nine and twentieth, we made an end of lading our whole complement. 10
- January 2. The second of January, we set saile from *Bantam* for *England*, not hauing lost one man by sickness in all our Voyage hitherto; for which, God make vs thankfull. Also this day, as we were going out by *Pulo Pan Ian*, wee met with Generall *Saris* in the *Cloane*, come from *Iapan*: for whole letters, and the deliury of foure chests, the Captaine cast anchor againe. Also we spared him two of our men, namely, *Mortimer Prittie* Yonker, and *Thomas Valens*, one of our Carpenters Mates whereof they stood much in need; for they had not one Carpenter left aliue. Thus hauing also dispatched these businesses with the *Cloane*, we set saile once againe for *England*, on the fourth of this present.
- General *Saris* in the *Cloane*, come from *Iapan*. The one and twentieth, we came to an anchor in *Saldanha* Bay: where wee had sheepe and 20 Bullocks reasonable store, besides great abundance of fresh fish, which we caught with our Sayne in the Riuer.
- March 21. The Bay of *Saldanha*. On the ninth of Aprill, we departed, and then we had prosperous winds, which continued vntill we came in the latitude of about three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall Line, which we passed vnder on the eleuenth of May, finding our ship then to be in two and twentie minutes North latitude. Hereabouts many of our men began to fall sicke, some of the Scuruie and swelling in their legges. The tenth of Iuly, we came to an anchor in the Downes in safetie, God be euer praised.
- Aprill 9. May 11. After this twelfth Voyage, the order of that reckoning is altered, because the Voyages ensuing were set forth by a ioynt stocke, and not by particular and proper ships, stockes, Factories, (as before) but promiscuous and generally accountable to the whole societie. Of which, all are not come to our hands: such as I haue (that which thence is meete for the publike view) giue I thee. 30

## CHAP. XI.

*Extracts of the Iournall of Captaine NICHOLAS DOWNTON, who was employed chiefe Commander in the second Voyage set forth for the ioynt Stockes in the East-Indies, by the Gouvernour, Deputie, and Committees of that Societie. Wherein is related their happie successe against the Vice-Roy, and all the Indian sea forces of the Portugalls, by force and cunning attempting their destruction.* 40

## p. I.

*Their comming to Soldania, Socatora, Swally: Disagreements betweene the Mogoll and Portugalls, and the Nabob and vs.*



He Shippes employed were the *New-yeeres-gift*, Admirall, of burthen sixe hundred and fiftie tunnes: The *Hector*, Vice-Admirall, of five hundred tunnes: The *Merchants Hope*, of three hundred tunnes, and the *Salomon*, of two hundred tunnes. Master *William Edwards* was Lieutenant and Cape Merchant, and Commander of the *Hector*: Master *Nicholas Ensworth* Cape Merchant and Commander of the *Merchants Hope*: Master *Thomas Elkington* Cape Merchant, and Commander of the *Salomon*: Master *Peter Rogers* Minister, *Martin Pring*, *Arthur Spaight*, *Matthew Molineux* and *Hugh Bennet*, Masters of the foure Shippes, assisted with diuers Mates. 60

The



The first of March 1613. we set saile. On Wednesday the fifteenth of June 1614. we anchored in the Road of *Saldania*, and were welcommed with a great storm. *John Barter* by along Feuer bereaved of his vnderstanding, was suddenly missing, and by former speeches of his it seemed that he made himselfe away, whiles euery one was busie in mooring the ship, and none looking after him.

The sixteenth, wee got all in readinesse for erecting our Tents, which was that day effected, and a Guard placed for their reliefe.

On the seuenteenth, we landed halfe our Caske to be trimmed and seasoned. *Choree* the *Saldanian* presented me with a young Steere.

The eighteenth, we landed more of our Beere Caske to be washed, trimmed and seasoned, and supplied the wants of our men labouring about our Boates: also this day (*Choree*) the *Saldanian* departed from vs, carrying with him his Copper Armour and Iauelin, with all things belonging to him, promising to come againe to vs the third day after, but he neuer came againe.

*Choree* and his  
Copper Ar-  
mour.

The nine and twentieth, I sent *George Downeton* on land to obserue both the latitude and variation of this place, in regard of the great difference in our variations wee had found betweene my former Voyage in the *Pepper-Corne*, and this present Voyage: the latitude he found was thirtie foure degrees, and no odde minutes, and the variation one degree and fortie five minutes by an Azimuth, being Westerly variation, whereas for the most part all formerly haue made Easterly variation. This night wee dissolued our Tents and brought all our things aboard, and made readie our ship against the next day to depart, which we did accordingly.

Note for the  
variation at  
the Bay.

The sixt of August, we came to an anchor in the Bay of *Saint Augustine*, in *Saint Laurence* Iland. But on sight of our comming the Inhabitants abandoned the place, that wee could haue no speech with them: we cut straight Timber for diuers vses. And afterwards wee got some refreshing of them. On the twelfth, we set saile.

The ninth of September, wee anchored in the Bay of *Delisa* in *Socotora*. The next day wee went on shore to salute the King, who was readie with his troupe to giue me entertainment, and told me of the Warres at present in *India*, the *Mogoll* and Kings of *Decanie* ioyning to roote the *Portugals* out of the Countrey. The reason whereof was, their taking of a shippe which came from *Iedda* in the Red Sea, wherein was three millions of Treasure. Hee also informed mee of Captaine *Bests* two great fights with the *Portugals*, with other newes of those parts. Heere I procured what refreshing wee could get, and bought of the King *Alloes*, two thousand seuen hundred twentie two pounds, and on the fourteenth departed.

This ship was  
the *Hassanie*.

The second of October, we had sight of land being on the Coast of *Decany* neere *Dabul*. Wee found great hinderance, till by obseruation we were taught to stay the ebbes and ply the floods.

The twelfth, we againe weighed and plyed the floods, and anchored the ebbes till the fourteenth day in the euening, and then anchored two miles and an halfe short of the Barre, where presently came a fleet of Frigats being fourteene saile and anchored neere vs, discovering themselves by their lights being darke: but seeing our readinesse by the lights out of our Ports, durst come no neerer vnto vs, so we rid quietly all night.

*Portugall* Fri-  
gats.

The fifteenth, early in the morning we weighed with the land-turne, and approaching somewhat neere them, they also weighed and stood to the South-wards, and wee held on our course by the Barre towards South *Swally*, where soone after we arrived after much struing against contrary winds. As soone as I anchored I sent Master *Molineux* in his Pinnasse, and Master *Spooner*, and *Samuell Squire* in my *Gellymatte* to sound the depths within the sands. Master *Molineux* tooke a Channel in which in our former Voyage we had but five foot at low water, but now found three fathomes water, and Master *Spooner* found that where our Boats could not passe formerly by reason of shoalds, he had now seuen and eight foot water. In the after-noone, I seeing people ashore sent my Pinnasse to them, supposing some of our Merchants had beene come from *Surat*: but found otherwise to be some people of *Cogenozan* sent downe to discover what Nation we were; two of which came aboard to me, by whom I vnderstood further of their Warres with the *Portugals*; they besieged *Damon* and *Diu*, and that *Mocrib Can* was Generall of the *Mogols* forces against *Damon*, and also to my grieve, I vnderstood that he was Gouvernour, and as Vice-roy not onely ouer *Surat*, but also ouer all the Countrey neere about it; I esteeming him to be the greatest Aduersary to our Nation, and one that most fauoured the *Portugals*. This was my settled conceit by former experience. I vnderstood of the health of Master *Aldworth* and the rest, to whom I writ to hasten his presence, and sent it away by *Baly Ball*, together with the other Seruants of *Cogenozan*.

South *Swally*.

*Cogenozan*.

The sixteenth, in the morning early I sent my Purser and Pinnasse on land to buy such Commodities as I supposed might be brought, who about ten a clocke without buying any thing for our turne, returned with Master *Aldworth* our chiefe Merchant at *Surat*, and in his company one *Richard Steele* who came by land from *Aleppo* to *Surat*. Master *Aldworth* strived to perfwade me that *Mocrib Can* the *Nabob* was our friend, and that now was the best time by reason of their Warres (with the *Portugals*) for vs to obtaine good trade and all Priuiledges that in reason wee could demand; and for that both he and all the Countrey people did so much reioyce at our comming, therefore of necessitie could not but giue vs Royall entertainment. I liking all their hope-  
full

M. *Aldworth*  
and *Steele*.



The significa-  
tion of *Mocrib*  
*Chan*.

*Paul Canning* &  
*Thomas Ker-*  
*ridge* Agents at  
the *Mogols*  
Court.

Jesuits cour-  
tesie.

The *Mogollis-*  
le respects  
Merchants.

Present for the  
*Nabob*, or Go-  
vernour.

*Banian* Super-  
stition.

full words, yet euer wishing some other in his place, and that *Mocrib Can* had beene further a-  
way, of whom I rested still in doubt, that we should haue no free trade but according to his ac-  
customed manner; and to see and to be priue to all that euer past, and restraine all others, which  
then I tooke to bee an iniurie forced by him to crosse vs, and not by the direction of the King,  
which in time, though too late, we were better aduised. And notwithstanding the remembrance  
of his name giuen him by the King, *Mocrib*, which is as much as his *owne bowels*, and *Chan* which  
is as much as *great Lord*. Yet I was too much deluded by being perswaded that his state in fauer of  
the King stood tottering, and might easily be made subiect to any disgrace, by any complaint of  
things done contrary to the will or humour of the King, which made vs somewhat too bold and  
thereby preiudice to our businesse when we found him opposite to our wils, and as wee thought  
contrary to reason. I inquiring of the state of our businesse, and the health of our people, Master  
*Aldworth* informed that *Paul Canning* and diuers others were long since dead, and that *Thomas*  
*Kerridge* had long since resided at Court in his roome, and that there was no more Factors but  
only himselfe and *William Bedulph* at *Surat*.

The seuenteenth, in the morning I called a Councell to aduise of all things heere to bee effe-  
cted, and who fittest to send to *Agra* to remayne as Liedger there, and then entring into the fixe  
Interrogatory Articles included in the second Article of our Commission, requiring Master *Ald-*  
*worths* direct answers to euery question should be demanded.

The first, in what fauour *Paul Canning* was with the Emperour and his Councell, and how he  
carried himselfe in the businesse at Court that was committed vnto him. Hee answered, that at  
his first comming to Court, hee was well respected by the Emperour, vntill such time as the Je-  
suites made knowne he was a Merchant, and not sent immediately from the King: but after-  
wards he was neglected as himselfe complained, and for his carriage there, Master *Aldworth* saith  
that for any thing he knoweth, it was sufficient and well.

The third, then demanding whether needfull to maintaine one as Liedger at Court, his an-  
swere was, not only necessarie, but also by the King required, that one of our Nation doe reside  
there, and therefore fitting to be a man of good respect for preuenting and righting any wrongs  
that may be offered by the Iesuites our Aduersaries, as also by his direction may stand in great  
stead for the buying or selling of Commodities.

The sixth, concerning the charge of him that should reside at Court, hee saith to bee about 30  
three hundred pounds *per annum*, by *Paul Cannings* estimate, but some-while after when his Wri-  
tings came to be searched, his estimate is found to be five, sixe or seuen hundred pounds *per annum*.

Question being made whether it were fit Master *Edwards* should proceed vnder the title of a  
Merchant, according to the strictnesse of the Companies Commission, his opinion was by Master  
*Cannings* experience, that then he would not be respected by the King.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, *Cogenozan* came downe to the water-side with a  
great traine as their manner is, resting himselfe in my Tent till my landing: vnto whom I repai-  
red a hoare accompanied with all the Merchants and a good guard of Halberts, Shot, and Pike;  
I hauing a Coach to carrie me vp from the Boat to a place neere the Tent; and at the instant when  
I alighted from the Coach, he came forth of the Tent, addressing himselfe to meete mee, and af-  
ter salutations returned into the Tent and sate downe. And before any other conference began  
he was let to know, that there was a Present to be deliuered him for the *Nabob*, which was pre-  
sently brought in, *Viz.* One Case with sixe Kniues, two paire of Kniues, sixe Sword Blades,  
sixe *Spanish* Pikes, one Combe-case, one Looking Glasse, one Picture of *Mars* and *Venus*, one  
Picture of *Paris* in iudgement, two *Muscouie* Hides, and one great gilded Case of Bottles  
full of rich and strong Waters. Then for himselfe I caused a Present to bee deliuered him, which  
was six Kniues in single sheathes, foure Sword Blades, two Pikes, one Combe-case, one Looking-  
glasse, one Picture of *Moses*, one Case of Bottles, in regard of the promise of the *Nabob* to our  
people that what *Cogenozan* should do, he would performe. I therefore moued for the enlarging of  
our Priuiledges; for the lessening of our Custom, especially at *Baroch* to haue a Bazar or Market by  
the waterside, that we might buy Beef for the peoples eating (in regard that other flesh was not  
good for them) according to the Kings *Firma* giuen. His answer was, that if I would assist them  
against the *Portugals*, the *Nabob* would do vs all the fauour that in his power lyeth; but for the  
Custom of *Baroch* it was out of his power, for the King had let it to another by rent, and could  
not be helpen. A Bazar we should haue, but for Bullocks and Kine, the King had granted his *Firma*  
to the *Banians* for a mightie summe yeerely to saue their liues. In summe, wee found nothing  
that he had power to grant vs: yet willing to leaue mee in content, wishing that I would send  
some of my Merchants along with him to the *Nabob*, that our businesse on both sides might bee  
considered on, and receiue answeres accordingly from each other. I sent along with him Master  
*Aldworth*, Master *Ensforth* (who desired to goe vp because he was not well) Master *Dodsworth*,  
Master *Musford* and others; which when they had access to the *Nabob*, two or three dayes af-  
ter he would know againe their demand, which was as aforesaid. Then he desired to know if we  
would goe with our ships to fight against *Damon* for him, and then he would doe vs any fauour;  
but that was answered, that we could in no wise auouch the doing thereof, for that there was  
peace



betweene our King and the King of *Spaine*. Then he demanded if we would goe to the Barre and ride there and fight with them that should come to preiudice them. That we could neither covenant to doe, for it was a breach of the peace betweene our two Kings as aforesaid. Then he answered, that if we would doe nothing for him, he would doe nothing for vs. Diuers of the principall Merchants of the Towne came to moue our Merchants that I might giue way to the *Nabob* his reasonable request, and though I did grant for satisfying his minde, yet I might doe what I list: and that they all knew the Frigats might for all my riding at the Barre come in and out on each side me. Answer was returned it was vnfit for me to halt, but whatsoeuer I promised, I must maintaine, though it were to the losse of my life, and all vnder my command: and that I would not be hired to fight with the *Portugals*, which is contrary to my Kings Commission (vnlesse they gaue me first cause) not for the World; neither would I bee withheld from fighting with them if they prouoked me, not for his wealth, which difference it seemes he tooke small notice of; but that we refused to fulfill his desire, he was much moued, and in all things crost our proceedings all that he might: infomuch that he had almost queld all former conceiued hopes of happie Commerce in this place. Continually deuising what to doe, or what course to take, this meanes failing vs, as I see no likelihood to the contrary, I made inquisition of *Gengomar* and *Castelletta*, also of *Gogo*, but could heare small incouragent for transportation to seeke better dealing; so with doubts wee rested perplexed a long while, yet returning to our businesse at the shippes.

20 The seiten and twentieth, in the morning *Nicholas Vfflet* going alhoare found all the people of *Smally* departed thence in the night: he demanding the reason, they told him that the *Nabob* had exprelly commanded them so to doe, as also the people from the Tents. Whereupon hee inquiring further thereof, was certified that our Merchants were stayed at *Surat*, and that attempting to passe over the bridge, they were perforce with-held, and receiued some store of blowes by the guard thereto appointed by the *Nabob*, with whom in company to attend vpon them, the Gunners Boy and his companion formerly supposed to haue beene runne away, were also well beaten and withheld as the rest.

30 The one and thirtieth, we began to take in fresh water, because our stay heere was so vncertaine, not knowing how suddenly our departure might bee. This day *Thomas Smith* the Masters Boy being swimming about the ship, had most of the out-side of his thigh bitten away by a great Fish which pulled him vnder the water, yet he comming vp againe swamme to the shippe side, and got vp to the bend, where as soone as he was come vp, he presently founded. Then the Chirurgion brought him into the Gunners Roome to see what might be done for his recouerie: but the issue of bloud had beene so great that they could not reuiue him, but presently dyed, and towards night was buried ashore.

40 The second of Nouember towards night Master *Aldworth* and Master *Elkinton* came downe from *Surat*, where they had left Master *Ensworth* very sick: they declared vnto me their proceedings with the *Nabob* as formerly, and of their reconciliation, with large promises of future good respect, with free Trade throughout all their Countries. This hard measure hitherto offered vs by the *Nabob*, I cannot attribute vnto any hatred or ill will borne to our Nation, but his owne doubt and feare of vs, least I should ioyne with the *Portugals* against him: which feare was the more increased in him, in that I would not agree to fight against *Damon*. And his suspicion and doubt was the more increased by a Knauish deuce in the subtile and lying Iesuites, who tooke occasion by my denyall, voluntarily without cause, to fight against the *Portugals* at *Damon*, or otherwise. They pretended a Letter from the Vice-Roy, to giue notice to the *Nabob*, that vnlesse he made peace with them, that both he and the *English* his friends should ioyne together and come against *Surat*; which Deuillish deuce did vs much hinderance in our businesse, by the *Nabobs* continuall doubt, which he made of our friendship towards them. And besides unfortunately by their extreame vnkind vsage Master *Aldworth* in the midst of his haste, and thinking to qualifie their rigorous courses, and yet altogether ignorant of the practice of the Iesuites, in threatening-wise wisht them to take heed, that by their ill vsage of vs, they doe not force vs to ioyne with the *Portugals* against them; which proued a kind of confirming the Iesuits former report from the Vice-Roy, as altogether making against vs. Likewise, hee forbade all Trade with our people aboard, which at first wee likewise thought had proceeded out of his troublesome humour to crosse vs; but afterwards we were aduised the contrary by *Thomas Kerridge* his Letter, who declared that he and all Sea-port Gouvernours, had expresse Commandement from the *Mogoll*, not to suffer any Trade with vs, till they had made choise of all strange things that we bring, and they to buy them for the Kings vse, and to send it vnto him.

50 The third, I called a Councell concerning our businesse, viz. how farre wee might proceed in their aide against the *Portugals*, and examined our Commission in that point; also we appointed the Merchants for the seuerall places of imployment, aswell those that were to stay heere, as those also that were to proceed on the Voyage. The goods that were at *Surat* of the twelfth Voyage came aboard, which was of Indico fixtie Bales, and Cotton Yarne eleuen Packes.

The sixteenth, whereas my desire was to haue beene ashore amongst our Merchants, to haue

Ravenous Fish.

Iesuites tricks.



borne some stroke in the ordering of our businesse at *Surat*, and the rather considering the turbulent head-strong and haughtie spirit of ( ) euer striving to sway all things according to his owne will, and distastfull to others which without priuate respect aymed at the common good, whose better discretion hath beene inured to more humilitie. But the estate of our businesse so vncertaine, partly by the vncertainty of the *Nabob* and people here, and partly in regard of the *Portugals* (which we daily doe heare are arming vs) besides I vnderstand the *Nabob* makes question of restitution of the goods taken by Sir *Henrie Middleton* in the Red Sea, at vnder rates as they say, though I know they had goods for goods to a halfe pennie: yet not knowing what might come of it, I thought best to keepe my selfe neere my charge, and referred all things ashore to the care of such Merchants in generall as were of my Councell, and in whom for most part I had constant affiance.

The two and twentieth, I finished my Letters for *Persia*, viz. one for the Company, one for Sir *Robert Sherley*, and another for aduice to *Richard Steele*.

Rude dealing.

The three and twentieth, *Lacandas* the *Banian* came downe with newes of some discontent or hard speeches that had past betweene the *Nabob* and the Merchants, but now that they were reconciled and friends; the cause was, for that Master *Edwards* would not let him see the Presents, which at last he was driuen to yeeld to. All the chiefe Merchants wrote vnto me seuerally that there was a certaine report that the Vice-Roy was arming against vs. It pleased God to call to his mercie Master *Ensworth* and *Timothy Wood*, both in an houre. *John Orwicke*, *Robert Young*, and *Esay But* set forwards to prouide such Clothes and Cotton Yarne, as wee formerly agreed on.

Nabobs gifts.

The five and twentieth, Master *Edwards* wrote me of the comming of three great men with seuen *Firmanes* from the *Mogore*, in whose presence the *Nabob* bestowed on him eight hundred & fifty *Mamudies*: ten fine *Baltas*, thirtie *Topseeles*, and thirtie *Allizaes*: he further gaue to Master *Elkington* and Master *Dodsworth* ten *Topseeles*, and a Cloke to Master *Aldworth*, & another to Master *Elkington*, Master *Dodsworth* hauing had one before: he promised free Trade in all places vnder his command, and good refreshing for our people aboard.

Crowther and Steele goe to Persia.

The seuen and twentieth, *John Crowther* came from *Surat*, who aduised mee that the chiefe Merchants had chosen him to accompany *Richard Steele* into *Persia*, and therefore came to take his leaue of me, and to fetch his things from aboard. This day Master *Edwards* wrote to mee by *Edmond Aspinol* for fiftie Elephants teeth, and indifferently chosen in their size and bignesse, for there was a *Banian* Merchant in price for them all, if they could agree, which Teeth the same day were sent vp to him.

Presents to the Generall.

The sixth of December, the *Nabob Mocrif Chan* seemed now to be ashamed, for that he had not since my arriual heere shewed me the least taste of courtesie; and therefore beeing desirous to excuse himselfe, intreated Master *Elkington* to accompany aboard the great *Banian* that brought our Teeth, and *Lacandas* the *Banian* Merchant of the Iuncke of the King of *Cushan*, whom he made choice of, and entertayned (by reason of his former familiaritie with our people) to buy among them such Commodities as they had to sell, viz. Sword Blades, Knives, Looking-glasses. By them he sent me a Present of two Corge of course *Baltas*, ten fine *Baltas*, tenne *Topseeles*, ten *Cuttonies* and three *Quilts*, certifying mee that the *Nabob* was minded to come downe to see me within two or three dayes at the most. At their going ashore I gaue them five great shot. They told me that the *Nabob* heard from *Goa*, that for certaine, the Vice-Roy was preparing to come against vs, with all the force hee could make to fight with vs: likewise that the *Nabob* requested me that I would waite a ship or two of his off the Coast for two or three dayes, being bound for the Red Sea. But I answered, that hauing once put off from the Coast, the wind being aduerse, I could not recouer it againe: but if he would further our dispatch that we might be readie in conuenient time, then would I doe any thing reasonable.

Newes of the Vice-Royes preparation against the English.

The ninth, the *Nabobs* sonne came to the water-side, but would not come aboard; whereupon I went ashore to him, who against my landing sent a Horse to fetch mee, hee willed mee to sit downe vpon the Mount with him, which I did. Then hee commanded part of his Horsemen to shew me some pleasure vpon the sands, by warlike chafing each other, after the manner of *Decanie*, from whence they were: then he desired to heare some Ordnance goe off, and I gaue him eleuen shot. Hee at present would drinke no wine, but being departed, hee sent for it, and for a Fowling Peece which he found in the hands of one of our people, both which I sent him with a Bowle to drinke his wine.

Military sports on horse-back.



## §. II.

*The Portugals Forces, Acts, Attempts, Fight with the English, and disgracefull Repulse.*

**H**e sixteenth, Master *Elkington* wrote me that the *Nabob* told him that the *Portugall* Frigats had burnt *Gogo* with many *Gonges* or *Villages* thereabouts, and tenne great ships, one whereof was the *Reheme*, and one hundred and twentie small Vessels: and that he was displeased at me for not shooting at them when they past by vs; which did renue his suspicion of our friendship with the *Portugals*: to all which Master *Elkington* answered him, yet he could not rest satisfied.

*Gogo* burnt, & diuers ships.

The three and twentieth came two Boates more for Lead. This day wee saw twentie two Frigats, who in the night came to anchor betweene vs and the *Riuers* mouth, where they roade most part of the next day.

Twentie two *Portugall* Frigats.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning we saw foure Boates comming downe the *Riuer* towards vs, who seeing the Frigats returned, two Frigats chaling them vp the *Riuer*: but seeing they could not fetch them vp, went ashore, and fired two or three poore houses, and tooke away two or three head of *Cattell*, and so returned backe to their Company, who in the after-noone went vp into the *Riuer* together.

The five and twentieth, in the morning early we saw five or sixe Frigats vnder saile an houre or two: after, we perceiued a small Boat vnder saile standing towards vs, but was presently chased by two Frigats, the men in the small Boat runne her aground, and forsooke her, so that the Frigats could not float where she lay, the tyde ebbing so fast, therefore they departed without doing any further harme vnto her.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning I sent the *Hope* to the Northwards a good way from the rest of the Fleet, to see if the *Portugals* would charge vpon her.

The seuen and twentieth, early in the morning, the Frigats came and made a brauado before our ship, and then before the *Salomon*, which was next vnto vs, and from her to the *Hope* which roade a great way from vs, who droue directly vpon her with all their men stowed, not a man to be scene. The Master twice hailed them, but they would not speake, whereupon they let flye at them with their Bow-pieces, hauing no other to ply vpon them, which made them with some losse to depart: the Master doubting, that if hee had not shot, they would haue boarded him, or mischieued him by fire, they comming vpon the aduantage both of winde and cyde, that none of the rest of the ships could come to the rescue; and in such sort right a head, that hardly can he trauesse any piece of Ordnance at them. In the after-noone I sent the *Salomon* to accompany the *Hope*, who went to the North-wards of her, and made five or sixe shot at the Frigats, who roade at anchor hard by the *Hope*. But we did not perceiue any hurt she did them: wherefore I commanded my Gunner to shoot a Peece to warne them to giue ouer, whereupon the *Salomon* stood in againe and came to anchor.

*Portugall* brauado.

Their repulse.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning I went in the *Pinnasse* aboard the *Hope* and *Salomon*, to vnderstand the occasions of their shooting: and the *Portugals* seeing our Boates passe to and againe, remoued in the after-noone, and roade a little without vs to cut off all intercourse. In the meane time, came the former Boat which was chased a hoare aboard the *Gift*, and brought some Letters from Master *Elkington*. The Master sent the Bearer with the Letters to mee in the *Hope*, where hauing answered Master *Elkingtons* Letter, I sent him backe againe to the *Gift*, to goe thence in the night to *Surat*: but as the *Gelliwat* returned, the Frigats chased her, which I perceiuing, caused to weaue to the *Gelliwat* to returne, which they not seeing held on her way. But the Frigats held her so close that they were within shot of her, and made one faire shot at her, and had not the *Gift* let slip one Cable, and veered another, and plyed vpon them with her Ordnance, it would haue gone hard with them: which made them giue ouer the chase not without some damage: and late in the night vpon the tyde of ebbe, I commanded the *Hope* and *Salomon* to set saile and fall neerer to the other ships, and then I went aboard the *Gift*.

Other attempts.

The nine and twentieth, I perceiuing that my riding was of no auale to keepe the Frigats out of the *Riuer*, because they could passe to and fro ouer the sands, where wanted water for my ships to swimme; and that no Boates durst come to vs to fetch our goods for feare of the Frigats; neither could I heare from our friends ashore how all things past; therefore I set saile for *Swally*: but being but little wind and calme, it was the next day before we arriued there.

The fourteenth of *Ianuarie*, we heard of the approach of many Frigats, which roade at the *Barre* till next day within night, and then in the darke came from thence, and roade within shot of vs all night till the morning, when they weighed and went to the South-wards; whom I thought were the *Mallabars*, that the *Nabob* promised formerly to send mee: and therefore put forth a Flagge of Truce, and sent Master *Spooner* one of the Masters Mates towards them with the *Gelliwat*, and appointed him to haue an eye backe to our signes that wee would make, if

A Fleet of Frigats.



Another fleet  
of Portugall  
Frigats.

we mistrusted any thing. I seeing the Gelliwat so neere, and no shew of friendship from them in answer of ours, put forth my flag which before was taken in, and shot a peece of Ordnance for a signe to my Boat to come aboard, which presently vpon sight thereof shee did, who was not scarce aboard, when our Centinell from top-mast head, discryed another Fleete of Frigats, who afterwards met together at the Barre, and went altogether into the Riuer: whereby I perceiued they were *Portugals*, and was glad that our men and Boat so well escaped their hands. I thinking these Frigats were forerunners of greater forces, caused all the decks to be cleered, and the Ordnance freed, and all things else fitting both for the Ordnance, Shot, and Barracadoes to bee in a readinesse.

The seuenteenth in the night, the Frigats came all forth of the Riuer, they beeing in the morning at the point of the Barre. 10

A fleet of ships

The Portugall  
forces consisted of fixe  
Gallions, and  
three lesser shippes, besides the sixtie former Frigats,  
besides two  
Gallies.

The eighteenth, there came to the water side *Maugie*, the *Banian* Captaine formerly named, with an other great man, the sonne of *Clych Cann*, to whom I went ashore: whither not long after word was brought me from aboard, that they discryed a farre off a Fleete of ships looming very bigge, which ashore we could not see by reason of the lownesse of the place. And after leaue taken on both sides, he departed, and I returned aboard, causing all things to be set in a readinesse, which was speedily performed. Towards night, we made them to be fixe Gallions and three lesser shippes, besides the sixtie former Frigats, the two Gallies beeing not yet come: the tide being spent, they anchored till the next day.

Nabobs Present  
to the Vice-roy

His feare and  
policie.

Vice-royes  
subtiltie.  
Presumption  
before.

Disgrace at-  
tending.

The nineteenth, they plyed vp to the entrance of our new Channell, where they came to an anchor, and the two Gallies came vp to them, where one of the great ships beeing too forward, came too neare the sands, and touched, but soone got off againe. The *Nabob* sent the *Sabandar*, and diuers other principall men of the Towne to the Vice-roy, with a Present of great prouisions, they making some treaty of peace, but brake off, effecting nothing, great policie on both sides being vsed. On the *Nabobs* side, to the increafe of my griefe: for he and all the Countrey in generall despaired of my being able to withstand so great forces, and began to make preparatiue before-hand to claw the Vice-roy with Presents: for I once ouerthrowne, his turne had come next, to endure a great assault, or to make such peace as the enemy desired. For, peace with them was it that stood with the Vice-roys policie most to desire, for the setting trade a foote between them. On the other side, the Vice-roy seeing the tractableness of the *Nabob*, and his seeming desire to make peace, for the Present set light of it; supposing to haue made it with great royalty and profit for his owne part, after he had ouer-throwne vs, which he made no doubt easily to accomplish; which once performed, he expected greater Presents; and great submission on their parts to him being the conquerour. But it pleased God, who beheld the vniustnesse of his attempt, to turne it contrary to both their expectations: for the Vice-roy failing of his purposes in attempt against me, seeing he could not recouer so much as a Boats thoule from me in all the time he spent, with losses and disgrace about it; afterward was forced to reuiue the former neglected motion of peace with the *Nabob*; which *Nabob* beeing strengthened with a Moneths experience, notwithstanding all their bragging threats, seeing he was not able to remooue our small forces one foot out of their place, gaue answer: Since with so great an army he could not preuaile against foure Merchant-ships, I wil make no peace with you: and sowas the Vice-roy frustrated of both his hopes. Yet now after some digression, returning againe to my daily businesse. 30 40

Care and pre-  
uention of the  
Generall.

Formerly hearing of the Vice-royes forces to come, we imagined it would not bee so great as now by view it seemes, therefore high time to enter into best considerations, how by Gods help to resist the same. The odds and aduantages he had ouer me, put me to my shifts in casting vp all things that made against me, being ouer-topt by his forces, whom I esteemed furnished with the principall ships and meanes of *India*, and people of greatest ranke and valour in these parts, in likelihood too hard for vs when we should put into the deepe water; nay, I know not how to put into deepe water, but they alwayes ready to intercept, ouer-charge, or force me a ground irrecoverable on one side or other: my disadvantages so great in putting out, and their smaller Vessels I knew might much with fire-workes, or otherwise hazard vs within at anchor where we rode, where I had hope their great ships through the shoaldnesse of water, could not or durst not put in. The things with me to giue me hope was, my people (though much with death and sickenes shortned) all from the highest to the lowest, seeme very couragious and comfortable; though (for the most) ignorant, either of the danger, or how to preuent it, yet pleasing to me to see their willingness. My care is not small, how to doe my best in maintaining the Honour of my Country, nor negligent in the memory of the estates and charge of my friends, and employers in this Iourney; not onely for the hazard of this at present committed to my charge, but also all hope of future times, if I should now be ouer-throwne: by reason the enemy in getting the vpper hand of me, would make his peace with these people vpon what conditions he lust, to the expelling of our Nation this Countrey for euer. And what my care was for the safetie of my people, I referre to the consideration of such fathers, as are tender ouer the safetie of their obedient children. All this while my whole powers so kept in action, that I found little time to conuerse, or almost shew my selfe sensible of the dangers approaching; yea, euer as I could be solitary or free from others; 60



thers; very earnestly crauing aide and assistance from the Lord of hosts, and from that mightie and mercifull God, who hath manifold wayes formerly deliuered me; often I say desiring his Maiestie so to guide and direct me, that I might omit nothing which might tend to the safety of my owne charge, nor the danger of the enemy: and that God would grant my request, I had a strong confidence; and the same againe often queld by the assembly of my manifold and grievous offences, and but for Gods mercie sufficient to drowne the world; whereby forced afresh by prayer to pierce the heauens, and flie vnto God for aide against both inward and outward assaults. I so resolu'd by Gods assistance what to doe, if my assistants the Masters of the Ships would yeeld thereunto; knowing if we should receiue a foile riding at our anchor, our disgrace will be greater, and our enemies little abashed: but in moouing, I might moue the Vice-roy in greedinesse and pride, to doe himselfe wrong against the sands; hoping that that might bee an occasion whereby God might draw him to shorten his owne forces, and so might open the way for our getting out amongst the rest: which would rather haue been for a necessitie, then any way hopefull: for at present our goods on the way, and daily by some and some expected to come hither, and if once gotten out, vnlesse it had pleased God to make vs conquerours, and driue the Vice-roy cleane away, I could not returne into my place, where onely (and no where else) I could take in my landing: I esteeming the Vice-roy to hold his honour in so high regard, that he must haue been dead before he would haue giuen way. I also, though helpless, remembred two great aduantages the enemy had of me in this warre. Euer before my people came to fight, they are first tired, or halfe spent with the labour of the ship, as heauing at Capstaine, and getting vp our anchors, setting of sailes, and other labours, which greatly quells their courages, making them in hot Countreys both weary and faint; and then of necessitie must become souldiours: whereas the Vice-roy his souldiours come fresh to fight, beeing troubled with no labour, which is done by slaues and inferiour sea-people, which are neuer accompted companions of Souldiours. Secondly, if the Vice-roy loose many men in his ships, he may be supplied againe out of his fresh supplies, to be fetcht from their neere townes by their Frigats, whereas we could not haue one man supplied, how many soeuer we should haue slaine or disabled.

The best help  
in trouble.

This present Thursday at night, I hauing no Merchants at all aboard, but all employed in the Countrey (besides those with Master *Elkington* at the house at *Surat*) I sent for all my Masters to supper, with some mates, where (as the time serued) I began speech of our present businesse, desiring euery man to speake freely, how he thought best for vs to worke, considering to the present straight we seemed to be in; alleading my confidence to be (for all the bragging of these Portugals abounding in force) that God would not suffer their iniurious attempts vpon vs, that haue been tender not to wrong them in the East. I haue had also a ialous conceit carried ouer mee by the *Nabob*, and principals of the Countrey, as though I had been confederate with the Portugals, for that I did not shoot at the saucy-gouerned bragging Frigats. I found all the Masters to my hearts desire, willing and tractable to whatsoeuer I should wish; and had some few speeches about our prouident mooring, as also of the remoouing somewhat lower downe. But ere long, I let them know my conceit, desiring their free opinion therein: which was, that now our ships were as fit for fight as we could make them, and our danger by night if we rode still (worke neuer so prouidently) to prevent is not small; therefore I thought fittest in the morning at low water, to send downe one ship to ride, as we might haue water enough at low water for all our ships: for then none can come to annoy her, which may prepare the Vice-royes mind to some attempt at high water, and as the Flood comes, the other three should beare downe against the streame (the spring now neere the highest) to prooue what attempt the Vice-roy would giue, to attend it, and worke accordingly as we shall see reason, in hope that God will put designs into the mind of the Vice-roy, that he may commit some error, to the weakning of his owne forces; which if he doe, then will be fittest time in the darke of the night following, to put out when it shall be vnfit for them to come to saile to hinder vs. Or if we see reason, we may with the wind worke euery day to and againe with our sailes on the Flood, to be alwaies ready in action, when the tide is aloft, which may somewhat the courage of the people quell and dismay, though the Gallants seeme to thinke otherwise. This no sooner propounded, but liked for the best way, and so we agreed to proceed, and for that I found M. *Molineux* willing at low water in the morning to fall downe with the *Hope*, which was accordingly performed.

Consultation.

The twentieth in the morning, at low water I sent downe M. *Molineux* with the *Hope*, to prepare the Enemy to some attempt, when the tide shall be vp; which beeing done, vpon the flood we also with the other three ships stood after her. The Vice-roy and all the worthy Knights about him, supposed I had been flying, hastened also as the streame would permit them, towards the entrance to stop my coming forth; but contrariwise we all anchored short of the *Hope*, not altogether of purpose to leaue her destitute of our helpe, but rather doubting of depth for our ships (so farre downe) to ride at low water. I was no sooner at anchor, and gone downe to my Cabbin, and set downe to write, to giue my friends and Merchants ashore notice of my purposes and resolution, howsoeuer it might please God to dispose of me; and that they might know it to be no rashnesse, but in good discretion to tend vpon my best aduantages to preiudice my enemies;



The fight with  
the Hope.

Portugals losse  
by slaughter,  
sea, and fire.

A mischance.

Isaacs ve-  
nime.

Newes of Por-  
tugals slaue.

mies; but presently I had notice, that three ships with most of the Frigats were before the wind, running stem-long aboard the *Hope*, and the Gallions after them, so farre as the sands gaue leaue. We assayed to weigh our anchor, but time not permitting, wee cut Cable, and set saile for the *Hope's* rescue, but the Enemies ships were aboard her, and entred their men before we came sufficiently neere them; their men being entred with great shew of resolution, but had no quiet abode there, neither could rest in their owne ships, nor make them loose from the *Hope*, for our great and small shot; so that when the principall were kild, the rest in great number, for quietnesse sake, leapt into the Sea, where their Frigats tooke many of them vp. But first of purpose to haue burnt the *Hope* with them, they made preparation to fire their owne ships, which was well performed without harme to the *Hope*, (praised be the Lord of heauen) for so soone as the fire was wel kindled, the ships of fire were let loose, and droue a ground on the sands, where they burnt till the flowing water came and quencht them; whiles day light lasted, we continued changing of shot in all our ships with the Gallions, they being on the out-side of a spit of sand, and we on the inside; by which they did little harme to our Huelles, but to our ropes and sailes ouer head. In this conflict besides them which were wounded, we lost fise men, by great mischance the *Hope's* main top, top-saile, top-mast, and shrouds came a fire, and burnt away, with a great part of the maine mast, by the fire-works that were in the said top, the man being slaine that had the charge thereof. This mishap kept vs from going forth into deepe water to try our fortunes with the Vice-roy, but were put to our shifts, not knowing how, or by what meanes to get the said Mast cured.

The one and twentieth, I sent to weigh the anchor we had cut the day before. The two and twentieth, I vnderstood that many great men, with fise or sixe hundred horse, and a *Portugall* Father came downe to *Swalley*, to send on the morrow the Father with three or foure principall *Moorees*, to conclude a peace betwixt them: and the *Nabob* sent me word that he sought no such thing, and was resolved to make none, but wherein we should be included. He also granted me what Timber we should want, which we made vse of. Likewise we were promised prouisions. The *Portugals* continued quiet.

The fise and twentieth, the *Maccadam* of *Swally* came to me, and told me that the former Father had sent to intice him to poison the former Well, where hence we had our water, which he would not yeeld vnto, and therefore had put into the Well some liue Tortoiles, who would by their death demonstrate the poysoning thereof, if it should by them be performed. At night came part of the hundred and seuentie bales of Indico to the water side, which was presently fetcht aboard. *Isaac Beg* sent me a Present of the fruits of his owne garden. This day came downe the rest of the Timber for the *Hope's* Mast.

The seuen and twentieth, I sent all our Boats to sound the Swach at low water; chiefly to keep the Enemy alwayes ignorant of what I intended: whither was sent by the Enemy to preuent them, one Gally and fise Frigats, thinking to cut off our Boats, whereof they failed, as of all other things they attempted.

The eight and twentieth, the *Nabob* sent to the Vice-roy great store of prouision, Goats, Bread, Plantans, &c. with a banquet of sweet meates. *Cogenozan* sent me a Present of fise Bullocks. Diuers of our men died here of Fluxe and diseases.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, we receiued aboard from *Cambaya* fiftie bales Indico. In the afternoone came *Cogearson Allee* aboard, who presented me with diuers things, viz. Goats, great store of Bread, Roit-meat, Plantans, and Sugar, &c. With him came an old acquaintance of mine; a *Persian*, he reported vnto me that there is newes come from *Damon*, that the *Portugals* carried thither three hundred and fiftie men to be buried, and that this newes is most certain: and by our estimate, there cannot be lesse then an hundred more kild and burnt in their ships, besides those drowned, which the tide did cast vp ashore. They also related to me, that not onely here in *India* they found opposition, but also the *Persians* against *Ormuz*, and the *Malays* at *Malacca*, are in armes against the *Portugals*: and whereas there had been speech of a peace to bee concluded betweene the Viceroy and *Mocrib Can*, he wisht me to assure my selfe it was broken off, and would none be. I found his loue, and tooke great content in his long staying with mee, whole presence I thirsted to see, and till now he could neuer get leaue of the *Nabob* to come to see mee (which without no man dare, or will be so bold) who proceeds by the great charge he hath from the King, that all things of worth, should be procured by the *Nabob* for the Kings vse; which holds him in such doubt and ielousie, least any thing should passe by any other meanes to his disgrace, whereby he is inforced to vse strange and seuerer courses to restraine the same. The day being farre spent, I returned him with a Present, gaue money to all his people, let him see the cast of the Bullets of some of our Great Ordnance; they tooke their leaue and departed.



## §. III.

Portugall supplies, Fire-boates frustrated, seeke peace and refused, their departure: Enteruiew of the Nabob and Generall: departure of the English.

10 **H**e third of Februarie, there came to the water side twentie foure Bales Indico, seuen February 3.  
 20 packs white Bastas, seuen packs blacke Bastas, sixe packs Cotton-yarne, foure packs  
 blue Bastas, three packs Caudikens, one pack Creany, al which were presently fetcht  
 aboard: this day also the Vice-royes supplies came in sight, which were two ships of Supplies sent  
the Vice-Roy.  
 burthen, two Iunkes, and eight or tenne of the Countrey Boates. The Nabob sent *Lacandas* to  
 informe me, that these supplies were not for warre, but fild full of combustible matter to fire, and  
 so to be let driue with the tyde vpon our ships in the night; which aduise I was glad to vnder-  
 stand, and addressed my selfe also to preuent that, and all other their attempts with smaller ships.  
 The Spring now neere the highest, and fittest for their assaults, which euery tide I expected: and  
 to shew that I was in a readinesse to intertaine them, as also how little I cared for them (hauing  
 all the time formerly ridden without the like) I purposed and performed the setting and cleering  
 our watch, Morning and Euening, with a Volley of shot from euery ship, and the best Peece in  
 30 my shippe directed to the Prow of the Vice-roy, which I did to daunt the courage of them hee  
 must employ, and to try his temper, whether it would make him angry or no: and I still thinke The brauers  
braued.  
 it prooued to good end. It pleased God this day at night, when I had least leasure to mourne, to  
 call to his mercie my onely Son *George Downton*, who early the next morning was buried ashore,  
 and the Volleys aforesaid, appointed to try the temper of the Vice-roy, serued also to honour his  
 buriall. Death of the  
Generalls son.

This morning also came to me on *Monsa Attale* a *Malabar* Captaine, (with his troope atten-  
 ding to visit me, expecting some businesse this day by the *Portugals* to be attempted; whom I in-  
 tertained with all kind respect, and by conference made the best vse of his company that I might;  
 by drawing from him the description of the principall Ports and Harbours in his Countrey, and  
 30 manifesting the desire I had to be acquainted with him, and to intertaine loue, league, and fami-  
 liaritie between the *English* and them, with a mutuall trade and traffique one with another: the  
 which with great desire he seemed to imbrace, willing me to giue him some Letters of my hand,  
 for their ships to carry to shew to my Country-men, wheresoeuer they should meet them: which  
 I deliuered, as also a Letter for him to moue their King for the kind vsage of our Nation, when-  
 soeuer any of our ships should arriue in any of his Harbours, and so after leaue taken, he departed,  
 I presenting him with a Sword blade, and three or foure kniues. The Master of the *Hope* com-  
 plained, that besides those presently killd, he had many hurt, bruised, and disabled for seruice:  
 wherefore I sent him for supply, three men from the *Gift*, foure from the *Hector*, and foure from  
 the *Solomon*.

40 The fifth, I receiued letters from *M. Aldworth* from *Baroch*, who writes of their arriual there, Rebutes af-  
sault.  
 and that the day before, nine Courses from *Baroch*, they were set vpon by two hundred theeuers,  
*Raspooses*, with Pikes, small shot, and Bowes and Arrowes: and skirmishing a little while with  
 them, they fled, three of them being killed, and more wounded; they hauing shot *Humfrey El-*  
*kingston* thorow the thigh, and killed one of the horses that *Surder Canne* sent to guard our men;  
 and Master *Aldworthes* horse likewise receiued a shot. The Nabob sent me word that the Vice-  
 Roy would assault this day, and therefore sent *Gogenozan* to guard the Land; who came to the  
 water-side and sent his sonne *Mamod lehad* aboard to see mee, with a Caeleer, called *Kemagee*,  
 the sonne of *Leckdarsee*, *Raspooso* of *Guigomar*, or *Castelletto* (who maintained warre with the  
*Mogore* and *Portugall* together a long time) they entreated leaue to see and partake in the fight:  
 50 who seeing no attempt that day giuen, stayed aboard all night; and the *Raspoose* seeing the back-  
 wardnesse of the enemy, went the next day ashore: but the other desiro is to see the issue there-  
 of, stayed two or three dayes longer aboard; and then seeing nothing would bee done by the  
 enemy, he departed.

The eight in the fore-noone, we receiued more Indico aboard. In the after-noone all the Fri- Policie of the  
Portugalls.  
 gats, with the two Iunkes and two Gallies, came driuing vp with the flood, making shew of  
 some attempt at the instant, either by fire, (which I most doubted) or otherwise: whereupon  
 we all weighed to goe nearer to them, who no sooner perceiued it, but they altogether made a-  
 way as fast as they might, and we came to an anchor not farre from our former place. This de-  
 uice was nothing but to make vs think that those Fire-boates should come from the Northwards,  
 60 that we might not mistrust their comming from the Northwards: and therefore the next day  
 against night, they assembled both Iunkes, Frigats, and Gallies all together, a little without the  
 sands, to take away all suspicion of the North from vs: which I well perceiued, and did alwayes  
 resolute, that that way was the place of most danger for vs: And therefore gaue a speciall charge  
 of good looking out both wayes, but chiefly that way: which accordingly fell out; for that a  
 little



Firy stratagem  
prevented.

little within night we did discern them (betweene vs and a great light to the Westward, vpon the Iland of *Gogo*) creeping to the Northwards vpon the flood, and then vpon the last quarter ebbe, about ten of the clock in the dark of the night, before the rising of the Moone, there came driuing downe two Fire-boats, being towed by Frigats, whom we discovered before they came neare vs, and plyed at them both with our Ordnance and small shot, whereby wee beat off the Frigats that towed them, who durst aduenture no further with them, but turned them off, who came driuing with the tide a prettie distance from the other. The first droue cleere of the *Gift*, *Hector* and *Salomon*, and came thwart the *Hopes* Haulé, and presently blew vp, and with the blow much of their vngacious stuffe: but (blessed be God) to no harme to the *Hope*, for that by cutting her Cable, shee cleared her selfe. The latter came likewise vpon the quarter of the *Hope*, and then flamed vp, but did no harme, driuing downe the ebbe, and came foule of vs againe on the flood, the abundance of fewell continually burning, which our people in our Boats towed ashore, and the former suncke downe neare vs by day-light. This day I receiued a letter from Master *Aldworth*, who writes of the receipt of a letter from *Thomas Kerridge*, specifying that *Nicholas Whittington* is distracted, and out of his right senses, and that he writeth somewhat doubtfully of *Richard Steele*.

Two Fire-boats more,

Other Fire-boats,

The tenth at night, neare about the same time as before, there came two Fire-boats together, towed by foure or five Frigats, which bore directly vpon the *Hector*: but as soone as we discovered them, the *Gift* and the *Hector* let driue at them, both with great and small shot, that the Frigats which towed them, forsooke them, and forced the actors thereof to giue fire sooner then they would, and so turned them adrift: who comming burning directly towards her (but the wind being stiffe, droue them to leeward of her) within halfe an houre after wee perceiued a great many Boats driuing right with the *Hector*, at whom they and we discharged, which againe made the Frigats forsake them, and also those appointed for to act it, sooner then they expected, whereby they gaue fire only vnto two of them, being foure of them chained together: but the *Hector* edging to windward (and it pleased God to send a stiffe gale of wind at present, which droue them to Leeward off her) our Gunner made a shot at one of the Boats vnired, and struck her, whereupon shee tooke fire, and the vehemencie of the flames reached vnto the fourth, and set her a fire also, and so they droue ashore hard by our landing place. My Pinnasse took three of the actors in a small Cannow, wherein they thought, the exploit being done, to haue escaped. Two of them were brought aboard me, and the third was left aboard the *Hector*: and the Gelliwat returning aboard, found another which shee brought with her; one of them had his shoulder shot thorow. Thus it pleased God to disappoint all the malicious practises of our enemies against vs.

Vice-Roy seeke  
h peace and  
is refused.

The eleuenth, the Vice-Roy seeing God crossing him in all his iniurious attempts, set saile and fell downe into the Barre, where he anchored. The cause of his anchoring there, I was desirous to vnderstand; I doubting it was for no other purpose, then to attempt the spoile of *Surat*: but I resolued, if he should so doe, to put out with my ships, and so to set vpon his Fleet (which would make his enterprise against *Surat* to bee giuen ouer) being desirous to assist the place where wee had so great a stocke, and so many of our Merchants. But the Vice-Roy would not trust mee so much, as to vnmans his ships, lest I should come against him; and therefore sent all the Frigats at night into the Riuer, with some to capitulate about a peace, whereof he had flat answer to the contrary, as aforesaid.

The Iesuits fa-  
ctors of State,  
and Merchan-  
dise affaires in  
the East-Indies.

Other Fire-boats.

The twelfth, *Lacandas* came downe, informing me from the *Nabob* (he being so assured by the Iesuits, with whom he alwayes kept faire weather for his better securitie, if wee should be put to the worse) that there were sixe or eight Frigats gone to the Northwards, with foure or five Fire-boats to be let driue among vs in the night: and therefore wished carefully to looke out, for that it should be when we should least suspect. I allowed of his kindnesse, was glad of his carefull regard, although needing no such admonition, suspecting such practises as well when they were out of sight, and furthest from vs, as when they rode hard by vs.

Craft and sub-  
tilties of denils  
and men, roue  
*Ignis fatui* &  
*frustrati*.

Vice-Roy de-  
parteth.

The thirteenth, for as much as Frigats or other vessels in the offing could not so well discern the place of our ships, in the darke night, for the shadow of the shoare, though very low; therefore in the times of their hellish Gun-powder practises, they had lights for ayme giuen them ashore, where fittest to come in. Now night by night we saw the like, in the like place as before; therefore esteeming some of their creatures againe to giue ayme for their comming to like practises, though no vessels seene by day-light. And being formerly warned, as aforesaid, to looke out for like attempts, in hope to take hold of this Fire-man, at night I sent *William Gurdin* ashore with twentie men, shot and pike, to incompasse and take the blaser of the said fire, supposing it to be some traytor inhabiting these nearest parts: who in his passage comming neare it, it would seeme presently out, and againe at an instant at another place contrary to their pursuit, and so playing in and out with them so long, that in the end they gaue it ouer, esteeming it some delusion of the Deuill, not knowing otherwise how to coniecture thereof. This present night the Vice-Roy set saile from the Barre, leauing in the Riuer some twentie of his Frigats, which continued the place, shifting to relieue each other sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, and kept in the



the *Mallabars* Frigats, which were there in service for the defence of the Towne.

The fourteenth, the *Nabob* sent me a great man and a Souldier (whom in amitie hee named his brother) to visit me, who declared his opinion, that the Vice-Roy and all his Fleet were gone for *Gon*, but some Frigats to attend this River, and some to returne to *Diu* and *Ormuz*: which opinion of his I see no reason for it, could not allow of; esteeming him rather gone some-whither to refresh his people, to strengthen them against our putting forth to sea, when no sands should hinder his greatest ships to encounter me. He also told me that the King had sent downe forces, both to take *Damon*, and all the Country along the Sea-side; in which I gaue him courteous hearing, beleeuing as I saw reason: and that they were more willing to giue our Nation entertainment and trade, then euer they did the *Portugals*; the which I thought he might with very good reason speake, because the *Portugall* hath beene iniurious alwayes, and hath exercised many vile things vpon them. And yet vnlesse we continue able to mate and withstand the *Portugals* forces, they will vnlay that speech againe for their owne ease. After he had seene the ship, and viewed our Ordnance, and all our defensible preparations, hee desired leaue to depart with his traine; which with all courtesie and our Boats, in best fashion was performed.

Now our daily endeavour is, and long since hath beene to the clearing and beginning to lade the *Hope* for *England*; which by the ouer-topping and threatning forces of the Vice-Roy formerly, with reason I could not resolute to doe, though time and libertie would for present haue allowed the same: but by hastie snatches, as it came, euer we put it in confusedly (some into one ship, and some into another) not thinking fit in so casuall a time, to hazard all our Cargason in one ship. Besides, it was long before the *Hopes* burnt Mast was newly cured: and that I resolved to send home the *Hope*, it was not altogether for that I esteemed her fittest of burthen for the stowing of our goods presently provided; but withall, by the many impediments and disabilitie in the ship, in and by the Master and Carpenter daily complained of, as that the poste within the Rudder was vnshathed (a strange and dangerous neglect, and ouer-sight) and therefore fittest soonest to be returned, and the losse of our Quick-siluer in her, which lyeth vpon her Keele and Billages, another important cause.

The eighteenth, the *Nabob* sent *Cogearson Allee*, the *Sabandar*, and othet Merchants of *Surat*, to intreat my stay for fiftene dayes, which in no sort I would grant: then they importuned me for ten dayes, which yet by no meanes would I yeeld vnto, shewing how great preiudice to my Voyage my stay heere so long might be. The cause of their request, was their feare lest the Vice-Roy after my departure should come against *Surat* with all his forces. Wherefore I considering the weight of this businesse, and the preiudice it might be to our selues, and also being vnwilling to send them backe with deniall, seeing them much discontented thereat as a disgrace vnto them, and being loath at my departure to giue the *Nabob* any distast therein, that haue done to my vntermost hitherto to giue him all content possible; and knowing what future hindrance it might be to our businesse ashore: and last of all, seeing there was six dayes worke of the ten to be done in the *Hope*, before we could be possibly ready; I at length (when they were altogether out of hope thereof, and vpon departure) condescended to their request, whereat they were exceeding ioyfull, and departed.

Feare for *Surat*.

The two and twentieth at night, I receiued a Letter from *Surat*, informing me of the *Nabobs* comming to see me the next day.

The three and twentieth, in the morning, came downe two Elephants and six Camels, bringing his Tents and other prouisions.

The foure and twentieth, Master *Aldworth* came downe with the rest of the Merchants to finish all businesse with me.

The five and twentieth in the morning, the *Nabob* came downe with a very great traine, and sixe Elephants more, and had beene two houres ashore before I knew thereof: which when it was told me, being sory for my neglect of him, I sent Master *Aldworth*, Master *Elkington*, and Master *Dodsworth* ashore vnto him, to hold him in discourse vntill I came vnto him, which was not long after; I purposed to go vnto him (as a sonne vnto his father) in my doublet and hose, without any armes or great traines, according to custome, thereby to shew my trust and confidence that I reposed in him: but my friends perswaded me to the contrary, that I should rather goe well appointed and attended on with a sufficient guard, to continue the custome. Whereunto I consented (though in conclusion, it repented me that I had not taken mine own course) and went ashore with about one hundred and forty men, of pike and shot, who at my entrance into the *Nabobs* Tent gaue me a Volly of shot. The *Nabob* entertained me very kindly, seeming very ioyfull of my comming ashore to him: we sitting a while vnder a very faire Tent, open on all sides round about, enuironed with many people, as well of mine, as of his attendants. At length hee brought me into a more priuate roome neare adioyning, hauing on his side onely *Alle Canne*, a great *Persian* Captaine, and the *Banian Henie* for his Interpreter; and on my side, Master *Aldworth*, Master *Elkington*, and Master *Dodsworth*: where hee conferred both of the estate of this Countrey at present, and also of our affaires. At length I demanded of him if he would go aboard with me to see the shippe; whereunto he very willingly consented. Then he presented me with

Enteruiew of the *Nabob* and Gen.

his



Nabob giueth  
his Sword.

He goeth a-  
board.

his owne sword (accompanied with many good words, telling mee that it was the custome of their Countrey, to honour Captaines with armes, that had deserued well) which as he told mee was made in his owne house, the hilts thereof being of massie gold, and in lieu thereof I returned him my sute, being Sword, Dagget, Girdle and Hangers, by mee much esteemed of, and which made a great deale better shew, though of lesse value. We came both forth of the priuate Tent, and I walked downe to the water-side, there staying his comming; whither he sent mee a present of ten Cuttonee quilts, and twentie Topseells; and not long after came the *Nabob* himselfe, and then we tooke boat together and went aboard, where hauing shewed him the lying of our Ordnance, and all our war-like preparation for defence, I presented him with a very faire standing guilt cup with a couer, and certaine very faire kniues, and a Rundlet of Muscadine, with some other toyes. Then he desired to see our Ordnance shoote off, and how farre they would carry their shot vpon the water, and I gaue him three. Then he would haue taken leaue, but I accompanied him to the shoare, and gaue him at his departure eleuen great shot. At our parting at the water-side, the *Nabob* gaue me foure baskets of Grapes; he likewise gaue the Gunners and Trumpeters between them two hundred Mamudies, and among the ships company five hundred Mamudies, and one hundred books of white Bastas, of two Mamudies a peece: and then after some complements we tooke leaue one of the other, and departed. I rowed along the shoare for my better getting aboard, the tide running so swiftly, and saw *Lacandas* the *Banian* come running towards the Boat, being sent of the *Nabob* to know of me, if he should erect a Tombe ouer my sonne: I returned him many thanks, and willed *Lacandas* to tell him that I had already begun it: then I returned aboard, and he went to *Surat*; and not long after his Tents were taken downe, and went after him with the rest of his carriages.

The six and twentieth, the *Nabob's* sonne and sonne in law (a very ingenious yong man) came aboard to take their leaues of me: vpon whom I bestowed some kniues, and other things which I had left, which could not be much, hauing still had one great man or other to visite me, who seldom or neuer went away without some one present or other: so they viewed the shippe and departed.

Two Antelops:

The seuenteenth, there came aboard vnto me the three sonnes of *Allee Canne*, the two yongest first, and after them came the eldest, called *Guger Canne*, who as yet had neuer been aboard: He presented me with two Antelops, male and female, whereat I was glad, since I had sent to enquire for some to send home to Sir *Thomas Smith*, but could not procure any. I presented him with foure *Spanish* pikes with heads, and some other things of my owne, and shewed him all the ship, with our warlike preparation for defence, as also all our Ordnance; and a little while after he tooke his leaue, and at his departure I gaue him eleuen shot.

March 3.

The third of March in the after-noon, vpon the tide of ebbe, and a small gale came vp Northerly, to giue steering way to our ships, we seeing our friends the *Mallabars* (which had desired to go with vs) not attempting to come forth, we hastened to get vp our anchors, and to set saile to proceed on our iourney: yet seeing comming in from the Westward another Fleet of *Portugall* Frigats, I was willing to shew my best, in the view of the Countrey people, to hinder their comming into the riuer of *Surat*; which was nothing, for that there was roome enough for them to passe by vs every way out of the reach of our shot; yet we shot at the nearest of them, without hope to shoote neare them, but only to shew our good willes, and for encouragement to our friends on land; as also for those which went alongst the Coast (as I esteemed) to giue knowledge to the Gallions of our comming, that they might report also that we shot at their fellows going to *Surat*: that they might also expect that wee cared the lesse for their greater strength. In our passage this night, we had diuers flawes of vnconstant winds, for which we came to anchor for a while. Afterwards seeing it blew steadie, though faint, wee set saile, continuing our

Their departure.

The enemies  
forces descried

course South by East alongst the shoare. At that time the day-light began to discouer to vs all things neare vs; we descried betweene vs and the shoare our enemies forces of Gallions, and two Gallyes, all comming to saile presently after they saw vs, and stood after vs with a faint gale, we standing somewhat without our courle with all our sailes, partly to gaine time to make our selues in perfect readinesse to fight, partly to refresh my people that had taken much paines the night past; as also the further I draw them off the Coast, the further they will be from fresh supplies to be sent them. But ere long, the tide of flood being come, and little wind to hold our owne, we came to an anchor, while the enemy resting his hopes in the wind, kept longer vnder saile to his greater disadvantage. But I not taking it for an error in them, but of purpose to doe vs more harme, it brought mee into a new and great doubt, which drew all my powers to deuise how to preuent. This was, that now we were at sea, they meant to return to *Surat* with al their strength, and there to worke their wills on our friends and goods, which I had no meanes to preuent, but by following them; knowing they durst not vnarme, nor vn furnish their shippes while I was in sight of them. But the time now grew so late, that I doubted by the most hast that I could make, I should hardly get off the Coast before the foule weather came; which put me into some hope, that the Vice-Roy being so great a Souldier, and so discreet a Gentleman, would not expose himself, his people and ships to such great perils as the hastning winter did threaten. While these things



things floted in my mind, the tide of flood was spent, and time to worke if we make vse of the ebbe, we (to my great content) saw the Vice-Roy his Fleete standing towards vs with a fresh gale of wind. Wee likewise set saile, and stood away our owne course before him all that tide, and so spent the night to the best aduantage, partly by sailing, and partly by stopping.

The fifth in the morning, wee saw the enemy had gotten but little ground of vs: This day also we spent, as before, in riding and sailing, as time serued to our best aduantage: and for that the *Hector* went best, and the *Hope* (logloaden) worst, I sent to the *Hector* to take in her Boat, and to prepare for the *Hope*. I sent to the *Hope* to giue directions to hasten to the *Hector*, to be towed, and to the end she should haue nothing to hinder her, I had her Boat to tow at my sterne, and so spent the night working for the best, the wind fresh wee had no cause to anchor. This night the Vice-royes ships got much ground of vs: by this I was gotten well off from the shoare, and also an ende to the Southwards, and by his working I recouered some assurance to my conceit, that these forces would not this yeare annoy *Surat*: and for my businesse for encountring the enemy, I had by good leasure well considered how to contriue it, and withall I had considered of the cases of either, and the difference betweene the Vice-roy and me, I meane in our seuerall satisfactions and contents: My comming hither was by the authoritie of my King, and to follow the designs of my Employers, which was in Merchants ships fitted for defence, and to endeavour by honest commerce, without striuing to iniury any, which God hath of his tender mercie and bountifull blessing so assisted me, that we haue performed beyond my former conceit, and in most things hitherto God hath graunted me my hearts desire: and am now in a good way vpon my way with the same: with which without further tempting of God, or presuming of Gods continuing mercies in further deliuerances, if I by pride swarue from what is iust, and before him to be allowed, whose mercies haue been free, and without any cause in mee for his owne Name take: therefore I hold it fit to proceede soberly, and attend vpon the Enemies attempt, yet not in base manner, but in a warlike sort.

Wise and sober course.

On the other side, the vnhappy Vice-roy a famous valiant man, therefore now sent by his Master the King of *Spaine* with Ships (the principall of *India*) with men (all the Gallants and principall Braggards of those neerer parts of *India*) what to doe? Not only to disturbe or intercept the peaceable and quiet trade of the *English* with the subiects of the *Mogol*, a great King in his owne Countrey, but to take or burne them: so little regard is had to the effusion of Christian blood; neuer looking towards the iudgements of God, nor remembring that as men doe to others, they must expect to be done to. This Captaine was furnished with abundance of all things the Countrey might yeeld, and wanted nothing but an vpright cause, fit for God to fauour. He came to the place where he found what he sought, foure poore Merchants ships, a few men, and many of them sicke and dead; and those Braggards measured our minds by their owne, thought we would neuer stand out against so powerfull a force, as they esteemed they had; and the conceit of that, set those Coxcombs a madding to be doing mischief, to encrease their pride, which they intitle honour. I seeing the difference, and the cause I had to pray to God my onely refuge, whom it pleased to grant the request of me his poore and vnworthy seruant: in consideration whereof, I put forward the businesse, and as it were, baited my hooke, and the Fish presently ranne thereat as aforesaid.

Thankfull consideration of Gods assisting our equitie, and punishing the Portugall pride.

They came three Ships, and thirtie or fortie Frigats, as I imagined; with a veaze laid the *Hope* aboard with the flowre of all their Gallants, where by the hand of God in their amazed carriage, they receiued such a blow, as few (and they by their extraordinary chance) escaped with safetie, and the three ships burnt. Thus it pleased God to crosse their first attempt, and neuer after, though they beleaguered vs round about by sea, with all their sorts of shippes for many dayes together, our people still in action, and halfe tired with continuall labour, some receiuing in goods; yet, Blessed be God, they could neuer get the aduantage to winne from vs the vallew of a louse, vnlesse our Bullets which we lent them, his fire-boats failing, and nothing prospering; and once in foure and twentie houres, I sent him a defiance for many dayes together, to try his temper; all which must needs lie heauie on the stomacke of a Gentleman of so great courage. I esteeme now he will hazard much to recouer some of his honour formerly lost (but craving pardon for this my digression, I will now returne and proceed with my former businesse.)

Wherefore the sixth in the morning betimes, I sent for my Master, and let him know that my purpose was, that when the Vice-roy should come vp neere with vs, that we would all at once cast about with him, and charge him first on the sudden, to strike an vnexpected terror in the hearts of his people, who now are bragge, seeing vs going away before them. And to that end I now went aboard euery ship, to giue them all directions; and more, that I would cause the *Hector*, with her Pinnasse and mine, to take in an hundred fardels of the *Hope*s goods to lighten her, and mend her going: which businesse (by reason of my Pinnasse to helpe) I stayed to see it done; so that it grew to be mid-day, neere which time, my ship which I left faire afterne for my better comming aboard, strooke saile, whereat (as wee imagined) the Vice-roy seeing the Admirall strike her sailes to fall a sterne, might take it of purpose to stay for him in contempt, he with his Consorts bore vp with the shoare, and gaue ouer the hope of their fortunes by further following

of



Rash fighting  
is rather hu-  
mour then ho-  
nour.

\* Since this  
was written, I  
haue obtaigned  
M. Elkingtons  
Iournall,  
wherein you  
may proceed  
with this wor-  
thy Captain to  
Santam, and  
thence to his  
Graue: his  
History suc-  
ceeding this, as  
himselfe did in  
the Generals  
place of com-  
mand.

of vs: which courle I like very well, since he is so patient; for there is nothing vnder his foot that can make amends for the losse of the worst mans finger I haue. Besides, I wish no occasion to fight; for that which I haue already paid for, I am already possest on, and I am so farre from the humour to fight for honour, vnlesse for the Honour of my King or Countrey, that I had rather saue the life or liues of one of my poorest people, then kill a thousand Enemies. Having now finished with the Vice-roy, I set my selfe to write Letters for the dispatch of the *Hope*, yet still thinking to haue haied into the Bar of *Goa*, to prooue if I could haue left some Commendations there for the Vice-roy at his returne: this was my great desire that I long promised, yet so long trifled in dispatch of the *Hope*, that wee were shot farre past it before wee had finished the same.

The rest of this Iournall is \* wanting; for hee is also wanting which should haue perfected it. But alas, this is the imperfection of Mans best perfections, Death lying in ambush to intrap, whom by open force (you see) he could not deuoure. He dying in this Voyage, and following his sonne, hath left this glorious act, *Memoria Sacrum*, the Memorable Epitaph of his worth, fauouring of a true Heroike disposition; Pietie and Valour being in him seasoned with Grauitie and Modestie. We will not with heathen Poets cry out of cruell immature Fates: for Death hath preuented vnto him possibilitie of disastrous euent (which as shadowes follow the bodies in greatest light) and leauing his liuing Memory here, hath lifted his liuely part, and vertuous Spirit, to receiue the applaue, and praise, and reward of God and with God, to whom be glory for euer. *Amen.*

## CHAP. XII.

### Relations of Master ELKINGTON and Master DODSWORTH, touching the former Voyage.

#### §. I.

Collections taken out of the Iournall of Captaine THOMAS ELKINGTON,  
Successour to Captaine NICHOLAS DOWNTON in the Voyage  
aforesaid, written by himselfe.

Soldania.



He first of January 1613. the new ship built at *Detford*, was lanced and called the *New-Yeares-Gift*. The third of March, we came to an anchor in the *Downes*. The thirtieth of Iune, we set saile from the Bay of *Soldania*. Heere at this time which is their dead of Winter, it was temperate, rather inclining to cold then heate. We had little refreshing but water and fish. The people are wretched, neither sow nor plant, dwell in small Cottages made of Hides, and so ioyne many of them in a round Circle, hauing their Cattle in the midst. They are browne, but by greasing themselves become almost blacke, and in the wind vsauourie a doozen yards off, filching, trecherous, vnworthy so good a Land, which in likelihood with culture would be very fertile.

The cry of  
bloud.

S. Augustine.

The sixth of August wee had sight of Saint *Laurence*. This night *Robert Waters* departed, a man long diseased in bodie, disturbed in minde by torment of conscience, for a man by him killed in *Virginia*, (cowardly comming behind him, and knocking him on the head) for which hee obtaigned his pardon in the Court of men, but in the inward and spirituall was thus pursued to his death. Here in the Bay of Saint *Augustine* we wooded and watered: Some went vp the riuier and came to their houses or sheads, which were small things set vp with Canes, and couered with a thing like a hurdle, made of the leaues of the Palme Tree. The people fled and left all, that is, nothing but a little Cotton spunne, or on the Distaffes, with a few necessaries. The eleuenth and twelfth, we bought Cattell in exchange of Siluer Chaines, they taking the value of twentie pence, or two shillings in a Chaine for an Oxe, which in money would cost five or sixe shillings. They are very good, fed (it seemes) within the land, for we saw nothing but sand and wood without any grasse at all.

The ninth of September, we had sight of *Socatora*, and passing by *Tamarind Bay*, came to anchor in *Delisha*.

\* Of Occur-  
rents here, read  
the former and  
next following  
Discourte.

The one and twentieth of October, we came into the Road of \* *Swally*. After the fight on the twentieth of Iauary, in which three *Portugall* ships were burnt, and two Frigats sunke, and Timber procured for the *Hopes* maine Mast, which the *Nabob* caused to be done so warily, that it seemed he was afraid lest the *Portugals* might know it. On the foure and twentieth, came a Iesuite with another fellow from the Vice-roy to intreate of peace with *Magribecan*, who on the



the feuen and twentieth, sent the Vice-Roy one hundred and fiftie *Maunds* Meale, one hundred sheepe, twentie five *Maunds* Conserues with Hens, &c. In the after-noon the *Sabandar* requested me to read a Letter from the Vice-Roy, which signified that whereas by the *Padre* hee was informed that the *Nabob* desired to make peace in his Masters name, and had appointed for treatie thereof the *Sabandar*, *Isaac Beg*, and *Abduram*, hee also had hearkened thereto and appointed three others to that businesse binding himselfe to performe their agreements.

On the one and thirtieth, The *Sabandar* came vnto mee and told mee, that no peace could bee with the *Portugals*, they refusing to make any restitution for damages or goods taken, but rather required money of them: and that the Vice-roy had sent to all parts thereabouts for more forces. After their fire deuices frustrated, they all set saile, both Ships, Iunckes, Gallies and Frigats, and roade at the Barre of *Surat*. The *Hellor* had taken one of their Frigats which was imployed to tow the fire-boats and in her feuen men; three slaine, foure liuing. Soone after they departed: and we also weighed the second of March.

On the fourth, we descryed the *Portugall* Fleet, which presently gaue vs chase, and the next day also. On the sixth, the Generall came aboard vs, to wish vs to make readie, he purposing to turne and giue the on-set on them: but about noone the *Portugals* bore vp the Helme, and stood in for the shoare, and within three houres after we lost sight of them. The tenth, at night the *Hope* departed from vs. The fifteenth, we saw three Spouts of water not farre from vs, one whereof very bigge continuing halfe an houre. The nineteenth, we doubled Cape *Comorine*.

The tenth of May, the wind and current against vs, the Generall went to a greene Iland to the North of the Salt-hill, and there came to an anchor in twentie fathome good ground sandie. Wee sought fresh-water but found none: wee saw Pigges and Hogs on the Iland, and gathered good store of Coco Nuts. About this Iland is good riding, beeing twelue fathomes within a stones throw of the shoare. The Pinnalle fetched water at an Iland foure leagues off, which was brackish. We found water in the Iland beyond the burning one. The second of Iune, wee came to an anchor in *Bantam* Road.

The third of Iuly, we weighed Mace and receiued Silke for the furnishing of the *Salomon*, for *Masulipatan*, wherein we concluded to send for Merchants, *George Chancie*, *Ralph Preston*, *Humphery Elkington*, *Timothy Mallory*, *George Saunge*, and *Robert Saunge*.

The eighth of Iuly, we laded Porcelane in her: and then came newes by a Iuncke from the *Moluccas*, of the *Thomafine* being there, and of twelue saile of *Hollanders* at *Ternate*, which hindered all men they could from Trade. The eleuenth, our old house escaped great danger of a fire neere it.

On the twentieth, Master *Jordan* receined Letters from Master *Ball* at *Macassar*, of the violent courses which the *Flemmings* vsed with him, beating him from thence, as also that they purposed with their whole force to come to take *Bantam*, and to place the King of *Motran* in the Gouernment.

Holland abuses  
of vs at Ma-  
cassar.

The one and twentieth, Master *Bennet* set saile in the *Salomon*. The five and twentieth, the *Advice* and *Attendance* came into the Road, hauing beene out of *England* eight moneths. At the Cape they met with the *Globe* and *James*, to whom they spared eightene men. They departed towards *England*, Iuly the seuenteenth, and they hither, the eighteenth, meeting with a shippe neere the Cape, which we iudge to be the *Samaritan* or *Hope* from *England*.

The fifth of August, I was aboard with the Generall then very ill, and the next day had word of his departure; whom followed on the eighth. Master *Euans* the Preacher, and Master *Hambden*, as was supposed, by taking *Lodinum*, they both being well a little before. On the eleuenth, the *Advice* was dispeeded for *Iapan*, with twentie two persons brought out of *England*, five *Blackes* and *Fernando* the Spaniard.

General Downton  
his death.  
By order in the  
Box M. Elkington  
succeeded.  
Advice goeth  
to Iapan.  
Tempest.

The fourteenth, returned the *Concord* from *Socodama*, and *Macassar*. That night was much Raine, Thunder and Lightning, the Church or Meskit of *Bantam* split in two with a Thunderbolt, and the chiefe Priest almost slaine, which the King and people tooke as an ill presage, and therefore determined to make peace with *Iacatra*.

The sixteenth, the *Thomafines* Boat came into *Bantam*, with twentie two *English*, and five *Blackes*, which told of the casting away of the *Thomafine* on certaine flats, twentie two leagues from *Macassar* the night before, *Wilson* the Master being carelesse, and all the company asleepe, sauing he which was at the Helme. The money they saued and brought with them. Master *Baily* signified also that the wracked company there enforced him to pay them their wages, which we caused them to restore.

Thomafine lost.

The nineteenth, the *Flemmings* put into the *Bilbomes* three *Blackes*, that Master *Baily* brought with him from *Celoar*, pretending they tooke them climbing ouer their pales, also that they were taken from a place which they protected, and therefore would keepe them. We are many wayes most vily abused by them, nor is any way to right vs except wee should goe together by the eares, this as we conceiue being wrought of purpose, and the *Blackes* intified by them and willing to it, as being taken by force: which after that I knew, I was offended with Master *Baily*, being a meanes that whereas heretofore wee haue beene in all places well intreated, that wee should

Hollanders  
quarrels and  
abuses.

M. Baily in-  
justice.



be hated as Men-robbers, which the *Flemmings* to disgrace vs will not let to blaze abroad.

The thirteenth of September, the watch espyed a fire in the thatch ouer Master *Jordans* lodging, which was soone quenched: it was throwne there purposely; we found the Cane wherein it was done, for which we suspected *Francisco* the Spaniard turned *Iauan*. The same night the like happened in two or three places of the Towne, but all preuented.

*Puloway.*

The second of October, *Sophonee Cossack*, Merchant, came in a small Pinnasse from *Puloway*, one of the Islands of *Banda*, with an *Orancaya*, to conferre of trade.

\* *Quis tulere  
Gracchos de  
ditione queren-  
tes: Call whome  
first, Dutch po-  
licie. Is it such  
a crime to be  
English?  
Letter from  
Banda, with of-  
fer of Trade,  
&c.*

The two and twentieth, I with Master *Pring* and Master *Boile*, went ashore to conferre with the *Flemmish* Generall, touching certaine idle complaints made by them of our Mariners: whom and the President I found very impatient, calling vs insolent \* *English*, and with threats, telling vs our pride would haue a fall, with many other disgracefull words; this being the entertainment of that borish Generall, *Garrat Reynes*, in his owne house; shewing the like or worse to Master *Ball*, comming aboard him at *Banda*, and foure of our men entreating passage with him thence to *Cambello*, vpon no cause he carried them thither in the *Bilbowes*.

The third of Nouember, I went ashore: Captaine *Jordan* called together the Merchants, and sent for the *Orancaya* of *Banda*, hauing had his Letter translated, the effect whereof was, that in regard of the ancient friendship betweene the *English* and them, and especially with Captaine *Keeling*, withall being prouoked by the cruelty of the *Hollanders*, their earnest desire was to trade only with the *English* for the Spices of *Puloway*, *Pulerons* and *Nera*: conditionally that the *English* would furnish them with Victuals, Munition and Ordnance, and helpe them to recouer the Castle of *Nera*, and that some might bee sent to *Banda*, to conferre hereof with the *Orancayas*. To which was answered, that for helpe to recouer *Nera*, we could not doe it without order from *England*; for Ordnance at present we were vnprouided: what we could, we would, which was to furnish them with Victuals, and what other prouisions we could, till further order out of *England*, and to trade with them for Spices, purposing to send a ship, and some to conferre with the *Orancayas*, how we should be secured, and whether they would permit vs a Fort on shoare.

The two and twentieth, were five *Hollanders* riding without: foure of which came from *Mauritius* Iland (hauing come out of *Holland* nineteene moneths past) where they found Generall *Butt* cast away with three ships, two vtterly lost, the third men and goods saued, the fourth went home with a Iury Mast, in company of a small Pinnasse that came thither by chance. One of these shippes that was at the *Mauritius* came away before the rest, whom they found driuing to and againe before the Straights mouth, hauing lost one hundred and sixty men, and left in her but eight.

The five and twentieth, by a letter from *Priaman*, we had newes of the death of Master *Oxe-wike* and *Samuel Negus*.

## ¶ II.

*A Brieve of Memorialls obserued and written by M. EDVWARD DODSVORTH, Merchant in the former Voyage, which returned in the Hope.*

\* This Commission had six questions, of which I take that which is fit for the publicke.  
\* Of his death you had before in N. W. his relations by poison, as was thought, from the Iesuits.  
T. Elk.



He sixteenth of October, in the Bay of *Surat*, came aboard vs Master *Aldworth* and Master *Steele*: and the next day in consultation it was demanded of Master *Aldworth* according to the Companies \* Commission, concerning *Paul Canning*, of his carriage and respect with the King: to which he answered, That was well, and this good, till the Iesuits had made knowne that he was a Merchant, and not immediatly sent from our King; after that, neglected, since which he \* dyed. Also he thought fit that some one of our Nation, of good respect, should remaine at Court, to right vs in those wrongs which might bee offered. To this function Master *Edwards* was chosen as a man most answerable to the Companies Commission to go for *Agra*, some question being made whether he should proceed in name and profession of a Merchant (according to the strictnesse of the Commission) which Master *Aldworth* conceited would procure him disrespect with the King. After much contesting, some way was giuen to Master *Edwards*, lest they should seeme contrary to each other in their proceedings, it being before by some giuen out, that he was the Kings Messenger.

All this while wee heard not from the Cheefe at *Surat*, nor had any encouragement, or so much as refreshing, whereupon I was sent with a letter to the *Nabob*, and doubting to get into the Citie, was forced to stay by the way, and lye in a poore Gonge, and the next day was courteously entertained: but hauing *Nicholas Vphlet* with me for Interpreter, a man knowne and hated by the *Nabob*, for employment in Captaine *Hawkins* debts and affaires; he departed discontent, leaving *Cotianozan* with others, to receiue my letter: I refused to deliuer it to them; in the afternoone I was admitted, and he seemed much discontent at our want of refreshments, as not knowing it, promising reformation; and the next day went to talke with the Generall at *Swally*.



ly, who had come into that Road on the one and twentieth. Neuerthelesse, we had found nothing but delays: and the nine and twentieth, hee sent the *Sabandar* to acquaint vs, that wee should looke for no trade or kindnesse, except wee would assist them against the *Portugall*: Which the Generall refusing, further then his Commission gaue leaue, he also desired leaue by his letter, that his Merchants might come aboard with their goods, so to depart to some other place, where with safetie he might deliuer his Maiesties Letters and Present to the *Mogoll*. Master *Elkington* and Master *Aldworth* went with this Letter. \* But *Magro Can* would not so much as looke on vs, but tooke it very scornfully, and went his way, and sent the *Sabandar* with answer as before.

\* These words following, and some other I haue heere inserted out of Master *Elkingtons* Journall.

10 The second of Nouember, we had sower entertainment of him, telling vs, if we would stay, we might; if we would go, we might go, either in Gods, or the Deuills name; for our other demands referring vs to *Isaak Beg* and the *Sabandar*, who would yeeld vs nothing. The common people seemed well affected to vs, the greater to desire our roome rather then our company, but so that we thought none of them durst gaine-stand the Kings *Firma*: whereupon it was concluded that the goods should bee landed, which accordingly was done. But in the *Alfandica* wee could find no reasonable ratements on the goods, nor leaue to carry away any thing, till the *Nabob* had seene them, and taken what he pleased (as hee had done in opening mens chelis, neither Mariner nor Merchant escaping without trifles taken from them, no reason after giuen for it) searching to the very pillowes and pockets, not sparing Master *Edwards* himselfe: Customing the 20 Cakes, Bottels, Apparell, or what we brought for necessary vse, as if they fought by foule viage to weary vs.

Harsh and barbarous dealing.

The fifteenth, *Magro Can* himselfe came to the *Alfandica*, and sealed vp the Kings Presents, which he was delirous to see, although he had promised that they should passe without opening. He desired to haue all the Pictures and Combe-cases, which we said were to go for *Agra*, that the King might haue his choise. Whereupon (notwithstanding he was offered part of them) he fell into great choler, and objected Sir *Henry Middleton* his proceedings in the Red-sea, wishing Master *Aldworth* to write to the King for satisfaction: which was answered to haue beene already ended by Captaine *Best*, as the Articles manifest. He concluded yet with faire promises, but the effect was (defect and) delay, wee being not permitted to carry away the Kings Presents. The 30 Pictures by lying in the Sunne, were broken and warped in vile manner, wee also in danger to lose the Monson, and the Kings Present, with Muskets and Fowling-peece taken from our men, were carried to his house: and nothing permitted vs, except he might first see the Kings Present, which we at last yeelded vnto, and *Magro Can* as much as he could disgraced, boasting of his respect with the King. And thus had we leaue to remoue them.

The foure and twentieth, came a *Firma* from the *Mogoll*, which the *Nabob* (according to their custome) met in state two miles out of the Citie, with sixe hundred horse. And the next day we were kindly entertained, and he gaue Master *Edwards* eight hundred and fiftie Mamu lies, thirty peece of Topplell, ten of fine Calicoes, &c. the money to cary vp the Presents, (the King not willing to charge them that bring them) the Stuffs and Calicoes for such as should accompany them. To the Merchants also he gaue fiftene peece of Topplell (fue to each) with his chop for our departure, and kind promises; all in the sight of him which brought the *Firma*. The 40 thirtieth, Master *Edwards* and we set forwards towards *Amadanaur*.

The second of December, we came to *Baroche*: from whence the Gouverneur sent a guard of Souldiers with vs to *Demylode*, and there had a new conuoy of fiftie horse and foot to *Charmondo*: whence we departed on the seuenth, with fue and twentie souldiers, all notorious theeves (as we after found) With these we went 10 c. and pitched in a plaine, where wee baracadoed our selues, as formerly we vsed, with our carts; at supper time wee had beene assaulted with fiftie horse-men, which came close vpon vs, had they not found vs well prouided, the charge wee carried being certainly knowne thorow all the Countrey as we trauelled.

50 The eight, we came to *Brodera*, and gaue the Gouverneur a Present, which he accepted kindly, but requested a further kindnesse to see our Mastiffe dogge. This Citie stands in a plaine which seemed fertile, and is well watered, a thing not so common in those parts. Wee departed hence with one hundred horse and foot, which voluntarily offered that seruice (in regard especially of the Kings Present, employed by the Gouverneur) not without charge to vs, and came to *Arras*, a Towne inhabited for the most part with *Banians*, where their superstition of not killing any thing, caused vs bad entertainment.

A Mastiffe dogge in request.

*Arras* a Towne of *Banians*. *Amadanaur*. Steel and Crowther their Journall following.

On the thirteenth, we came to *Amadanaur*. Hence we gaue commission to *Richard Steele*, and *John Crowther* for their *Persian* iourney. And hence the second of Ianuary, Master *Edwards* departed from vs for *Agra*.

60 All this while finding the Merchants heere, in hope of Peace with the *Portugals*, to inhaunce the prices of their Indico, we resolved to go to *Sargues* to make triall with the Countrey people, who are the makers of it: which on the seuenth we did, and found good employment, in foure dayes packing vp foure hundred fardles; and Master *Aldworth* returning to *Amadanaur*, found them now more tractable. *Sargues* is thence 3 c. distant, the Towne not bigge, but counted the best

*Sargues*.



Monuments  
& Pilgrimage.

soile for Indico in those parts, the triall thereof chiefly by water, as at *Amadanas Iambrozerch* by fire, all of them ready to put trickes on vs by mingling or otherwise. At *Sargues* are two of the most auncient Monuments in those parts; one of a chiete Prophet there intombd, to which many Pilgrims resort from farre; the other of their ancient Kings. To the North of the Towne is the place, where *Can Canua* first put the *Guzerates* (the auncient inhabitants) to flight, the rest of the Kingdome being shortly after conquered by *Echar* this Kings Father. This place of the victory is strongly walled with bricke, some mile and halfe in circuit, planted with fruits and watered pleasantly, and a costly house called *Victory* erected, in which he resided for a time, but now in *Bramport*.

The foure and twentieth, we went to the Gouvernour for his leaue to depart, which he granted; but hearing of diuers robbed and murdered that night close by the Citie, order was giuen that we should stay till a sufficient guard were made readie for vs. The next morning we had Letters from M. *Elkington* of the arriual of the *Portugal* Vice-roy, with a strong force to driue vs out of the Countrey.

The fight be-  
twixt the Eng-  
lish and Portu-  
gals.  
See of it more  
in my Pilgri-  
mage, l. 5. c. 7.  
§. 4. out of the  
reluion of di-  
uers of the  
*Hope*s compa-  
ny at that  
time: as also  
Captaine  
*Downtons* owne  
Voyage.  
*Tempora mutan-  
tur & nos mu-  
tamur in illis.*

The Generall to procure some weakening of their strength, caused the *Hope* to fall downe to the Southermost sand, thinking in eager pursuit some of them would be driuen aground. Presently three of the smallest ships, and thirte fixe Frigats were sent to boord her, hoping to tow her away. Thrice the enimie entred, and was thrice repulsd, and forced at last to leape ouer-boord, thinking in their Frigats to saue themselves, who receiued such hot discourse from the other ships, that they could not releue them, so that many were swallowed by the Sea, others slaine a- 20 boord, to the number, as is reported, of three hundred at least. The Shippes which had boarded the *Hope*, were now (in despaire, and out of all hope) cut from her, and seized instantly by the two desperate, hopelesse, mercilesse Elements, Fire and the Sea, recommending some bones or ashes of their burnt Carkasses to the ground and shoare.

The fixe and twentieth, we departed with fortie cart-loads of Indico and other goods, and came the seuen and twentieth to *Mundenas*, where the Gates were shut vpon vs by *Sarder Cans* command, which putting vs in much doubt, we procured one to speake with the Gouvernour, who told him of Letters that he had receiued from *Mocrib Can*, of our Generalls proceedings at *Swally*, and the safetie of *Surat* by the *English*, wishing him by no meanes to suffer vs to returne without a sufficient guard, which the next day should be ready for our safe departure. The 30 twentieth ninth, we departed. At *Brodera*, *Sarder Cans* men took vp more souldiours to assist them, many robberies and murders beeing daily committed, and diuers companies of *Rashbootes* lying in the way to intercept.

The second of February, about three hundred *Rashbootes* assaulted vs in a narrow lane, inclosed on both sides with thicke hedges, where we could not hurt them, as they did our Cassila, with their arrowes and Shot. We therefore made what haste we could for the Plaine: meane while, they cut off two of our Coaches. But hauing gotten the Plaine, we made a stand, where they betooke them to their hedges againe, and left vs to looke to their prey, least one thiefe might rob another. Many of our company were hurt, whereof *Humphrey Elkington* for one. The next day we got to *Baroche*, and on the fifth to *Surat*, and thanked *Mocrib Can* for his care; and hearing of 40 an assault the *Portugals* would next day giue vs, with his professed loue and leaue went the next day to *Swally*, and came aboard: but the *Portugals* deceiued our expectation.

The ninth, the poore inhabitants of *Swally* brought vs word of two fire-boats, to bee sent with the next Ebbe to fire our ships, which endangered more then endamaged the *Hope*. The night following, they attempted the like with foure other chained together, which with the advantage of the Tyde, and attendance of smaller boats came, but frustrate in their successe saue to themselves, foure of their Companie taken, and their Boats burned to the Keele. The Captiues confessed this the last of the Vice-royes designs for this year, hee beeing enforced for want of water and victuals to returne for *Goa*.

*The Examination of Domingo Francisco, taken in Swally Roade,  
aboord the Gift. February 20. 1614.*

HE saith, That he was borne in *Lisboa*, beeing the sonne of a Marriner, and serued *Nuna* *Acuna* in the fight against Captaine *Best*, in one of the foure Gallions, and afterwards went for *Macao* vpon the borders of *China*, and returned againe to *Goa*, where hee hath remained ten Moneths, and was two Moneths since commanded to come in a Gallion called the *S. Anthony*, in this Expedition for the Port of *Swally*, where the eighth of this Moneth hee was taken. The Vice-roy *Don Ieronimo de Saucedo*, came (as this Examinee further saith) to the destruction of the *English* at *Surat* with these forces. His owne ship called the *All-Saints*, of eight hundred 60 Tunnes burthen, had three hundred men, and twenty eight pieces of Ordnance. *Michael de Soozo* Captaine of the *S. Bennet* of seuen hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and fiftie men, and twenty Peeces. *John Cayatho*, Captaine of the *S. Laurence* of sixe hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and sixtie men, eightene Peeces. *Francisco Henriques* Captaine of the *S. Christopher*, so much

The Vice-roy,  
and his forces  
and purpose.  
Gallions fixe.  
Their Cap-  
taines, bur-  
then, men, and  
munition.



much burthen, had one hundred and fiftie nine men, and Ordnance as the former. *Francisco de Miranda*, Captaine of the *S. Ieronimo* of five hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and eightie men, sixteene Peeces. *Gaspar de Meall* Captaine of the *S. Anthonio* of foure hundred Tunnes, had an hundred and fortie men, foureteene Peeces.

The ships were the *S. Peter* of two hundred Tunnes, Captaine *Francisco Cauaco*, men one hundred and fiftie, Peeces eight. The *S. Paul* of two hundred Tunnes, Captaine *Don Iohn de Mes- carena*, one hundred fiftie men, eight Peeces. The Pinnasse one hundred twenty Tunnes, Cap- taine *Andrea de Quellio*, eightie men, foure Peeces. *Lewes de Bruto*, Captaine of one Gallie, *Di- ego de Suro*, of the other, in each fiftie men. Of the Frigats there were sixtie, hauing twentie fouldiours a piece, and eighteene oares on a side. The supply which came after, was two ships of two hundred Tunnes a piece, two *India* lunkes, and eight small Boates imployed to fire vs. The Admirals Ordnance were all of Brasse; of the other five Gallions, halfe of Brasse, halfe of Yron; against all which, the Almighty (blessed be his Name) protected vs.

The five and twentieth, the *Nabob* visited the Generall both ashore and aboard. And the Generall thought fit with consent of the rest, that I should returne with the *Hope* for England. The third of March, we weighed from *Swally* road, the next day had sight of the *Portugall* fleet. The sixth, we expected they would haue fought, and prepared our fights; but at noone they bare vp for *Goa*. On the eleuenth, we parted from the Generall, they bound for *Achen* and *Bantam*, we for England. On the twelfth, we held our course by the North end of the *Maldinas*, where by experience we found many shoalds and Ilands, laid in the plats most fallily, as may seeme of purpose, that these Seas might seeme more dangerous then they are.

The seuenteenth of Iune, 1615. we arriued at *Saldania* Bay, where wee found a fleet of foure saile *English* bound for *Surat*, vnder the command of Captaine *Keeling*, which after consultation holden, and newes of the state there, departed. On the twentieth, I met with *Crosse* and his Companie, there left to make a discouery, and intreated some of them to acquaint *Coree* with my comming, which by the way were set vpon by the Sauages and wounded, and thereupon foure Muskets deliuered *Crosse* at his request, who procured *Coree* to come downe with his whole family, and after that some Cattell. He told of the discords amongst the Sauages, whereby the Mountainers sometimes robbed them. The sixe and twentieth wee departed, leauing our long Boat to *Crosse*, with powder, shot, and prouision.

In twenty nine degrees North, we met with a *Holland* ship come from the *Mauritius*, set forth thither to cut wood, which seemed a Bastard Ebony; where contrary to their expectation, they found the lamentable wracke of foure ships come from *Bantam* and the *Moluccas*, broken on the rockes, the goods and men of two of them lost; of the third most of the goods saued, and with part thereof this ship laden; the fourth driuen to sea by a storme, returned with a iury maine mast. The Master promised vs company, but finding vs a hinderance, after tenne dayes left vs, without so much kindnesse as a farewell, or carriage of a letter, which I imputed to their inbred boorish disposition. Ill weather followed, and we were much weakened, yet I thank God without the losse of any, till my arriual in *Ireland*, thwart of the Riuer of *Limerike*. The seuen and twentieth of October, 1615. there also entertained with a storme, till a *Scottish* Barke crossed with contrary winds, was hired to pilot vs into Harbour: where also a remainder of Captaine *M.* his vngodly crue, which lately had obtained their pardon, put mee in feare, till Sir *Henrie Foliot* secured vs with a supply of men; and I dispeeded Letters to *London*.

Three ships.

Two Gallies.

Frigats.

Falfeplats.

Of *Crosse* and his Company of condemned persons set on shoare here, see after in *Peytons Voyage*

CHAP. XIII.

50 *A Iournall of the Iourney of RICHARD STEEL and IOHN CROVUTHER, from Azmere in India, the place of the Great Mogols residence, to Spahan the Royall Seat of the King of Persia, in the affaires of the East-Indian Society. Ann. 1615. 1616.*

60 He seuenteenth of March, 1614. after we had been detained in *Azmere* from February, *M. Edwards* hauing receiued a Letter from the *Mogol* vnto our King, deliuered a Copy thereof together with his Letters vnto *Richard Steele*, and tooke leaue, promising to procure the Kings *Firman* for our safetie and speed, and to send it after vs to *Agra*, where he willed vs to stay for it. Wee went that night two courses to *Mandill*; we had foure seruants, two horses, and a Camel. The eighteenth, to *Bandersandree* a small *Aldea* twelue course. The nineteenth, ten course to *Mosobade*. The twentieth, to *Pipelo* 13 c. The one and twentieth, to *Chadfoole* a Towne 7 c. The two & twentieth, to *Lalscotte*, 13 c. The three and twentieth, to *Mogol Serac*, 12 c. The foure and twentieth, to *Hendowne*, 14 c. The five and twentieth, to *Bramobad*, 12 c. The sixe and twentieth, to *Fetipore*, 12 c.

March 17.  
1614.  
*Richard Still or Steele.*

A course is a mile and halfe, and in some place two miles *English*.



12 c. This hath beene a faire Citie, built by *Echabar*, and hath within it a goodly house belonging to the King. It is walled round with a faire wall, and both within and round about, hath many spacious Gardens and places of pleasure. Now it goes to ruine, and much ground within the walls is sowne with corne, the King carrying much of the fairest stone to *Agra* his new Citie.

The seuen and twentieth, to *Agra*, 12 c. In the *English* house at *Agra*, we found one *Richard Barber* an Apothecary, which came ouer with Sir *Robert Sherley*. Hee was sent by *M. Kerridge*, to looke to *Nicholas Withington*.

*Biana*, the place  
of finest Indico

Diuers *Seraes*  
built by great  
men, faire build-  
ings to enter-  
taine trauellers  
*Dely* or *Dillee*  
an auncient  
Citie.

*Pampette*.

*Lahor*.  
Fertilitie of  
the Countrey.

*Seraes* whit,  
and wherefore  
built.

*Lahore*.

*Tatta*.

Within two dayes iourney of *Agra*, we passed by the Countrey and Citie of *Biana*, where the finest Indico is made. The best was then worth fixe and thirtie Rupias the Maun at *Agra*; but in the Countrey much cheaper. The third of Aprill, perceiuing the *Firman* came not, and the heat of the yeare comming on, we departed, leauing order with *Richard Barber* to send it after vs. We came that night to a *Serae* called *Boutta*, 6 c. The fourth, to a Towne called *Multra*, 14 c. and lay in a faire *Serae*: there we receiued the *Firman*. The fifth, to a *Serae* called *Chatta*, 12 c. The sixth to a *Serae* built by *Chan Azam*, 9 c. The seuenth to a *Sera* built by *Shec Ferreede* called *Purwell*, 11 c. The eighth, to another goodly *Sera* by the same Founder, 10 c. The ninth, to *Dillee* a Citie, 9 c. which is great and ancient, in times past the Seat of the Kings, where many of them lie buried. At this time many great men haue their Gardens, and houses of pleasure there, and there are buried, whereby it is beautified with goodly buildings; the inhabitants (for the most part *Banians*) poore and beggerly, by reason of the Kings long absence. The tenth, to *Bunira*, 10 c. The eleuenth to *Culluower* 12 c. The twelfth, to *Pampette*, 12 c. a pretty small Citie, where are made diuers sorts of Girdles, Shashes, and great store of linnen cloth, and they haue store of handicrafts. The thirteenth, to *Carnall*, 12 c. The foureteenth, to *Tanifera*, 14 c. The fifteenth, to *Shanade*, 10 c. The sixteenth, to *Mogoll Sera*, or *Gaugur*, 15 c. The seuenteenth, to *Sinan* an auncient Citie, where is made store of linnen, 14 c. The eighteenth, to *Duratia*, 15 c. The nineteenth, to *Pullower*, 11 c. We passed this day a great Riuer by Boat, called *Sietmege*, very broad, but full of shoalds, and runneth West into *Sinda*. The twentieth to *Nicouder* a small Towne, 11 c. The one and twentieth, to *Sultanpoare* an old Towne, hauing a Riuer running to the North, and a bridge with fixe arches: here is store of linnen cloath made: foure course from it we passed another small Riuer. The two and twentieth, to *Chiurmul*, 11 c. This day by Boat we passed a Riuer as broad as the *Thames* at *Gravesend*, called *Vian*, running Westward into *Sinda*: vpon the bankes whereof was pitched *Chan Allom*, the Kings Embassadour into *Persia*, whose Campe seemed a little Citie. The three and twentieth, to *Chan Channa Sera*, 17 c. The foure and twentieth, to *Lahore*, 7 c.

All the Countrey betwixt *Agra* and *Lahore*, is exceeding well tilled and manured, being the best of *India*, and plentiful of all things. It yeelds great store of poudred Sugar, the best being worth betwixt two Rupias three quarters, and two and an halfe, the great Maund of fortie. Here all the way is set on both sides with trees, the most of them bearing a kind of *Mulbery*. It is dangerous in the night for Theeues, but in the day secure. Euery five or sixe Course, there are *Seraes* built by the King or some great men, very faire for the beautifying of the way, memory of their names, and entertainment of Trauellers. In these you shall haue a Chamber and place to tie your Horses, also store of Horsemeat. But in many of them but little good to be had for men, by reason of the *Banians*. When a man hath taken vp his lodging, no other may dispossesse him.

In the morning about day breake, all men make readie to depart together, and then are the gates opened. Before, no man is suffered to depart for feare of Theeues. This was a tedious trauaile: for within two houres after the Sunne-rising, wee were scarcely able to endure the heate.

*Lahore* is a goodly great Citie, and one of the fairest and ancientest of *India*. It stands on the Riuer *Indus* or *Sinda*; and from this place came the Treasure of the *Portugals* Trade when they had peace, as being the Centre of all *Indian* Traffique. And here they embarked the same downe the Riuer for *Tatta*, whence they were transported for *Ormuz* and *Persia*. The Merchants also passing that way betwixt *Persia* and *India*, payd them freight. They did likewise driue a great Trade vp this Riuer for Pepper and Spices, furnishing these parts of *India* therewith. At this present the Merchants of *India* assemble at *Lahore*, and inuest a great part of their monies in Commodities, and ioyne themselves in Carauans to passe the Mountaines of *Candahar* into *Persia*, by which way is generally reported to passe twelue or fourteene thousand Camels lading, whereas heretofore scarcely passed three thousand, the rest going by the way of *Ormuz*. These Merchants are put to great charges betwixt *Lahore* and *Spahan*, (besides great cold in Winter and heate in Summer, and the badnesse of the way, spending six or seuen moneths betwixt those two places) they are said to reckon euery Camels lading to stand them in one hundred and twentieth, or one hundred and thirtie Rupias. *Persia* is that way furnished with Pepper and Spices from *Masulipatare* ouer land. In *Lahore* wee stayed from the foure and twentieth of Aprill, vntill the thirtieth of May, to refresh our selues and our tyred beasts, and to provide Seruants and necessaries for the way. Wee also here procured Letters from an Embassadour of the *Persian* King.

The



The thirteenth of May, we departed with intent to ouertake a Carauan which was gone two moneths before, and went that day to *Chackunder* a small Towne 11 c. The fourteenth, to *Nonserae*, 15 c. The fifteenth, to *Mutteray*, 8 c. The sixteenth, to *Quemal Chan*, 19 c. The seuenteenth, to *Herpae*, 16 c. The eighteenth, to *Alicafuna*, 12 c. The nineteenth, to *Trumba*, 12 c. This day we ouertooke a small Carauan which went from *Labor* eight dayes before vs. The twentieth, to *Sedonschall*, 14 c. The one and twentieth, to *Callixeckebands*, 15 c. The two and twentieth, to *Multan*, 12 c. This is a great and ancient Citie. Within three Course of it *Indus* runneth. It yeeldeth white Linnen and Diaper. All Carauans are constrayned to stay at this Riuer eight, ten, or twelue dayes before they can get leaue of the Gouvernour to passe, to the end that the Citie being poore may get some-what. We were stayed fve dayes, and then were faine to make way with a Present.

The eight and twentieth, we passed the Riuer and went to *Pettoallee* a small Village 20 c. The nine and twentieth, we passed another great Riuer by Boate, and the same night came to a small Riuer called *Lacca*, where we found the Carauan aforesaid: we presented the Carauan *Basha* with a Looking-glasse and Knife, who wished vs to pitch our Tent neere to his, that wee might haue no wrong offered vs. The Carauan had beene heere ten dayes, and stayed till the second of Iune, to procure a Conuoy of Horsemen to conduct them to *Chatcra* a small Fort in the Mountaines, hauing heard of the Mountainers iniury to a former Carauan.

The second of Iune, we dislodged and entred that night into the Mountaines 12 c. where wee were distressed for want of fresh water, the water being brackish. The third and fourth, we travelled all night climbing high Mountaines, and following water Courses with diuers windings twelue Course, but in direct Line not aboue fixe. The fift, we followed the Course of a Riuer full of great Pebles 8 c. The sixth we rested. The seuenth, we went 4 c. still crossing the said Riuer. The eight, 8 c. The ninth, twelue. The tenth, three, and came to *Chatcra*, which is a little Fort, the wals built of mud, enclosed with a Ditch, where the *Mogoll* maintayneth eightie, or one hundred Horsemen to secure the way from Theeues. But they themselues are as very Theeues as any, where they find opportunitie.

The Captain of the Castle exacted vpon euery Camel of the Carauan two Abacees, although nothing be due by reason, he & his haue wages of the King. In all this way betwixt *Lacca* & *Chatcra*, we found not any sustenance for man or beast, except in some places a little grasse: & therefore we were constrained at *Lacca* to make prouision, hyring an Oxe for that purpose to carrie Barley for our Horses. The *Agwans* (so they call the Mountaine-people) came downe to vs euery day where we lodged, rather to espy what they could steale, then to buy, as they pretended.

The twelfth, in the euening hauing made prouision for three dayes, we went thence 14 c. that night. The thirteenth, 10 c. The fourteenth, 10 c. This day the people came downe to vs and brought sheepe, Goates, Meale, Butter and Barley in great abuniance, sufficient for our selues and our Cattle, at reasonable prices. And from this place forwards the people daily did the like, sometimes also bringing Felts and course Carpets striped. The fifteenth, we went 6 c. The sixteenth, 4 c. The seuenteenth, tenne. The eighteenth, 9 c. The nineteenth, 9 c. to a little Towne of the *Agwans*, called *Duckee*, where the *Mogore* maintayneth a Garrison, with a little square Fort, the wals built of mud a good height, distant a mile from the Towne. Heere wee stayed three dayes, because the Carauan could not agree with the Captaine of the Castle, who pretended a dutie on euery Camell: which at last they payd, one Abacee and a halfe on each. The three and twentieth, we went 6 c. The foure and twentieth, wee past by a place called *Secota*, or three Castles, because of three Villages triangle-wise scituate on the side of a hill neere together. Wee went 8 c. The fve and twentieth, wee rested by reason of foule weather. The fixe and twentieth, 10 c. The seuen and twentieth, 14 c. This day wee passed the Durues, or Gates of the Mountaines, being narrow straits, hauing Rockes on both sides very high, whence with stones a few may stop the passage of a multitude: and diuers Carauans haue beene in these places cut off. This night where we lodged we suffered diuers insolencies from the *Agwans*, and on the morrow they exacted of vs as wee passed by a small Village called *Coasta*, two Abacees and a halfe on each Camell. The eight and twentieth, 5 c. The nine and twentieth, by *Abdun* a Village 8 c. The thirtieth, 6 c.

The first of Iuly, 7 c. to a place called *Pesinga*, a small Fort much like vnto *Duckee*, where are store of Souldiers for securing the way. The Captaine exacted halfe an Abacee vpon a Camell. The third we left the Carauan and went forwards 6 c. The fourth, wee past a mightie Mountaine, and descended into the Plaines 14 c. The fifth, 20 c. we were distressed for want of graine for our Cattell. The sixth, in the like distresse for them and our selues, 12 c. The seuenth, to *Candahar*, 8 c.

These Mountaines of *Candahar*, are inhabited by a fierce people called *Agwans* or *Potans*, very strong of bodie, somewhat whiter then the *Indians*, great Robbers, accustomed to cut off whole Carauans. But at present partly for feare of the *Mogoll*, and partly through sweet found by commerce (in venting their graine, sheepe and Goats, of which they haue great store, and buying of course Linnen and other necessaries) they are become more ciuill. Yet if they can take any stragling



ling by themselves or staying behind, they will sell them about in the Mountaines, and hoxe them to preuent running away, and put them to grind graine with Hand-mills, and other seruaile drudgerie.

The Citie.

The Citie of *Candahar* is ancient, the Inhabitants anciently *Banians*: there now resideth the Gouvernour of the Countrey, and a Garrison maintayned by the *Mogoll*, of twelue or fiftene thousand Horsemen, in regard of the *Persians* neighborhood to the North. And West-ward it is enuironed with a mightie, steepe, craggie Rocke; and to the South and to the East with a strong wall. By reason of frequent passage of Carauans it is much enlarged lately, that the Suburbs are bigger then the Citie. For within this two yeare, that the way of *Ormuz* is stopped vp by the wars betwixt the *Persians* and *Portugals*, all Carauans which passe betwixt *India* and *Persia*, must of necessitie goe by this place. And here they doe hire Camels to go into *India*, and at their returne for *Persia*. They cannot returne also without the Gouvernours leaue, which causeth them to stay a moneth, and when least, sixteene or twentie dayes: whereby it is much inhabited with lewd people, as all such places of resort commonly are. Prouision of victuals is there in great abundance for man and beast, yet deare by so great concourse. Trade it yeelds not of it selfe, but accidentally by the meeting of *Indian*, *Persian* and *Turkie* Merchants, which are not willing to trauell further at twentie *per Cento* profit. At this place the Carauans which goe to *India*, do ioyne for greater strength in passing the Mountaines of *Candahar*: and those which come from thence heere breake into smaller Companies: for in many places greater would not find prouision.

Barrennesse of the borders of the *Mogoll* and *Persian*.

For all *Persia*, especially betwixt this and *Spahan*, is barren, where sometime in two or three dayes trauell, there is no greene thing to be seene; only some water, and that also often brackish, stinking and naught. Wee stayed here foureteene dayes, partly to refresh our bodies weakened with heate and trauaile (*John Crowther* being so weake that hee feared hee should not bee able to trauell further) and partly for company.

The *Persians* Countrey.

The three and twentieth of Iuly, wee departed *Candahar* in company of three *Armenians*, and a doozen *Persian* Merchants, and went 10 c. to a Village called *Seriabe*. The foure and twentieth, 12 c. to *Deabage* a small *Dea* or Village. The five and twentieth, 8 c. to *Cusbecunna* a small Castle, where the *Mogor* hath a Garison in the vtmost confines of his Dominions.

Farfings (Parafing of 60. Furlongs.)

The fixe and twentieth, 17 c. and lay by a Riuer side in the open fields. The seuen and twentieth, 4 c. to a Castle called *Greece* the first of the King of *Persia*. Here we deliuered the Embassadors Letter receiued at *Lahore*, to the Gouvernour, and presented him with a Looking-glasse and three Kniues. He would take nothing of vs for our Camels, whereas others paid five Abacees vpon a Camell. He promised to safe-conduct vs, and to send a company of Horse to carrie vs to the next Government. But we saw none, neither were we sorrie for it: for that hee is little better then a Rebelle, and all his people Theeues. The eight and twentieth, at night wee departed and lodged neere vnto a *Dea* called *Malgee*; two farfings. Euery farfing is two *Indian* Courses and a halfe. The nine and twentieth, ten farfings, and lodged in the open fields, where was nothing to be had but water. The thirtieth, five farfings to *Gazichan* a small Castle. The one and thirtieth, five farfings to an olde ruined Fort, where was nothing to be had but water, and that stinking.

*Farra*. Sun-dryed Bricks.

The first of August, five farfings to an old Fort called *De Laram*, where wee paid an Abacee and halfe on a Camell, and stayed one day to refresh our cattell, which is called making of *Mochoane*. The third, to *Bacon*, an old Castle, seuen farfings. The fourth, in the open fields, nothing but water, foure farfings. The fifth, foure farfings. The sixth to *Farra* five farfings: This is a little Towne walled with a high wall of bricke about, dried in the Sunne (as are all the Castles, and most of the buildings of those parts) foure square, a mile about; hauing a pretty *Bazar* vaulted ouer-head to keepe from raine, wherein all necessaries are sold. It stands in a good soile, and hath plenty of water, without which in this Countrey nothing is to be had: and it is strange to see, where there is any good spot of ground (which is heere but little) with what labour and industry they bring water to it, in some places three or foure miles together by trenches vnder ground. At this Towne all Merchants which go into *Persia*, are forced to stay seuen, or eight, or ten daies together, where the Kings Treasurer seeth the weight of all their packes, and esteemes them at so much the Maune, as he thinkes fit, and takes three *per cento* custome.

Water how precious.

At their comming into *Persia*, they are vsed with great fauour: for they feare lest complaints should be made to the King, which will haue Merchants kindly entreated.

But at their going into *India* they vse all extremitie, searching them to the skinne for gold, which to transport, or any coyne of siluer out of *Persia*, but the Kings, is death.

Likewise they looke narrowly for horses and slaues, which the King will not haue transported. Heere we stayed two dayes for certaine *Armenians*, with whom we went, leauing our former company. The ninth, one farfing to a Riuer. The tenth, in the open fields, seuen farfings. The eleuenth, foure farfings to a small Village, where we had store of prouision. The twelfth, foure farfings, where we digged for water. The thirteenth, eight farfings. The fourteenth, to *Dran*, a Village, five farfings, where we stayed a day, which is the custome once in foure dayes, for such as trauell with laden Camels, to rest. The sixteenth, three farfings. The seuenteenth, foure farfings;



sings. The eighteenth, to *Zaidebasha*, five farings, where are good store of Carpets to be bought. The nineteenth, to *Mude* a Village, where are also Carpets. The twentieth, to *Birchen*, five farings, where are store of fine Felt, Carpets of Camels haire, made, from two to five Abacees the Maune, heere we stayed a day. The two and twentieth, to *Dezaide*, where they pretend all to be religious, and have store of Carpets to sell at cheape rates. The three and twentieth, three farings. The foure and twentieth, five farings to *Choore*, an old ruined towne. The five and twentieth, three farings. The six and twentieth, seven farings; the water brackish and stinking. The seven and twentieth, to *Dehge*, where is a prettie streame of hot water, which being put into any vessell, becomes coole and health-some. The eight and twentieth, seven farings to *Dea Curma*. The nine and twentieth, to *Tobaz* five farings, we payed halfe an Abacee a Camell. At *Tobaz* all Carauans doe rest at least foure or five dayes, the better to be able to passe the salt Desert adjoining, being foure long dayes iourney, wherein many miscary. We found there a small Carauan of one hundred Camels, which went the next day. Heere, and in the former Village, are store of Dates, and three thousand Maune yearly of the finest Silke in *Persia*; which is carried to *Yades*, a faire Citie, where they haue the like, and is made into Taffatas, Sattens and Damaskes. The King will not suffer it to be transported, especially into *Turkie*, but the *Portugalls* carried it into *Portugall*. *Yades* is about twelue dayes iourney from *Spahan*, and twelue farings out of the way of *India*. The thirtieth, we went nine farings ouer the Desert; lay in the fields, and sent our beasts three miles out of the way for water, it being exceeding salt. The one and thirtieth, ten farings, where the water was not all so brackish.

*Tobaz, Salt Desert.*

*Yades.*

The first of September, five farings, where we went two miles for water. The second, to a small Castle nine farings, little prouision. The third, five farings, lay in the fields, sent farre for water. The fourth, to *Seagan* ten farings. The fifth, foure farings. The sixth, to *Irabad*, a Castle, ten farings, where we payed halfe an Abacee on a Camell. The seventh, six farings. The eighth, to *Ardecen* eight farings, where we stayed till the tenth. Then went to *Sellef* foure farings. The eleuenth, to *Agea Gaurume*, a small Castle, three farings. The twelfth, nine farings to a spring in the fields. The thirteenth, to *Beauas* three farings. The fourteenth, to *Goolabad* foure farings; from whence *Richard Steele* rode before to *Spahan*. The fifteenth, to *Morea Shanade* five farings. The sixteenth, to *Coopa* five farings. The seuenteenth, to *Dea Sabs* five farings. The eighteenth, foure farings, and lay in the fields. The nineteenth, three farings, and came to *Spahan*. *Richard Steele* reached thither the fifteenth at noone, and found *Sir Robert Sherley* dispatched from the *Persian King*, in Embassage to the King of *Spaine*, with him his Lady, and for his Chaplaine, a Frier of the Bare-foot Order, with five and fittie *Portugall* prisoners, and his owne followers, both *Persians* and *Armenians*, speeding for *Ormuz*, to imbarke for *Lisbon*. The purpose is, that seeing the *Portugalls* are not able to stand, the *Spaniards* may be brought in, six Friers remaining in hostage till his returne, at *Spahan*, whom otherwise the King hath vowed to cut in pieces; which he is likely enough to doe, who hath done to death his owne sonne, and committed a thousand other seuerities. *Richard Steele* deliuered his Letters to *Sir Robert*, who durst scarcely reade them, but now and then by stealth, fearing the *Portugalls* should know of them. Hee after said it was too late to look after that businesse for our Nation, and seemed discontent with the company, and the Master and Merchants which landed him. But at last said he was an *Englishman*, and promised to effect our desires, and (the Friers being absent) caried both on the nineteeth to the Master of the Ceremonies or *Maimondare*, and took vs with him to the Great *Vizier*, *Sarek Hoge*, who presently called his Scriuans, & made draughts of what we desired: viz. three *Firmans*, one which *John Crowther* hath for *Surat*, one for *Richard Steele*, to carry into *England*; the third sent to *Iafques*, to the Gouvernour. All are sealed with the Kings great Seale, and to this effect, That all Gouvernours of Sea-ports within his Maiesties Dominions, shall kindly entertaine the *English* shipping, &c. The same day that these *Firmans* were ended, departed *Sir Robert Sherley*, being the last of September, towards *Siras*, with great pompe and much honour, &c.

*Of Sir Robert Sherley his landing, reade Peytons first Voyage: and of the rest of his Iourney, his second.*

*Your Worships at Command,*

RICHARD STEELE.

*Your Worships servant ever to be Commended*

JOHN CROWTHER.

The chiefe Commodities of *Persia* are Raw-silke, of which it yeelds, according to the Kings bookes, yearly seven thousand and seven hundred Batmans. Rubarb growes in *Corasim*, where Worme-seed growes also: Carpets of all sorts, Silke and Gold, Silke and Siluer, halfe Silke halfe Cotton, &c. Their moneyes in *Persia* of Siluer, are the Abacee, the Mahomedee, Shahee and Bistee: the rest of Copper, like the Tangas and Pisos of *India*. The Abacee weigheth two Metacalls; the Mahomedee is halfe an Abacee; the Shahee halfe a Mahomedee: in the Ruill of

*Commodities of Persia.*

*Their Moneyes.*



Their measure.

eight are thirteene Shahees. In a Shahee are two Biftees and a halfe, or ten Casbegs. One Bifte is foure Casbegs or two Tangs. The weights differ in diuers places : two Mahans of *Tanis* make one of *Spahan*, and likewise the Batman. The measure of Silkes, &c. is the same with the Pike of *Aleppo*, which we iudge seuen and twenty inches.

Richard Steeles  
journey by  
land thorow  
Persia and Tur-  
kie.

*John Crowther* returned into *India*. *Richard Steele* to *England* by the way of *Turkie*. From *Spahan* the second of December, five farlings to a *Sarail*. The third, eight farlings to another *Sarail*. The fourth, to a Village sixe farlings. The fifth, to *Dreag* seuen farlings. The sixth, to a *Sarail* seuen farlings. The seuenth, to *Golpigan* eight farlings. The eight, to *Chronon* seuen farlings. The ninth, to *Showgot* seuen farlings. The tenth, to *Saro* six farlings. The eleuenth, to *Disfabad* eight farlings. The twelfth, two Manfields to a faire Towne *Tossarkhan*, twelue farlings, and rested that day, because of the deepe Snow. The fifteenth, to *Kindanor* six farlings. The sixteenth, to *Sano* eight farlings. The seuenteenth, to *Shar Nuone*, where I was staye by the *Daiga*, but shewing Letters from the *Vizier*, hee bade me depart in the name of God and *Alle*. The eighteenth, passed by a bridge, where all men are to giue account what they are, and pay two Shahees a Camell. The nineteenth, to *Kassamkhan*, the last of the *Persian* Gouvernments, and gaue a Present to the Gouvernour for a guard against the *Turke-men*: which hee not onely did, but gaue mee licence to feed on his Villages without paying, which yet I would not. The one and twentieth, I began my iourney ouer the high mountaines, which part the two Countries, being dangerous, and the two and twentieth arriued at a Village, eight farlings. The three and twentieth, seuen farlings, lay vnder a rocke. The foure and twentieth, to *Mando*, a Towne vnder the *Turkes*, eight farlings. The five and twentieth, to *Emomester* eight farlings. The sixe and twentieth, to *Boroh*, passed ouer a Riuer by Boat, and that night arriued at *Bagdat*, eight farlings, where I was searched and examined for letters, which I had hid vnder my saddle, whether one also was prying, but by a signe which I made, gaue ouer, and followed mee to my lodging for his expected reward. I escaped better then an old *Spaniard*, which a fortnight before was imprisoned and chained in the Castle, his letters read by a *Malteza* Renegado. I met with a *Portugall* which arriued heere (from *Goa* and *Ormuz*) two daies before mee. The *Basha* made vs stay heere twenty dayes, to stay for a *Sabandar* of his.

The sixteenth of January, we passed *Tygris*, and lay on the Desert side. The seuenteenth, we went five *Agatza* (leagues or farlings) the eighteenth, met with *Euphrates* at *Tulquy*, where Merchants disembarked for *Bagdat*, or (after five *per Cento* custome paid) passe the *Tigris* for the *Persian* Gulfe. And after a tedious passage, partly by the Riuer, partly by Deserts, partly by Sea, the fifteenth of April 1616. he arriued at *Marsiles*, and the tenth of May at *Douer*, &c.

Your Worships to command in all obedience,

RICHARD STEELE

### The Copie of the King of Persias Firman, Translated out of the Persian.

Frank, a name giuen in the East to all Western Christians, since the Expedition into the Holy Land: the French being chiefe therein, and a French Councill at *Claremont* cause thereof

\* The Iournall had not the Authors name, but I find him thus named by Captaine *Paton*, as Chiefe at *Tecon*. *Soldania* in thirty three degrees, fiftie minutes South.

**F**ORMAN or Command giuen vnto all our Subiects, from the greatest, vnto what degree soeuer, vnto the Souf-basha or Conitable of our Country, to kindly receiue and entertaine the English Frankes or Nation, at what time any of their ships or shipping shall arriue at *Iasques*, or any other of the Ports in our Kingdome: to conduct them and their Merchandize to what place or places they themselves desire: and that you shall see them safely defended about our Coasts, from any other Frank or Frankes whatsoeuer. Thus I will and command you so to doe, as you shall answere to the contrary. Giuen at our Royall Citie, the twelfth of this Mon *Ramassan* (October) in the yeare of Our Tareag 1024. A.D. 1615.

### CHAP. XIII.

Memorials of a Voyage, wherein were employed three shippes, the *Samaritan*, *Thomas* and *Thomasine* 1614. writtten by \* *JOHN MILWARD* Merchant, who went in the *Thomas*.



He tenth of May 1614. we anchored at *Gore-end*. The third of October in the Bay of *Soldania*, where we bought one hundred and fortie sheep, and ten Oxen, and more might haue done. These people are most miserable, destitute of Religion in any kind, so farre as we can perceiue, and of all ciuility; their speech a chattering rather then language; naked, saue a short cloake of skinn on their shoulders, and a Fox-skinne before their priuities: haue but one stone, naturally or ceremoniously I know not; eate that which dogges would hardly digest. They demanded vn-



vnreasonably for their Cattell, which we thought proceeded from *Cories*, who had been in *England*, and (as we suppose) acquainted them with our little esteeme of Yron and Copper, asking peices as big as their cloakes, and had for their Cattell Skillets, Bafons, and Scummers. One seemed to be chiefe, whom the Generall kindly entertained in his Tent, and wee after that bought more freely. Their Sheep like our Goats, with small hornes, their Oxen larger then ours, the flesh white like our Muttons, the fat yellow as the yolke of an egge, wilde, and of one stone most of them like themselves. October is with them, as Aprill with vs, the weather temperate, but hot and parching at noone, the aire wholesome, our men presently recouering, some desperately sicke, they of the Scuruy vsing a red Berry as big as a Goose-berry.

- 10 The twentieth of December, the Generall caused the Masters and Masters-mates to come aboard, supposing that we were shot one hundred and fiftie leagues more then reckoning to the East, in eightene degrees fortie minutes. The nine and twentieth, we discryed land, but knew not well in what height we were, resolved that it was *Iana*, but knew not what part of it, supposed it the South-side, and that we were fallen on it by keeping too Easterly a course. And though the plats make it to lie betwixt eleuen and twelue degrees, and our latitude, at that time, was but eight degrees forty minutes; yet it is questionable whether it hath been discovered. But howsoever, or wheresoever we were, it is certaine that we were fallen to Lee-ward of the straits of *Sunda*, by two or three degrees, and into the North-west Monsons, which blow thereabouts from September to the last of March. All the Masters were of opinion, to goe backe into thir-
- 20 teene or foureteene degrees South-ward, to fetch the South-east wind, which is a trade wind betweene twentie eight and eleuen degrees, and so to shape our course more Northerly. Others were of opinion, to goe round about the Iland, and to fetch *Bantam*, as certaine *Dutch-men* had done heretofore on like occasion, and accomplished it in fixe weekes space. But the first opinion tooke place. The land hereabouts is very high, and neere the sea full of great Trees, the aire noysome by stinke from the shoare, subiect to much lightning, thunder, and raine, with sudden gusts. The next day noone, we had a good obseruation in the latitude of eight degrees thirty five minutes. The Generall was resolved to beat vp and downe, to see if we could get any thing to the West: he charged M. *Wilson* for author of the error; betwixt whom also and the Captaine, passed both words and blowes, which the Generall reduced into amitie the eleuenth of Ianuary. On
- 30 the eighteenth, we had land in seuen degrees tenne minutes, being by likelihood not farre West from our first land, notwithstanding that we had runne from it by our course neere one hundred leagues to the West, by reason of a violent current to the East.

The Copie of this Voyage was so hurt with wet, that I could not in some places read it, and therefore haue deliuered it more imperfectly. They know not where they are. Trade wind.

*Wilson* accused, as also for the losse of the *Thomasine* afterwards. Strong Current.

The Land to the sea is low and leuell, within high mountaines: wee anchored at the entry of the Bay, where we found calmes, the Current setting strong East South-east, that in a calme it would carry a ship foure leagues a watch. There is store of Wood, and Water from the Rocks, but brackish. We found neere to the shoare continuall calme, (the wind still blowing two or three leagues off at Sea) be it neuer so great a storme. In this place, which I may well call *Inforced Bay*, we saw no people; the shoare very thicke of Wood, Cocos, Palmes, and a hundred other kinds of trees, some growing in a number of rootes, \* which descend from the toppe of the branches, which are fortie or fiftie foot high, and take root againe, so that the Tree sheweth like a Woodstake. I suppose that neuer Christian had been there, nor will againe, if he can auoide it: yet the Generall in one of the trees set vp his name and armes. We were not past two leagues from our anchoring place, from whence we had scant wind enough to bring vs, but there rose so great a gust of wind and raine, that we were forced to take in all our top-sailes, and strike our maine saile.

*Inforced Bay*.

\* Indian figtree, or *Arborea* is, which *Cocopius* conceiued to be the tree of *Adam*. See my *Piegr.* l. 5. c. 13. §. 2.

On the three and twentieth, after much consultation and subscription for the Generalls discharge, we bore in with the land, and anchored in a Bay which I may terme *Voluntary*, where we found a *Dutch-man* at anchor, whom we had formerly met at *Sestos*. The next day we went ashore, and found a Towne and people, not blacke, but tawney, their houses built of Canes, cloathed some from the Waste, other wholly; they respected nothing that wee had, nor affoorded vs any thing to speake of; their weapons pikes and cryses. The *Dutch-man* named this place *Middleton Bay*: it is a good Harbour, hath a Riuer and an Iland, and lieth some fiftie leagues to the East of the North end of *Iana*, as the *Dutch-man* informed vs, who coasted it all along. It is in seuen degrees thirtie five minutes.

*Voluntary Bay*.

*Middleton Bay*.

The second of February, we were in tenne degrees twelue minutes. We saw the next day a small Iland, fortie leagues to the South of *Iana maior*, in tenne degrees, about five leagues broad, eight long. The fourth at Sun-setting, we had three degrees tenne minutes to the West variation. It is an infallible rule, that from the Cape of *Good Hope* to *Iana*, the variation increaseth to the West, the further East we runne, till it come to about seuentene degrees, and then as we

60 runne to the East decreaseth, till we come to the straights of *Sunda*, where it is three degrees and a halfe variation, and is holden the best guide for Easting and Westing, though not obseruing exact proportion. On the fifth, we had nine degrees sixteen minutes, and three degrees forty eight minutes variation West. The declination of the Crofiers is twenty eight degrees and a halfe. On the thirteenth, we were in the straights of *Sunda*, hauing on our Larboard *Sumatra*, and *Iana*

An Iland:

Rule of variation.

on



Bantam.

The Trades-increase.

\* Where is the evidence?

No trade without the King of Achens Letter at Priaman and Teco. Smooth sea in great wind. Achen.

The Kings Women and Pompe.

Factory at Achen.

Death by distemper. Dutch relieved.

King of Achens Gallies.

Dutch rejected.

on our Starboord. The foureteenth at night, we anchored within three leagues of *Bantam Road*. The next morning came to vs, M. *Baily Merchant*, and M. *Samon* Master of the *Globe*, who told vs that the *Globe* was then laden for *England*, and that the *Trades-increase* beeing brought on ground on *Pulo peniohn*, all her men died in the careening of her; and after wards it stood them in five hundred ryalls of eight a day to hire *Iauans*, of whom five hundred died in the worke, before they could sheath one side; so that they could hire no more men, and therefore were inforced to leaue her imperfect, where shee was sunke in the Sea, and after set on fire by the *Iauans*. The *Chineses* also reported, that the Deuill appeared on *Pulo peniohn* Iland, signifying his offence, that the *Chineses* would vndertake such a buhness on his ground, and giue him nothing (for they were the workemen) whereupon one of the chiefe *Chinese* Carpenters came to Sir *Henry Middleton*, and reported it, desiring to haue a *Buffolo* for sacrifice, who denyed, yea forbad him when hee would haue done it at his owne charge, esteeming the want thereof cause of their euills.

The *Globe* departed from *Bantam* the one and twentieth of February. The foure and twentieth, the *Thomasine* departed for the *Molluccas*, M. *Baily Cape Merchant*, and M. *Wilson* Master. Our Generall sent word to the King of *Bantam*, that the *Spaniards* would inuade him, and take away his Towne; who answered, that if all the *Cassars* (so they call all not *Mahumetans*) in the world should come against him, he had a god \* that would defend him.

The foureteenth of March, we departed in the *Thomas* for the Coast of *Sumatra*. The twelfth of May, we arriued at *Priaman*, but were denied trade. The next day, we rode to *Teco*, along by the Sea-side, which I thinke in this place, hath the greatest source of any in the world, occasioned by the many shoales and breaches on this coast, whereby the dangers of sailing are vknowne. On the seuenteenth, we weighed for *Achen*, where the twentieth of Iune we arriued. On all this coast when there is no raine, although it bee calme, the Sea goeth very high; and in raine though the wind blow much, the Sea is smooth. The King sent vs his Chop. On the eight and twentieth, he sent an Elephant to carry the Kings Letter in State. We carried for a Present, a great piece of Ordnance, with the carriages, twenty Bullets, a Ladle, Skowrer, and two barrels of Powder, twelue fowling peeces, tenne Swords, fixe fine Bastas, all wrapped in the Kings colours. He sate in great Sate with the King of *Ior*, and gaue to my selfe, M. *Nicols*, and M. *Tate* three Vests (contrary to his custome) and was very merry.

The second of Iuly, he came by the waters side vpon an Elephant in great state, with diuers Elephants before him, and twelue other Elephants hauing Castles (as they tearme them) on their backs, full of his Women, hauing multitudes of Women and Eunuches attending, all other people being beaten out of the way, and not daring to be seen; our selues hauing our house neere the Waters side, were commanded to shut our doores and windowes. The *Sabandar* by a Parable taught vs to know him, telling vs, That if a man will sow a piece of Cloth, let the Needle go through, and the thred will follow of it selfe; insinuating that a Bribe must vsheer our designs. The King offered vs to settle a Factory here, paying custome as other Nations did, which was seuen in the hundred, and we accepted it, whereat the *Dutch* were angry.

The sixth, the *Hellor* set saile for *Teco*, hauing lost at *Achen* twenty fixe men, principally occasioned by distemper in *Aracke* houses. The eleuenth, the Captaine of the *Dutch* house protested he had not a Mase to buy victualls, and besides was indebted; whereupon I lent him seuentie taile of Gold, to be paid at *Bantam*. Perceiuing the Gold of this place base, I refused to sell but for Siluer. On the sixteenth, we went to the Court (without a Present, presence is not tolerated there) to see a Cock-fighting, but the King spake nothing of any businesse, and except he beginne, no man else may. They next day, I attended all day in vaine, whiles he was solacing himselfe with his Women. On the eighteenth, his Gallies came from *Malacca*. On the nineteenth, he sent them for *Pedar*, and so for *Malacca*. Twelue of them were very faire, with twenty eight and thirtie oares on a side. The Admirall had a Turret built in the Poope, couered with Mallic plate of Gold, and curiously wrought. It is reported, that in each of his great Gallies he would carry one thousand men, and in his fleet (beeing three hundred great and little) one hundred thousand. He forced a *Guzerate* Iunke of foure hundred Tannes, with the Commander, to goe with him: yet it was thought he meant not to goe himselfe, but gaue it out to further his businesse; and that *Orency Maraga* should be Generall, a man whom he most feareth, as of auncient Nobilitie, a good Souldiour, and popular, yet circumspect. The King beeing going, word was brought that for the rest of his debt, I must take pepper at eight tayle the Bahar, which I refused; yet was it weighed, choose whether I would take it, or nothing. *Orency Laxaman* demanded for better conditions, a Cable, Anchor, great piece, barrell of powder, twentie shot; and for himselfe sixty tayles of Gold, for other Officers thirtie: so should we settle at *Teco*, and *Priaman* for two yeares. At length, for so much Gold, and twentie taile more, he vndertooke to procure our dispatch, but at last the other also were demanded.

On the thirtieth, came in two *Dutch* ships from *Masulipatan*, the Admirall the *White Lyon*, wherein was the *Visador* and the *Ragusa*. The *Visador* sent the King a great peece, with other things for a Present, which were rejected as of too little value. They demanded *St. Isaac*, Captaine of the *Dutch* house at *Achen*, as indebted to the Company, whom the King had appointed



pointed for *Malacca*, and held as his slave, and said, That if the *Dutch* tooke him, they should have no trade in his Countrey. He demanded one of their ships with him to *Malacca*, alluding to an ancient promise of such a kindnesse by a former Embassadour some twentie yeares agoe, but they excused, and he said, They were an vniust Nation, and denied them his Chop, that they might not goe on shoare for seuen or eight dayes, so much as to fill water: and three or foure daies after, they turned their Admirall ashoare, and gaue lier to the King, willing to giue him content, and withall to auoid that desperate Voyage.

The seuenteenth of August, the *Thomas* set saile from *Achen*. The twentie ninth of September, we had a Spout. At our first comming from *Achen*, we stood off to the West, for auoiding of rocks and shoales about sixtie leagues, wherein being deceived in the Current, we were off one hundred and fiftie leagues, whereby we brought our selues open to the Bay of *Bengala*, and so into a strong Current, which kept vs very long from our Port. The seuen and twentieth of October, we anchored in *Teco* road; and the next day presented the King of *Achens* letters for two yeeres Factory. The thirteenth of Nouember, the *Thomas* departed for *Bantam*, I, *George Piborne*, *John Perce*, and my man *Peter* staying. We had much adoe with these rude people, but bare our selues stiffely on the King of *Achens* Letters. The ninth of May, 1616. a man of *Achen* being reuled by a Woman, did beat her, and thereupon grew a great uproare; for the *Tecoans* hauing fined him at foure Tailles, he denyed to pay any, and the next day an hundred men came to take him, but all the *Acheners* ioyning, they were repulsed, one slaine, and sixe hurt: and they beeing two hundred, fortified the neather Towne, intending to stand it out to the vtmost, affirming that if they should suffer themselves to be ouer-borne by the Country people, the King of *Achen* would cut off their legs. The King by this policie (his Officers being all *Acheners* which will suffer no abuse) holding them in awe. But the matter was ended, *Lose Gee* the *Achener* paying a summe of Money. Three moneths before this time, the small pockes were rife here, whereof many died. This moneth also was very vnholosome and faint, many dying with a twelling: our selues were sicke round about the house.

Current deceiueth.

Teco.

Hatred betwixt the Tecoans and Acheners.

Vnholosome- nesse of Teco.

Knot of knaues

Ramdam or Lent.

Corruption of Officers, by corruption onely to be amended.

Hector sunke;

Spanish fleet feared.

Dutch releued.

The eleuenth of Iune, arriued the Expedition at *Priaman*. The second of Iuly, there was a *Mallem* that lost both his hands for stealing, who in the execution was not seene once to stirre. The thirteenth, Captaine *Payton* sent me word, that he feared his men would mutiny, and runne away with the ship, as they had formerly attempted at *Bantam*, and therefore desired me to receiue some of them ashoare, so to disperle their knot. The fixe and twentieth, the *Dragon* and *Peppercorne* anchored at the Offing, Captaine *Will. Keeling* Generall in the *Dragon*, and Captaine *Harris* in the other. They had been with the King, who had graunted them trade at *Teco* for two yeares, after which time he would haue no Nation to trade but at *Achen*. Hee left *M. Nichols* principall at *Achen*.

The eight and twentieth of August, arriued *Addicke Raia Pongola Corcon* from *Achen*, who had the Kings goods to sell, and power to receiue all the Kings customes past and to come. Hee came in nature of an Informer, and therefore all men stood in feare of him. The first of September began their *Ramdam*, at the first of sight of the new Moone: all the Moneth following, they ate nothing but in the night, and that temperately. The fifteenth, wee begonne to buy Pepper, but were forced to promise *Addicke Raia* one hundred Royals, before we could haue any trade. The next day I excepted against the waight, whereupon *Raia* tooke it away to examine it, whereat the *Polimo* was much afraid, hauing in that kind much abused our Nation. The *Pongelo* came to the *English* house to reforme the weights, but beeing presently to weigh, gaue vs a weight lesse then that we had. The next day, I sent him fiftie Ryals for a Present, which he returned, saying, He scorned to be fed like a Boy. The one and twentieth, Captaine *Harris* being ashoare, seemed to take so much vpon him, that *Raia Addick* sent to him to borrow three hundred Rialls of eight to buy him a Wench, and prest the matter so instantly, that I was forced afterward to send him an hundred.

The third of October, I spoke at his instance also vnto Captaine *Harris*, to spare his Carpenters two or three daies to mend his Prow, which he refused to doe. The sixth, came the *Speedwell* sent by the Geuerall from *Bantam*, in the charge of *John Clare*, Botswaine of the *Hector*, sunke at *Bantam* in the Carining. Newes of five ships from *England*, foure for *Surat*, & the *Swan* for *Bantam*. The *Thomas* gone for *Iapan*, the *Concord* for *Socodania*, the *Attendant* for *Iambe*: from *Maccassar* also, that the *Spaniards* are there bound for the *Moluccas*, twenty seuen saile of Ships, Gallies, and Frigats, that we doubted much their comming to *Bantam*. On the foureteenth, arriued a *Iana* sunke with five *Hollanders*, which had been cast away in the *Aolus*, five degrees South, and desired our releefe. We graunted them the *Speedwell* to goe to the land *Engano*, where they had laid their goods and money ashoare, whether they set saile on the three and twentieth.

The people complaine, that when they sell their Pepper to the King, they loose a fourth part, by reason they take so much more then when they dealt with the *English*. *Reliqua desiderantur.*



## CHAP. XV.

*The second Voyage of Captaine WALTER PEYTON into the East-Indies, in the Expedition, which was set forth by the East-India Company, together with the Dragon, Lyon, and Pepper-Corne, in January 1614. gathered out of his large Journall.*

## p. I.

*Occurents at Soldania, Mohelia, Socotora, Surat, with diuers other Intelligences.*

Sir T. Roe.



Anuary the foure and twentieth, 1614. wee set saile from *Graneſend*. The second of February, Sir *Thomas Roe* Embaſſadour from his Maieſtie to the Great *Mogoll*, repayed aboard the *Lyon* with ſiſteene followers. And Maſter *Humphrey Boughton* aboard the *Pepper-corne*, (recommended to the Company by his Maieſtie) to paſſe into *India*. Wee carryed with vs in the Fleete eleuen *Japonezas* brought into *England* by the *Cloue*, diuided proportionably amongſt the ſhippes: Likewise fourteene *Guzerats* brought by the *Dragon*: alſo nineteene condemned perſons out of *Newgate*, to be left for diſcouerie of vnkowne places, the Company hauing obtayned the Kings Pardon for them to this purpoſe.

*Japonezes Guzerats, and condemned perſons,*

On the twentieth, ſome of the *Dragons* men, the *Newgate*-Birds amongſt, attempted to run away with their *Pinnaffe*, which then was preuented. But one of thoſe condemned with two of the *Pepper-cornes* company carryed away her *Pinnaffe* next night; two of my ſhips company hauing conſpired to carrie away the Boate, but were diſcouered. The three and twentieth, wee ſet ſaile out of the *Downes*.

Anno 1615.  
Maps falſe in  
Cape *Boyadore*,  
and *Marpequena*.

On the ſixe of March, loſt ſight of the *Lizard*. And on the ſixe and twentieth, had ſight of land which we ſuppoſed the Weſtermoſt part of *Forteuentura*, and proued part of *Barbarie*, one of the land points entering the Riuer *Marpequena*, beeing miſgraduated one whole degree more Northerly then it ſhould be. Likewise Cape *Boyadore* is miſgraded one degree as we then found by experience, eſcaping great danger cauſed by that errour in our plats. The ſixe and twentieth, the Generall wind began.

The tenth of May, being by reckoning diſtant from the Cape of *Good Hope*, bearing Eaſt a quarter South, ſixe hundred and twentie leagues, wee ſaw many *Pintados*, *Mangarelus* and other fowles; whereof I haue not heard the like.

*Soldania*.  
*Corey* a *Sauage*  
which had bin  
in *England*.

The fift of Iune, we anchored in the Bay of *Soldania*, hauing not buried aboue three or foure in the whole Fleete, about thirtie being now ſicke. Wee built ſiue Tents. *Corey* came downe and welcommed vs after his manner, by whoſe meanes the people were nothing ſo fearefull as at other times, nor ſo theeuish. They brought vs cattell in great abundance, which wee bought for Copper ſhreds. *Corey* ſhewed ſome of our people his houſe, wife and children, at a Towne thence diſtant ſiue *English* miles, contayning about one hundred houſes. Moſt of them can ſay Sir *Thomas Smith*, *English* ſhips, which they often with great glorie repeat. Their wiues and children came often downe to vs, to whom we gaue great content with Bugles and the like. And two or three deſired to goe for *England*, ſeeing *Corey* had ſped ſo well, and returned ſo rich with his Copper Sute, which he yet keepeth in his houſe very charily. *Corey* alſo determined to returne, and to carry one of his ſonnes when our ſhips are thence bound home-wards. On the Eaſt-side of the Table is another Cottage of ten ſmall houſes, built round like Bee-hiues, couered with Mats made of Bents wouen together.

Their houſes.  
Ten condemned  
perſons ſet  
on ſhoare.

The ſixteenth, we ſet on ſhoare by conſultation tenne condemned perſons, to remayne at the Cape, viz. *Iohn Croſſe*, *Henry Cocket*, *Clerke*, *Brand*, *Bouth*, *Hunnyard*, *Brigs*, *Pets*, *Metcalf*, *Skillicall*. We gaue each man ſomething for his owne defence againſt wild beaſts and men, weapons and victuals. They conſented *Croſſe* ſhould be their head; The people deſire Braſſe, and ſer not ſo much by Copper; they deſire pieces of a foot or more ſquare. Iron hoops they care little for. We caught ſeuen or eight hundred fiſhes in the Riuer with Saynes.

*Ningin*, a medicinalle root  
much prized  
in *Japan*, ſome  
what like a  
Skirret.

The Countrey people brought vs downe of the Root *Ningin*, whereof wee bought one handful for a piece of Copper an inch and halfe broad, and two inches and halfe in length. Our men got ſome, but not ſo full, nor ripe, this being not the ſeaſon, which in the full perfection is as tender and ſweet as Annis-ſeeds. On the twentieth, wee ſet ſaile. On the ſiue and twentieth,



we had sight of land in thirtie foure degrees twentie eight minutes. It is the land to the West of Cape de Arcife misgraduated twentie seven minutes in Daniels Plats more Northerly then it should be.

Likewise, on the sixt of Iuly, we should haue seene land of Saint Laurence, by most of our reckonings according to the Plats of Daniel, (of Mercators proiection) which prooued false about seuentie leagues in distance of longitude betwixt the land of Ethiopia, Cape Bona Speranza, and the Ile of Saint Laurence, as the same protracted into Plano of Tottens making doe manifest.

10 The two and twentieth, all foure ships anchored at Mohelia. Wee had water out of Wels we digged a little about the high water, marke close by the rootes of Trees, eight or nine foote deepe. Doman is the chiefe Towne where the Sultan abides, to whom we gaue a double locked piece and a Sword. Wee had plentifull prouision for little Money, Hennes, Goates, Bullockes, Limons, Oranges, Limes, Tamera, Coco-nuts, Pines, Sugar-Canes, with other fruits. There are amongst them Arabians, Turkes, Moores, many of which speake reasonable Portuguse. Their told me of a strange courie of the Current which ranne fifteene dayes Westerly, fifteene dayes Easterly, and fifteene dayes no way: of which somewhat I obserued.

Mohelia.  
Plentifull re-  
freshing.

Strange Cur-  
rent.

For at our first comming the Current set Westerly: and on the eight and twentieth, it set Easterly, and so continued while we stayed (sixe dayes) but we went away before perfect triall could be made. I learned of them that the King of Iuanni was here King, and gaue the Gouvernment to this Sultan.

20 The nine and twentieth, a ship arriued at Doman from Gangamora, in Saint Laurence, and I was wished by the Generall to see their Commodities, which were Rice and a kind of cloth made of Barkes of Trees whence they make coole garments. I enquired of the Pilot who spake Portuguse well, touching Captaine Rowles and the Englishmen betrayed in that Iland, of whom they could say nothing, but that two or three yeares past, an English Boy was at Gangamora in the custodie of Portugals, whom they thought now to be dead, neither knew how he came thither. This Towne of Doman hath in it one hundred houses of lime and stone strong bault, the Inhabitants orderly and ciuill. They haue traffique on the Coast of Melinde, Magadoxo, Mom-  
30 bassa, Arabia and Saint Laurence: they carrie Slaues taken in warres, which they sell for nine or ten Rials of eight, and are sold againe in Portugall for one hundred. At Momboza and Magadoxo I vnderstood of great Trade for Elephants Teeth and Drugges, and it was concluded to aduise the Honourable Companie thereof touching sending a Pinasse yearly thither. Wee bought in Mohelia two or three Bullockes for a Barre of Iron weighing betwixt twentie and five and twentie pound. Wee bought there two hundred head of cattell, fortie Goates, Hennes, Fruits, &c.

Tree-cloth.

C. Rowles lost  
out of the Ve-  
nitie.

The second of August, wee set saile from Mohelia: The seuenteenth, wee had sight of Cape Guardafui, where the Countrey people were fearefull of vs. The twentieth, wee anchored in the Road of Galencia in Socotora, where the fiercenesse of the wind made the Sea in a breach round about vs, and with the Sprie of the Sea, which the winde blew about vs like raine, our ship and tackling were allouer white like a hoarie Frost or white Salt.

Ship white  
with Salt.

40 The three and twentieth, we anchored at Tamarine the Kings Towne, and the foure and twentieth at Delisha. Here, we were demanded thirtie Rials of eight the Kintall of Aloes Socatrina, which made vs buy the lesse: (for Captaine Downton, the Faiking said, had bought one hundred Kintals) it was liquid by reason of the newnesse or heat of the Sunne, and readie to run out of the skinnies. Each Kintall containd by our Beame one hundred, three pounds and a halfe. It is made of the leaues of Sempervine, the tops and roots cut away, and the iuice of the rest pressed out and boiled to a certain height, after put vp in earthen Pots, stopped closed, so standing eight monethes, and lastly, put in small skinnies to sell.

Aloes Socatrina.

50 The North part of Socotora or Socatra, lyeth in twelue degrees thirtie minutes, and the bodie in one hundred and twentie degrees, twentie five minutes. It is fourtene leagues thence to Abadelcuria, and as much from thence to Cape Guardafui. And I should wish those that saile to Socatra to touch at the Cape, thence to saile the next morning a little before breake of day, to lose no day-light, which is precious there by reason of the thicke and obscure night, with boysterous winds (and fogges) this moneth and a part of September: from thence to Abadelcuria, and anchor on the West side thereof in seven or eight fathome water vnder the low land, or if they get no anchorage, to keepe close by a winde to the Southward in the night, lest the windes and Northerly current put them too much to lee-ward before day-light. The winds blow not steddie, notwithstanding the Monson, sometimes South by West, and South South-west, but seldome to the East of the South. On the one and thirtieth, we set saile from Socatra.

Caueat for  
sailing to So-  
catra.

60 The tenth of September, we had Quales, Hernes and other Land-fowles blowne from land, vnable to returne.

On the fourteenth, we had sight of Din, and on the sixteenth of Daman, inhabited with Portugals, and strongly fortified.

On the eighteenth, we passed by the Barre of Surat, and anchored against Swally Barre. The

Arriue at  
Swally.



next day we sent a messenger ashore, and our Boat returned the same night with M. William Bidulph. He told vs of affaires in the Countrey, and that *Zulpher Car Chan* was Gouvernour at *Surat*. Here we had sheepe for halfe a Riall of eight a piece, and twentie Hennes for a Riall of eight.

Vile prices,  
base custome  
at *Surat*.

The two and twentieth day, Master *Barber* and other Merchants were sent to *Surat*, to provide furniture for Sir *Thomas Roe* the Lord Embassadours house, who were there narrowly searched, their pockets and other parts according to the base manner of the Countrey, where a man must pay custome for a Riall of eight in his Purse, or a good Knife in his pocket: and if any raritie appeare, the Gouvernour vnder pretence of buying, takes it away.

Embassador  
landed.

The five and twentieth, the Lord Embassadour landed, accompanied with the Genetall, Capitaine and Merchants, and eightie men in Armes with shot and Pike in order, fortie eight Pieces of Ordnance discharged from the Fleet, the shippes also fitted in their holy-day Sutes of waste clothes, Streamers, Ensignes, Flagges, Pendants. The chiefe men of *Surat* attended in their Tent, and there welcommed him. Much adoe there was about the barbarous search, which they would haue executed on his followers, which the Embassador wholly disclaymed, till at the last he and three or foure of his chiefe Followers were exempted, the rest they would onely imbrace for fashions sake. Much passed also betwixt the Gouvernour and Him about like barbarous exactions, he iustly challenging the honour and immunitie of an Embassadour from a free King; they willing to make no difference betwixt him and others of that ranke in those parts, and of our owne also which had assumed that name. Once their barbarous vsage not only then perplexed him, and detayned him long till from the Court he had order, but all his time (as hereafter out of his owne Iournall shall follow) held him busie more then enough. Neither did they easily acknowledge difference betwixt this Embassadour and Master *Edwards*, who was so stiled amongst them.

Fugitiues.

The first of October, Master *Barwickes* man (which beeing inueigled by a Fugitiue from Capitaine *Best*, and since turned *Moore*, had runne away) was brought backe from *Surat*. Others after did the like, and wrote from *Damon* to periwade others. The second, came aboard two *Hollanders* which had come thither by land from *Petapoli*. The tenth, the Gouvernours brother came aboard with faire words and had a Present giuen him: also we had newes of Master *Aldworths* death. The Gouvernour impudently vrgeth Presents, hauing had three already, but findeth fault with them, and nominates what he would, begger and chooser both.

Coynes and  
wares at *Surat*.

The fifth of Nouember, we had newes from *Brampore* of the Lord Embassadors falling sicke there, and of Master *Boughtons* death.

The current Coine at *Surat* is Rials of eight, whereof the old with the plaine crosse is esteemed best, worth five Mamudies a piece, the new with Flower-delices at the ends of the crosse at foure Mamudies three quarters, if they be not light. The Mamudie is a siluer Coyne, course, contayning thirtie Pice, which is a Copper Coyne; twelue drammes make one Pice. The *English* shilling, if weight, will yeeld thirtie three Pice and halfe. Larines are much about the worth of Mamudies. Rupies are of sundry sorts; some worth halfe a Riall of eight, other lesse, by which a man may easily be deceived.

Indus falsly set  
in Maps.

Of Sir Robert  
Sherley.

Tatta.

Ward slaine.

Their trading is by *Banian* Brokers, who are subtile and deceitfull both to the buyer and seller, if not preuented. In their Weights each Citie differeth from other. The Commodities are infinite: the chiefe, Indicoes of two sorts, Checques the courser, and *Labor* the finer; Cloth made of Cotton-wooll, as Callicoes white and coloured, contayning fourteene yards the Booke, from two to one hundred Mamudies the piece, Pintados, Chints and Chadors, Shalhes and Girdles, Cannakens, Treckanees, Serrabais, Aleiaes, Patellas, Sellas, Quilts, Carpets; Greene Ginger, Suckets, Lignum Aloes, Opium, Sadarmoniacke and abundance of other Drugs. Commodities vendible are Knives, Glasses, Pictures and such like toyes; *English* cloth; *China* wares, Silke and Porcelane; all manner of Spices. The *Guzerats* lade their great ships of nine, twelue or fifteene hundred tunnes at *Goga*, and steale out vnknowne to the *Portugals*.

Chiefe Cities for Trade on the Riuer *Sinde* or *Indus*, are *Tatta*, (on a Riuer which fals into it) *Duilsinde*, *Multan*, *Lahore*. At *Duilsinde* the Expedition in her former Voyage had deliuered Sir *Robert Sherley* the *Perisan* Embassadour, of whom I thought good to adde this (which I learned by inquiry of some of his Followers to *Agra*) as an appendix to that relation in my former Iournall. Being weary of *Duilsinde* by the Gouvernours euill intreatie and suffering the *Portugals* to molest him, seeking also to cut him off, for which purpose twelue *Portugals* came from *Ormuz*; He sought libertie to goe to *Tatta*, but the Gouvernour not permitting (as was thought of euill purpose) he went without leaue, and was by the way to passe a Riuer, where none durst carrie him or his, being prohibited on paine of death by the said Gouvernour. They therefore made rafts of boards and Timbers, on which the Embassadour shipped himselfe with *Nazerbeg* one of his Followers to helpe him ouer: and were no sooner put off, but twentie or thirtie Horsemen came from the Gouvernour in great haste to stay them. Thus were they brought backe, men swimming to the raft, which *Nazerbeg* was not able to guide against the tyde, and they narrowly escaped drowning. His Followers disdainning this rude dealing, one Master *John Ward* shot off his Pistoll in



in their faces, and was instantly slaine by another shot, and the rest carried away Prisoners to *Duilsinde*, being pillaged by the way of the Souldiers. After some time of imprisonment, the Gouvernour permitted their departure to *Tatta*, where they were friendly entertained of the Gouvernour being a *Persian*. Sir *Thomas Powell*, and Master *Francis Bub*, were then dead before in *Duilsinde*. He remayned at *Tatta* till fit opportunitie for *Agra*, the way long and in danger of death and his Theeves: whither he went in company of a great man which had a strong Conuoy, for whom he waited also two moneths.

The Ladie *Powell* in this space was deliuered of a Sonne, but shee and it together with Master *Michael Powell*, Brother to Sir *Thomas*, lost their liues in this tedious expectation, in Boats, for that great man afore said. At his comming to *Agra* the *Mogoll* gaue him fauourable entertainment, and vpon his complaint sent for the *Banian* Gouvernour of *Duilsinde*, to answere at the Court, promising him his owne reuenge, if he would stay. But hee hastening to the *Persian*, after many Presents from the *Mogoll*, with a Conuoy and necessaries for his iourney, departed for *Persia*, not hauing one *Englishman* with him. Master *Richard Barber* his Apothecarie returned to *Surat*, and *John Heriot* dyed at *Agra*. There remayned with him of his old Followers only his Ladie, and her Woman, two *Persians*, the old *Armenian* and the *Chircassian*: His *Dutch* Jeweller came from *Agra* to *Surat*, with Master *Edwards*.

§. II.

Prizes taken, Factorie at Callicut, Obseruations of diuers places of Sumatra: the English shippes miscarrie. Dutch abuses, Factories in India.



He nine and twentieth of Februaty, we tooke a *Portugall* prize. The third of March, we riding at an anchor in the Road of *Callicut*. The Great *Samorine*s Deputie came aboard many Boats attending him, signifying his Masters ioy of our comming, and his earnest desire to haue conference with our Nation, and therefore earnestly perswaded vs to stay a day or two, till he might send to the *Samorine*, then at *Crangalor*, besieging a Castle of the *Portugals*. We had here store of prouision brought aboard at reasonable rates. *Callicut* hath latitude eleuen degrees ten minutes, variation fiftene degrees fortie minutes. The same evening came a Pilot by order from the *Samorine* to intreate vs to ride two or three dayes before *Crangalor*.

*Samorine, or King of Calicut.*

The fifth, we anchored all foure ships before *Crangalor*, two leagues from the shoare. About noone the *Samorine* sent to the Generall to request his company alhoare, which was not thought fit without a pledge, and Master *George Barkley* went. But the *Samorine* refused to reueale his minde to any but the Generall, and seemed discontent at his stay.

*Crangalor in 16. deg. 15. min.*

The eight, he went and spake with the *Samorine*, whose businesse was to stablish a Factorie in his Dominion, profering a faire house rent-free, freedome from Customes or any other Taxations, for whatsoeuer goods brought thither or carryed thence, with protestation of his affection to our Nation. Answer was made of our present disability, hauing left most of our goods at *Surat*, and now going to *Bantam*. He replied, that for present leauing goods it was no matter, only that we would leaue two or three *English* there which should want nothing, and the next yeere we might make supply of men, and goods, hereby he being assured of our returne: otherwise his care and hopes should be frustrated. He told also of a shippes lading of Pepper there to be had yearly, and of the vent of our Commodities. Whereupon it was concluded to leaue a Factorie there, which with Merchandise were sent ashore on the ninth. The men were *George Woolman* chiefe, *Peter Needham* and *Roger Hares* vnder-factors, *Edward Peake* a Boy, and *Richard Stamford*. The Boy was to learne the Language. The Kings name is *Pendre Quone Samorine*. A Minion and a Barrell of Powder was given him for a Present. He promised that if hee recouered the Fort of *Crangalor* from the *Portugals*, the *English* should possesse it.

Offers of the *Samorine*s to the *English*.

Factory at *Crangalor*.

The tenth, the King sent his Letter of agreement touching the said Priuiledges with many protestations of loue. This day we set saile. We came before *Cochin* and might behold the forme of it. The next day we had sight of *Conlan* Castle, and Towne, and a ship riding at anchor vnder the Castle which we boarded and brought forth, the people being fled without hurt of shot from the Castle. It was a *Portugall* ship of foure or five hundred Tunnes lately arriued from *Bengala* and *Pegu*, laden with Rice, Graine, *Bengala* clothing, Butter, Sugar, Gummelacke, hard Waxe, Drugges and other prouisions.

*Cochin. Conlan, a second prize taken.*

The twelfth, we espied another ship which by mid-night we fetched vp; shee yeilded at the first shot. I sent for her chiefe men aboard my ship (the rest being three or foure miles off, and set some of mine aboard charging them to hurt no person. There were eightene or twentie *Portugals*, and about eightie slaues, men, women and children: her chiefe lading Rice, Butter, Sugar, Gummelacke, Drugges, *Bengala* Stuffs. Wee offered these our first price with victuals to

A third prize, in part of satisfaction for their vniust vexation and hurt at *Surat*, &c.



carrie them ashore, which they refused fearing to become a prey to the *Malabars*, a Fleet of whom consisting of fourteene saile they lately had with difficultie escaped. The next day wee landed them where they desired and suffered them to depart vnsearched for Plate, Jewels, Money and the like. We had three *English* ships, and three prizes.

*Brinion.*

The fourteenth, we arrived at *Brinion* where we took out of the first prize what we pleased and set her a drift. *Brinion* is in latitude eight degrees thirtie minutes, variation fifteen. It hath a small Town in a little round Bay, is to be known by a long white beach to the North, and to the South is all high land: and two leagues to the South, a red Cliffe neere the Sea. From thence to Cape *Comorine* is sixteene leagues: the course South-east by South bold and free Coast. The Inhabitants of *Brinion* are no way subiect to the *Portugals*.

The first of Aprill, the bodie of *Zeilon* did beare East by South seven leagues off.

1616.  
Note for Cape  
*Comorine*.

The tenth, the *Pike Adam* bare North. I tooke my leaue of the Generall, the *Dragon* and *Pepper-Corne* they being bound for *Achen*, and I in the *Expedition* for *Priaman*, *Tecoo*, and *Bantam*. It is good to ride till the end of March in *Brinion*, and not to double the Cape by reason of calmes, the Southerly Current setting off to the *Maldina*: but then the Easterly Monson ends.

The *Aduice* &  
*Hoflander* at  
*Iapan*.

I would wish all that come from the West to *Priaman* or *Tecoo*, to dispose that they may haue day-light enough for the comming in betwixt *Nimptan* and the other Islands adjacent. The best is on the North-side. On the thirtieth, I met the *Aduice* going for *Tecoo*, but at my request shee returned to *Bantam* whence she was sent for *Iapon*.

The first of May, I arrived at *Bantam*, where I found the *Hoflander* newly returned from *Iapon*, and the *Attendance* from *Iambe*, most of the men sicke or dead. Here I heard of the death of Captaine *Downton*, and of the arriual of Captaine *Samuel Castleton* with the *Cloue* and *Defence*, which with the *Thomas* and *Concord* were gone for the *Moluccas*: The *Thomas* appointed to proceed from thence to *Iapon*.

Strange  
wormes in the  
*Surat* Sea.

The nineteenth, I set saile for *Tecoo*. The tenth of Iune, I put into *Priaman*, and the eighteenth arrived at *Tecoo*. The third of Iuly, I brought my ship on Careene to sheath her. The double sheathing of ships which goe for *Surat* is of great purpose: for though the outermost sheathing be eaten like a Honey-combe with wormes, yet the inner is nothing perished. It were also requisite that the Rudders were sheathed with thinne Copper, to preuent the Wormes eating off the edges thereof; which causeth great defect in the steering, not easily to be remedied being so deepe vnder water. The Inhabitants here are barbarous, deceitfull, expecting bribes, and sometimes I haue bene in danger to be murdered, one hundred of them drawing their Crises vpon vs, because they might not haue their will to take our goods vpon trust or otherwise at their pleasures. The twentieth, *Thomas Bonner* Master of the *Expedition* dyed, *Iohn Row* succeeded, the third Master in this ship this Voyage.

The sixe and twentieth, arrived the *Dragon* and *Pepper-Corne* from *Achen*. They had bought there Pepper carryed thither from *Tecoo* in great lunkes and Prawes which saile to and fro, but neuer out of sight of land.

King of *Achen*  
his playing the  
Merchant.

The King of *Achen* commands those of *Tecoo* to bring thither their Pepper, which none may buy but he, who puts off his *Surat* Commodities in trucke at what rates he pleaseth. Oft times he sends his Commodities to *Priaman* and *Tecoo*, enforcing them to buy them at his rates, none being suffered to buy or sell with other till his bee vented: This makes our Trade with them the better.

*Iambe*.

*Iambe* is on the East-side of *Sumatra*. It yeeldeth like great-grained Pepper as *Priaman*, but is not subiect to the King of *Achen*, as are *Baruse*, *Passaman*, *Tecoo*, *Priaman*, *Cottatinga*, and other places on the West-side. *Baruse* is to the North of *Passaman*, and yeelds store of *Beniamin*, *Cottatinga* Gold, the other places Pepper. The Generall brought the King of *Achens* Letter to them which the great men receiued with great submission, each kissing and laying it on his head, promising vs to performe the contents, but failed. And it were fit in these Letters of the King, to procure him to expresse the manner and particulars of our Trade. The eleuenth of September, I set saile from *Tecoo* for *Bantam*.

*Passaman* best  
Gold and Pepper.  
Gold, and good  
constitution of  
bodie or mind,  
not agreeing.  
*Tecoo* barbarous.

The best Gold and most plenty is had at the great high hill of *Passaman*, where also is greatest quantitie of Pepper, the fairest and best cheape: but the euill constitution of the aire is to pestilent and infectious, that there is no going thither for our Nation without mortalitie of men: neither needs for the Pepper, *Surat* Commodities at *Tecoo* being sufficient attractive. Many of the Natiues I haue obserued full of contagious diseases, the limbes of some ready to droppe off with rotnesse, others hauing huge swellings (*Wennes*) vnder the throat as bigge as a two peny loafer, which they impute to the bad water. They are very ignorant to cure their diseases. The people of *Tecoo* are base, theeuish, subtil, embracing gaine at any price by fraud, or (as farre as they dare) by force, mis-reckoning, false weights, yea attempting to poison our meates and drinckes as they are dressing, creeling also our horses. Better order may be hoped by the King of *Achens* procurement. There were but five left in the Factory. Our two *Portugall* prizes wee made away at *Achen*, sharing (according to the custome of the sea) one sixt part to the shippes companies, the rest for our employers, &c.



Between *Priaman* and *Tecoo* there lyeth a dangerous shoald North-west by West, from the South-west Ile of *Priaman*, a mile and quarter in length, and in breadth a quarter, of which care is to be had, lest the Current setting Southerly put you on it. This and other shoalds hereabouts being white Corall, are easily discerned. When the South-west Ile doth beare South South-east from you, then are you past danger, provided the Northernmost Ile of the foure by *Priaman* shoare beare East by North, so may you steere in for the Road, East, and East by South, and East South-east, leaving two Ilands on the Starboard, and two on the Larboard side. Latitude of *Tecoo* is South thirtie minutes, variation West foure degrees, thirty minutes: latitude of *Priaman* is also South betwixt eight and forty degrees, fifty minutes.

Observations for going into *Priaman* Road. Hee mentioneth many other shoalds not here expressed, but knowne to our Country-men by experience.

Many of our men were sicke, whereof the cause seemeth their immoderate drinking of Arack and strong drinckes. At *Bantam* were at my last being there (October 1616.) foure English ships there and at *Iackatra*, and five Flemish ships, which raised the price of Pepper, and the rather by the *Hollanders* boasts of bringing this year sixteene hundred thousand Rialls of eight, ready money, which it is likely they reported to out-braue our Nation. The last Fleet of theirs, six in number, tooke two or three Portugall ships, whereof they made great brauado's. They seeke by all abuses to depresse our Nation, in vnchristian manner through the *Indies*: euen in *Bantam* (where they acknowledge our equall right) they threaten to pull our people out of the Factory by the eares; sometime quarrell with them in the streets, other times imprison them; and when themselves haue caused an uproare, they complaine to the King of *Bantam* of our vnquietnesse, and bribe him to command vs to be quiet, who receiueth their money, and tells vs of their dealing, himselfe taking aduantage to pole both parts, by this disagreement.

Huge summes transported by *Hollanders*. Their pride and abuses of the English.

Also at *Puloway*, an Iland freely giuen His Maestie, they abused our people, putting halters about their neckes, and leading them thorow the Towne with an houre-glasse before them, publishing that they should be hanged so soone as the glasse was runne: and although they did not effect that honorable designe, yet did they imprison them, and keepe them three or foure dayes in irons, afterwards sending them aboard the *Concord* and *Thomasine* vpon a counterfeit composition neuer to returne (these things are reported to bee very true.) Likewise at the returne of the *Hoflander* from *Iapan*, shee brought thirtie tunnes of wood, free of freight and charges, for the *Hollanders*; who notwithstanding reported that shee had returned empty but for their wood: which they might haue said as well of my bringing one and thirtie Charles of Indico, and a Chitt of Pistolls freight-free for them from *Surat* to *Bantam*.

Insolencies at *Puloway*.

Captaine *Castleton* went to the *Moluccas* with foure ships, the *Claue*, *Defence*, *Thomas* and *Concord*, to be better able to defend themselves against the *Hollanders*: but being threatned by eleuen saile of theirs, they returned without doing any great matter, onely a few Cloaues laded in the *Claue*; the Captaine himselfe dying there of the fluxe, to whom the fault is imputed with other things laid to him.

Captaine *Castleton* to the *Moluccas* with foure ships.

The *Trades-Increase* was fired twice by the *Iauans*, and by our people quenched: but the third, time fired in so many places at once, that industry could not saue her.

Decay or losse of English ships.

The *Darling* (that I may adde such ships as were lost and laid vp at my departure from *Bantam*) was laid vp at *Patania*, in Iune 1615. by Master *Larkine* and the Factory, and could not be repaired: Herrold the Master was reported to haue intended to runne away with her to the *Portugals*, which being preuented, he yet went himselfe.

*Trades-Increase*, *Darling*.

The *Thomasine* was cast away, comming from the *Moluccas*, vpon a shoald in the night, in September 1615. they lost their goods, which were not much, but saued their money, two thousand Rialls of eight, with their provisions, liuing fourteene dayes in a desolate Iland, where they fitted their Boat, which brought them and their money to *Bantam*, leaving the rest behind; the King of *Macasser* seizing on them, who would not make restitution. This shoald lyeth eighteene leagues West from *Macasser*.

*Thomasine*.

The *Heffor* failed at *Iackatra* in careening, the vpper workes not fitted (as is reported) and the seams opening, and receiuing so much water, that shee suncke in three fathom, the keele exceedingly worme-eaten.

*Heffor*.

The *Concord* is there also laid vp, rotten and leake, that they were forced to take out her provisions, and let her sinke close to the shoare.

*Concord*.

The *Hoflander* was appointed to set saile for the Coast of *Coromandel*, the fifteenth of October, 1615.

The Factories which I could heare of settled for the Company in the East-Indies are these: *Bantam* (wherein were *George Barkley* Chiefe, *Iohn Jordan*, *George Ball*, *Ralph Copendale*, with diuers others both Factors and Attendants) *Iackatra*, *Surat*, *Amaduanas*, *Agra* and *Azmire*; *Bram-pore*, *Calecut*, *M. sulipatan*, *Petapoli*, *Patania*, *Siam*, *Beniarmasse*, *Socodania*, *Macasser*, *Achen*, *Iambe*, *Tecoo*, *Feando* in *Iapan*, *Iapar*, *Banda*.

English Factories.

The commodity which ariseth from the Factory at *Achen* is to sollicite for our our better proceeding at *Priaman* and *Tecoo*, the place is vnwholesome, especially for such as stiffe themselves with hot and fiery drinckes, as Aracke and Aracape, which bring many vnto vntimely ends; whence ariseth an imputation to the Voyage. How vnruely the common sort are abroad, cannot

Aracke a wine distilled out of Rice steeped in liquor taken out of the co-bee trees.



be imagined at home, many neuer thinking themselves well, longer then whiles their braines are a crowing with drinke. The King of *Achen* is laid to haue a strange straine of drinking drunke, when the *English* resort to him, thereby to shew his loue; to whom it seemeth dishonor, not to conforme in sitting in the water with him, and other his rites. He is very cruell to his subiects, daily cutting off their hands, armes or legges, vpon small or no occasions; causing them to bee throwne before Elephants, himselfe commanding the (vnderstanding) Elephant to toss the partie so oft and so high, either to bruise or kill him, as he fancieth. He hath prohibited any, which arrive at his Port, without his Chop to come on shoare, which a *Dutch* Merchant neglecting, caused a *Dutch* General there arriving to come on land, professing his great fauour with the King: who comming to the Court-gate, where they must demand another Chop: the King finding the chiefe Leeger cause of that presumption, sent for him, and laid him before the Elephant, which tossed him three times (without much bruising) to teach him how to neglect the commands of Kings another time; the *Dutch* Generall standing by, and fearing his owne share, whom yet the King cleared as ignorant of his Law. The King after sent for the Merchant to prie into his patience, who for feare of worse, soothed him, and acknowledged it a fatherly chastisement, yet closely fled at the departure of the ships; the rest following were brought backe, and the King hath placed vs in their house.

Cause of disgust betwixt the Achener and Hollander.

### §. III.

A briefe Declaration of the Ports, Cities and Townes, inhabited and traded vnto by the Portugall, betwixt the Cape of Good Hope and Iapan, as I could learne by diligent enquiry.

Places of Portugall trade.  
*Quame* or *Chamo*.  
*Mosambique*.  
*Mombassa*.



He Riuer *Quame* in South latitude one and twenty degrees, fifty minutes, heere is reported to be Gold, Elephants-teeth, Ambergreese and Slaues, for which they trade yearly.

*Mosambique* is an Iland where they trade for Gold, Ambergreese and Slaues. 30

*Mombassa* in South latitude three degrees, thirty minutes, where they yearely trade for Gold, Ambergreese, Elephants-teeth, and Slaues, in trucke of Iron, Lead, Tinne, and *Cambaya* Commodities.

*Magadoxo*.

*Magadoxo* hath two degrees, five and twenty minutes, store of Elephants-teeth, some Ambergreese, and diuers sorts of Drugges. From these places they driue their annuall trade into *Cambaya*, the Red-sea, and other places, obseruing the Monsons, which blow West in Aprill, May, Iune, Iuly, August, and part of September, and the East Monson the rest of the yeare, the space betwixt both, being various or calme, but in few dayes hold course, except to the East of *Sumatra*, where they keepe five months East, and five West, two variable.

The Monsons courses

*Ormuz*.

*Ormuz* in the Gulfe of *Persia*, whence they trade into *Persia*, *Arabia*, *Diu*, *Sinde*, &c. they fetch 40 much Pearle from *Balsora*, and with *Persian* Commodities lade a shippe or two for *Diu*, where in the end of August, or middle of September they arrive; they bring with them also great store of Rials of eight. *Ormuz* is their best place, but *Goa*, which they haue in the *Indies*.

*Muskat*.

*Muskat*: they haue small trade heere, and a Fort, where they awe the Natiues by land and sea, not suffering them to trade but by their licence, what, and how much, vnder paine of confiscation, which they practise thorow all the *Indies*, where they are strong.

*Sinde*.  
*Diu*.

*Sinde* or *Diu*, in the *Mogolls* Dominion, in foure and twenty degrees, eight and thirty minutes: variation West, sixe degrees, five and forty minutes. *Diu*, where they haue a strong Castle. 50

*Damon*.

*Damon* is a Citie inhabited by them, where they haue a Castle, and by report one hundred Villages.

*Serra de Bazien*.  
*Chaul*, *Dabul*.

*Serra de Bazien*, is a little South from *Damon*, and bordereth vpon the *Decans* Countrey, betwixt which and *Chaul* they haue three Ports, *Gazien*, *Banda* and *Maia*. *Chaul* is a great Citie with a Castle. *Dabul* hath a Factory, but no Fort.

*Goa*.

*Goa* is their Metropolitan Cite of *India*, built on a small Iland, the anchoring place of their Carickes, the Seat of their Vice-Roy.

*Onor*, *Barcelor*.

*Onor* hath a small Fort. *Barcelor* hath a Castle and Towne, it yeeldeth Pepper, Ginger, and many sorts of Drugges.

*Mangalor*, *Cananor*.  
*Crangalor*.

*Mangalor* hath a Towne and Castle. *Cananor* is a Citie, and hath a Castle, Merchandize as before. From *Calicut* they are thrust out by the *Samorine*, as he seeketh also at *Crangalor*, where they haue a Fort. 60

*Cochin*.

*Cochin* hath a strong City and Castle, pleasantly situated by the Sea side in a good ayre, with a faire Riuer for ships to ride.

*Comlan*:



*Cowlan*, heere they haue a Towne and strong Castle. *Saint Laurence* is a small Village, inhabited by Friars and Iesuits.

*Cowlan.*  
*Saint Laurence.*

*Quilaon*, is a small Citie with a Castle. *Tuckatra*, a Towne with a Castle, the people most part Christians.

*Quilaon-Tuc.*  
*katra.*

*Maner*, is on the Iland *Zelon*, betwixt *Cape Comorine* and *Punto de Galle*, a Towne inhabited by Portugals. There also they haue *Columbo*, and many other small habitations, hauing almost conquered the Iland: it yeelds *Sinamom* and *Drugges*.

*Maner.*  
*Columbo.*

*Negapatan*, is a City of great trade: heere they haue only a Factory. *Saint Thomas*, alias *Ma-lapor*, is a walled City, inhabited with Portugals, in thirteene degrees, twenty minutes. Vp the Riuer *Ganges*, they haue many small habitations, some Factories, and a Towne at *Bengala*.

*Negapatan.*  
*Saint Thomas.*

In *Pegu*, they haue a Factory, and likewise in *Aracon*, and in the Riuer of *Martaban*.

*Ganges.*

At *Iunfalao*, they haue a great Factory, from whence they lade much Tinne for the Coast of *Malabar*.

*Pegu.*  
*Aracon.*  
*Iunfalao.*

*Malacca*, is a strong city and castle, the Centre of a great trade in those parts, whence the King of *Achen* seekes to roote them out, hauing burnt and spoiled some of their ships this yeare.

*Malacca.*

At *Macao*, an Iland vpon the Coast of *China*, they haue a Citie with a Castle, reported to be of great trade with the *Chineses*.

In *Iapan*, they haue a Factory, but neither Towne nor Fort. They trade also on the Coast of *China*, in the time of fitting Monson to and from *Iapan* and other parts: whereof the *Hollanders* are said to make good pillage, and of all *Heathen Nations*, *Chineses* and others, being all fish that comes to net.

*Iapan.*

The first of Nouember, we set saile. The fifth of Ianuary, I was not able to weigh the anchor (the wind ouer-blowing) to follow the *Dragon* to *Penguin* Iland. My aduise for ships comming about the Cape at this time of the yeare, is, not to anchor short of *Soldania* Road, but rather to put romer for *Penguin* Iland, and there to anchor with two at once till the wind serue.

In December, Ianuary and February, the South South-east winds are there very furious, from the new Moone to the full. I hold it dangerous neuertheless to neglect this place in hope of *Saint Helena* (a certainty for vncertainty) the Sunnes and Moones often obscuritie and thicke mists at this time of the yeare, may frustrate the best Artists to the losse of shippe and men. *Cory* came downe with three sheepe, and promised more: but hastened away to his wife and children, which he said now dwelt further. It seemeth that the *Hollanders* haue frighted them, by their going vp into the Countrey with one hundred men at a time. Our best refreshing heere was fresh-fish.

Note.

The ninth of Aprill 1617. wee passed much weeds, called the *Seragasso*, which lye in long ridges or rankes a pretty distance one from another alongst with the wind, with which they alter and shift. It hath a leafe like *Samper*, but not so thicke, and a yellow berry very small. It reacheth from two and twenty degrees, three minutes North latitude, vnto two and thirty degrees North latitude. The nine and twentieth of May we anchored in the Downes.

*Seragasso.*

## CHAP. XVI.

Observations collected out of the Iournall of Sir THOMAS ROE, Knight, Lord Embassadour from His MAIESTIE of Great Britaine, to the Great Mogol: Of matters occurring worthy memory in the way, and in the Mogols Court. His Customes, Cities, Countryes, Subiects, and other Indian Affaires.

## §. I.

Occurrents and obseruations, in, and touching the Voyage to Surat.



He fifth of Iune, we anchored in the roade of *Soldania*. Though the Variation be an excellent euident in the whole course of veering land, yet it deliuereth no other certaintie, but warning to look out; for it lessens not in the same proportion neere land, but by a much slower: for which I could giue a perspicuous reason, but too large for this place, nor can any iudgement at all be made to twenty leagues thereby (that shall be infallible) the magneticall amplitude beeing so difficult to obserue truely by the Ships motion, and the Needles quicknesse, that a degree is scarce an error. This consideration made me confident, that we should see no land vntill the fifth day early in the morning.

Vncertainty of the Variation.

*Soldania*, is as I suppose, an Iland in the South end whereof is the Cape of *Good Hope*, diuided from

*Soldania*  
from



Penguin Iland.

The height of  
the Table.

Molalia.

Angazesia.

Iuanny, and  
Myoatta.The gouerne-  
ment of Mola-  
lia.

from the maine by a deepe Bay on the South-East side, and due East by a Riuer, which wee discern vpon the table. The land is fruitfull, bearing short thicke grasse, the maine is diuided with most high and steepe rocky Mountaines couered with snow, and vnaccessible, except it be searched by the Riuer of *Dulce*, which doubtlesse is very great, falling into the Bay on the East side: there is on the Iland five or sixe hundred people, the most barbarous in the world, eating Carrion, wearing the guts of sheepe about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads (curled like *Negroes*) with dung of beasts and dirt: they haue no other clothing then beasts skinnnes wrapt on their shoulders, the skin next the body in heat, in cold the hairy side; their houses are but one mat, concaued like an Ouen, into which they creepe, and turne them about as the wind changes: for they haue no doores to keepe it out. They haue left their stealing by trading with vs, and by signes make shew their heart is good: they know no kind of God or Religion. The aire, and water is very good and wholesome, and both of them subtile and searching. There is on the Iland, Buls, Cowes, Antelops, Baboones, Moules of great bignesse, Feasants, Patridges, Larks, Wildgeese, Ducks, Passerflannugos, and many others. On *Pengwyn* there is a fowle so called, that goes vpright, his wings without feathers, hanging downe like sleeues faced with white: they fly not, but walke in pathes and keep their diuisions and quarters orderly; they are a strange fowle, or rather a miscellaneous creature, of Beast, Bird, and Fish, but most of Bird, confuting that definition of man to be *Animal bipes implume*, which is nearer to a description of this creature. The commodities here are, first reasonable refreshing with Cattell (so that a season be chosen when they are not leane, a Moneth after the Sunne is departed from them Northward) Maugin rootes, Arras, if our Merchants be not deceiued; and I doe strongly suppose, that I found out a Rocke yeelding Quick-siluer and Vermillion, the stone being spotted all without, with a most pure red colour, equall to any painting, and that will come off vpon Paper, or other fit matter: by the description of *John Acosta* it cannot faile to be the same; it is also very heauy, full of Marquisat and minerall appearances. The Table, or high Rocke so called, by a straight line from the water side, is 11833 foot high; the Bay is full of Whales and Seales. The *Dutch* haue fished on *Pengwyn* for them: the latitude is, thirtie three degrees fortie five minutes: the longitude twentie eight degrees thirtie minutes from the Lifard, the variation doubtfull, whether to the East or West; but my opinion is, that the variation is West thirty minutes: the cause of variation beeing in the maine, as appears euidently by the many lines, and changes towards the Cape F. and after Westerly: if any shipping, hauing time enough, fall but one hundred leagues more to the North with the maine, which may be done with safety, no winds forbidding it, I assure my selfe they shall haue good trade for Cattell, and other Commodities, and may by leauing some men, discover the land, and perhaps get knowledge of the people that trade with the *Spaniards* on the East side in one and twenty degrees for Gold, after the manner of the *Moors* in *Barbary* to *Gago*. These left at the Cape will goe no further, but attend opportunity of passage, and there can doe no great good being among the basest banished people, that know nothing fauouring of man, nor are no other way men, but as they speake and walke like men.

*Molalia* is one of the foure Ilands of *Comory*, *Angazesia*, *Iuanny*, and *Mayotta* beeing the other three. They lie East and West neere in a parallel one off another, except *Angazesia*, which lieth somewhat more North. *Molalia* is in twelue degrees twentie minutes South latitude, in the same Meridian with Cape *Augustine*, the variation being sixteene degrees fortie minutes.

*Angazesia* beares from it by the Compasse North by West, seuen leagues off, the further-most end in eleuen degrees fiftie five minutes, extending it selfe North eleuen degrees sixe minutes, as I obserued within five leagues thereof, bearing South from me; it is the highest land I euer saw, inhabited by *Moors* trading with the Maine, and the other three Easterne Ilands with their Cattell and fruits, for Callicoes, or other linnen to couer them. It is gouerned by tenne petty Kings, and is sufficiently fruitfull of Kine, faire Goates, Cocos, Orenge and Limons: they made vs fires as we passed by, being desirous of trade at the first hand which now they fetch by Canoes at *Molalia* where our ships ride. They are held a false and an vnfaithfull people, hauing betrayed some of *S. James Lancasters* men long since; but now hauing experience of vs at other Ilands, I doubt not they would regaine their credits.

*Iuanny* lies from *Molalia* East, and *Mayotta* in the same course, the coast betweene them is euery way bold. These three Ilands are very full of very good refreshings, but principally *Mayotta*, as I was informed by the *Arabs* trading in *Molalia*, and the *Dutch* stop there. The next in goodnesse is *Iuanny*, where liues an old Woman *Sultanne* of them all, to whom they repaire for Iustice, both in Ciuill and Criminall causes.

*Molalia* hath in it three *Sub-Sultans*, children of the old woman, two men one daughter, who gouerne seuerall parts of the Iland. The *Sultan* in whose quarter we anchored hath such authoritie, that his subiects dare not sell a Nut vntill leaue obtained: to which end, Captaine *Keeling* sent foure boats to his Towne desiring libertie to trade, where they were receiued by a Gouernour, or rather an Admirall or Commander of the port, lying some foure leagues to the Eastward of our Road, where hauing obtained leaue to come alhoare, we landed some fortie men with Captaine *Newport*: the Gouernour they found sitting vpon a Mat of straw, vnder the side of a Iunke



Junke which was a building, accompanied with about fiftie men, his apparrell was a Mantle of blue and red linnen, wrapt about him to his knees, his legges and feet bare, on his head a close Cap of checker worke, the Interpreters were certaine *Magadoxians*, that spake *Arabique* and broken *Portuguese*. Captain *Newport* presenting him with a Peece and a Sword blade from Capt. *Keeling*, receiued a welcome, and commanded foure Bullocks to be returned in requitall, and with grauitie enough intertained them, giuing free libertie to buy and sell, and signifying so much by a Messenger to the Inhabitants round about, and promised to send downe his owne Cattell, but professed he had no power to compell or make price for others, but left the trade open to euery mans will. He sent for Coco Nuts to giue the Company, himselfe chewing Bittle, and lime of Burnt Oyster-shells with a kernell of a Nut called *Arracca*, like an akorne, it bites in the mouth, auoids rheume, cooles the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their Phisick: it makes one vnused to it giddie, and makes a mans spittle red, and in time colours the teeth, which is esteemed a beautie: this is vsed by all men hourelly. From the Gouvernour they were led to a Carpenters house, a chiefe man of that towne; the house built of lime and stone, plaistered with mortar or white lime, low and little Rooft, with Rafters of wood couered with leaues, the out-sides walled with Canes: they are kept cleanelly, and their poore household-stuffe still neate, their Gardens paled with Canes, inclosing some Tobacco, and Plantan trees. For Dinner, a boord was set vpon Tressels couered with a fine new Mat, benches of stone about it likewise couered, on which they sat: first water was brought to euery man in a Coco-shell poured out into a wooden platter, and instead of a Towell, the rinds of Cocos. Then was set boyld Rice, and roasted Plantans vpon the Rice, quarters of Hennes, and pieces of Goat broild. After grace said, they fell to their meat, with bread made of Cuscus beaten, and mingled with honey, and so fryed, and Palmet wine, and Coco milke for drinke. I sent a Gentleman and my Chaplin to see the *Sultan* himselfe, who liues three miles vp in the land from *Fambone* the towne of the Gouvernour, but they found him by chance there: he vsed them courteously, and made them dine with him, differing little from the former intertainment, onely the Gouvernour and all other gaue him much respect, kissing his hand, his name is *Sultan Amar-Adel*, a kinne to *Mahomet*, not vnlike to be descended of such an imposterous race, his clothes not vnlike the Gouvernour, but somewhat better stuffe, his manners differing much, beeing with lesse grauitie and State, somewhat a light foole, and very hastie to be dranke with wine carried by the *English*. The other *Vice-Sultan* his brother, in whose quarter we were not, I saw beeing come downe to our Road with three slaues to trade: he brought a Certificate from Captaine *Sayers*, that he had vsed the *English* well in his Dominions, he is as well *Xeriffe* as *Sultan*, which is high Priest: he kept a kind of State in place, but otherwise a poore bare-footed roague: he offered to trade for Quick-siluer, and beeing asked what quantitie hee would buy, replied to foure or fise Rialls of eight; when this merchandize failed him, hee fell to begging of shooes. Then I left him.

All the people are strict Mahometans, obseruing much of the old law, and at this time being the preparation to their *Ramdam* or Lent, vnwilling to drinke wine: they are very iealous to let the Women or *Moschees* to be seene, of which we had experience by an alarme of one of their Priests, who espied one of ours comming to a Village, who shut vp all the Women, and cryed out if we came neere them or their Church, they would kill vs; but by the authoritie of the *Xeriffe*, the Priest was appeased, and suffered it with more patience. Many of them speake and write the *Arabique* in a faire Character, and some few *Portuguese*, trading to *Mosambique* in Iunkes of fortie Tunnes made of Cocos sowed, in stead of Pinnes caucked, tackled, and wholly fitted, victualled, and fraughted with that vniuersall tree.

Here our fleet refreshed with Oxen and Cowes, small as two yeereling, but good flesh, with Goats very fat and large, *Arabian* sheepe, Hennes, Cocos, Oranges, Limons, Limes in great abundance, which we bought for Callicoes, Hollands, or other linnens, Sword-blades, and Rialls of eight, and their fruits for Glasses, Kniues and trifles: what soeuer is bought for money is bought dearest.

Here was in trade a Junke of *Madagascar* with slaues: the Pilote of the Junke called *Malim Abrinne* spake *Portuguese*, and told me on the South-side of *S. Laurence*, there was store of Amber-greece, and Cocos of the Sea; hee was skilfull in the coast, and in the lying and bearing of lands, both in course and distance. He had a great parchment Card, lined and graduated orderly, which I sent to see: he found fault with many things in my Card at sight, which I mented by his direction, and with reason, as the distance from *Socatra* from the Main, and rating quite out certaine Ilands to the Southward of *Molalia*, affirming there are none such: his countrey lyes from one degree fiftie minutes, to foure degrees, the Port in two degrees tenne minutes North latitude, gouerned by one King: he assured me of trade enough at his port to load one ship with Marfill, Amber, and Tinta Roxa: he promised to bring me his Plot and soundings, and a sample of Tinta Roxa, but some other cause diuerted him, that he would come no more at me, notwithstanding I dealt liberally with him in present and in promises. To the South of *Magadoxa*, all the Ports are gouerned by *Moorish* petty Kings, euen to *Mosambique*: he perswaded me that wee might in many places trade for Gold and Siluer; that in *Magadoxa* the houses roofes were gilt, that



that they had gold in sand, and mingled with earth, which they esteeme not: of the Inland hee knew little, onely naming some places or Regions betweene *Magadoxia* and *Prester John*, as *Odelia Mabesa*, *Rechamy* and *Gala*, of which *Odelia* and *Gala*, are *Chaphares* which signifieth mis-believers; I know not whether he meanes *Gentiles* or *Christians*, vsing the same promiscuously alwel to *Prester John* as to other *Gentiles*. Of *Prester John*, he knoweth no more, then that hee is a great Prince and a *Capbar*: from *Magadoxo* to *Cambaya*, hee was expert, his brother who came with him to me, was in fight against the *Hope* in a *Portugall* ship, pressed from *Damon*, in which fortie five were slaine, more he knew not, but that three ships were burned, and the rest run away; he said the King of *Dabul* tooke courage on this victorie and surprised *Chaul, Damon*, & other the *Portugals* Port Townes, was marching to *Goa*, that the *Portugall* was in great distresse of victuals. I hoped to haue stord my selfe with more discourse from him, but I was, I know not how, preuented: it were time well bestowed to see this Coast, and I spake to some of it, but it fared the worse for the Father.

*Chaul, Damon.*

The Road of *Molalia* lyes in twelue degrees ten minutes, and for the first sixe dayes the Current sets two leagues a watch South-west, the Moone increasing at the ful, we woond vp North-east the other way but very easily, for the most part riding vpon the Current. The *Magadoxians* made some absurdly belecue, that the Current set fiftene dayes one way, and fiftene another, and fiftene dayes still: which because of the first sixe dayes it set South-west, and after wee woond vp North-east, it begot the opinion of a wonder, but the Current sets constantly South-west, and before the full of the Moone, it had such power on the ebbe and flood that wee neuer woond, but at the full Moone and Spring-tydes we roade vpon the flood against the Current it running vnder, and the tyde aboue, highing sixteene foote water, and the ebbe winding backe with the Current, so that the supposed chance of the Current, was on the strong tydes, at the full Moone ouercomming it aboue: for at Sea when the spring was past, I found the same Current, and though we were set to the Eastward the first day we weighed, vnto the Westward the next, the cause was the Eddies of *Iuanny* one day, and *Angazesia* the other, but being cleere of them it set his due course, that I raised little, and did West-ward much.

*Magadoxia.*

The fourteenth of August, in the morning we saw the Coast of *Magadoxia* in foure degrees of North latitude foure leagues off sounding, had eightene fathome of low land, white sandie bankes. Then wee stood off East North-east, the difference of longitude betweene the Maine and *Molalia* in *Mercators* proiection, agreeing with our account. And also by course hauing found the longitude of Cape Saint *Augustine* and *Molalia* to be one: I conclude that Saint *Lawrence* ought to be laid to the East thirtie nine or fortie leagues according to my first opinion, and all the Coast of the Maine being broader then it is land in the Card, must be also set in proportion to the East-ward, because the distance of longitude is right from one to the other, though all their longitude false in themselves: from *Molalia*, to fall with Cape de *Bussos*, North North-east one quarter East way is the best course, it being necessary to see the Mayne about the latitude in this course since we lost the Westerly Current at *Angazesia*, I found none or very little contrary to all Iournals, our Mariners in this course are of as many opinions as points in the Compasse, both for Currents, distances and bearings according to Compasse or Variation: but I obserued the truth in the latter end of this South-west Monson, which, I confesse, may alter in the heart of a contrary Monson, the settlednesse of the wind causing much change in the Currents, of which no rule can be giuen.

*Abdalacora, or  
Abbadelcuria.  
They lost di-  
uers Cables &  
Anchors.*

The two and twentieth, at *Abdalacora* and the high lands of *Socatra*, the windes powred downe with such impetuousnesse, and the ground so rockie, that I aduise all to forbear to anchor vnder them, for if they be put from their anchors in the night, they shall fall so farre to leeward, that they cannot recouer the Iland, but must lose company: but if night or weather force them to anchor, let them chuse to ride where some lower land breakes the violence of the wind from the hills. Wee rode in the second quarter of the increasing Moone, which rose then aboue the Horizon about twelue at noone, and set at midnight, at which time these winds begun to rage so long as she is vnder the earth, and rising againe it becomes temperate, the Moone is a great Ladie of weather in these parts and requires much obseruation.

*Tamera.*

*Delicia.*

The three and twentieth, we weighed together and came to anchor afore *Tamera*, the Kings Towne, bringing the low point to the East of the high sandie hill without it East by North in ten fathome water a mile from the Towne: here the *Sultan* sent vs word, the winds were from the hills so forcible that we should hardly ride, but aduised vs to goe to *Baia Delicia*, two leagues to the East where he would meete vs: it is a very good Road deteruing the name of delightfull for the peaceablenesse thereof in respect of others: it is a Valley of much lower hills; betweene the water and the raggie Mountaines of *Tamera*, you may bring the two little Homocks that lye on the low point without the high land to the East-ward South-east, and the low land that was East by North in *Tamera* Road North-west by West, and ride in ten fathome within three quarters of a mile of the Shoare, latitude is thirteene degrees five minutes, the variation eighteene degrees twentie minutes, the ground is white sand, but rockie so that you must coatch or boy your Cables.

*Socatra*



*Socatra* is an Iland in the mouth of the Red Sea, called anciently *Dioscoria* or *Dioscorida*, standing in twelue degrees fiftie five minutes, gouerned by a *Sultan* called *Amar-Ben-Seid* borne in the Iland, the Sonne of the King *Fartaque* in *Arabia Felix* called *Sultan-Seid-Ben-Seid*, who was *Sultan* of *Socatra*, in the time of his Grand-father, as this shall be King after his Father of *Fartaque*, and his sonne left at *Socatra* (the Kingdome of *Fartaque* lyes from fifteene degrees to eighteene degrees along the Coast of *Arabia*, and to the North to the Mountaines, he is at peace with the *Turke*, (who holds all *Arabia* in Tribute, except this Countrey) on this condition to send fve thousand men in ayd of the *Turke*, if he require it to bee paid by the *Turke*, without other acknowledgement. There lyes neere the Sea a pettie King about *Dofar*, with whom he dares not meddle, being in the *Grand Seigniors* protection. This is the relation of *Amar-Ben-Seid* of *Socatra*. The *Sultan* of *Socatra* met our Fleet with three hundred or thereabouts, hauing set vp a Tent at *Baia Delectia*: he rode vpon a Horse, and three of his chiefe Seruants on two Horses and one Camell, the people marching before and behind him, shouting after the *Turkish* manner; with two Guards, one of Souldiers, which are his Countrey men, and twelue of priuate Guard, hired *Guzerats*, some with *Turkish* Bowes, some with Pistols, some with Muskets, all with good Swords, he had a few Kettle Drummes, and one Trumpet. When the Generall went ashore, he receiued him with state and courtesie: he is a subtile man of good vnderstanding, as appeares by his Gouernment and diuers Answeres; hee raignes so absolutely that no man can sell any thing but himselfe, his people sit about him with great respect, his Officers standing by, who take account of Trade, and receiue and pay: his clothes are of *Surat* Stuffles, after the *Arabs* manner with a Caslock of wrought Veluet red and white, and another the ground Gold, a very good Turbant, but bare-footed, euery night at Sun-set they stand or kneele all towards the Sunne and pray, the *Xeriff* throwing water on their heads: their Religion is *Mahometan*: the Kings Towne of *Tamara*, is built of lime and stone whited ouer, battelled and pinnaced, the houses being flat at the top it shewes faire in the Road, but when one is there is but poore; Master *Boughton* borrowed the Kings horse, and obtayned leaue to see his house, the King sending a *Sheck* with him, he found it not answerable to the appearances, yet such as an ordinary Gentleman might make a shift with in *England*, his lower roomes were vsed as Ware-houses, one as a Wardrobe, where hung a long the wals some changes of Robes, and twentie fve Bookes of their Law, Religion, Storie, and Saints liues, of which I could obtayne none, but aboue no man may come to see his Wiues which are three, nor other women, but the ordinary are seene in the Townes, with their eares full of filuer Rings; in the Church the Priest was at seruice, but seeing Master *Boughton* take out his Watch, hee soone finished and came and wondred. There was provided three Hennes for their dinner with Rice, and for drinke water and *Cohu*, blacke liquor taken as hot as may be endured: at his returne, the King in complement said, hee had seene a poore place, but desired him to accept it.

Socatra, or  
SOCALOTA.

Cohu.

Bedwines;

There is a Castle foure square on a hill, a mile from *Tamara*, but he could not get licence to see it. The people are of foure sorts, *Arabs* his Countrey men, who it seemes are his strength, and such as are not the ancient Inhabitants, but come in with the Conquest of his Ancestors, and those obey him, and dare not speake without licence, as appeared, when one seemed of qualitie to speake, he asked him how hee durst open his mouth in his presence, but approaching kisse his hand. A second sort are of Slaues, who when they come to him kisse his foot, and these doe all his worke and make his Aloes. A third sort, as I suppose, the olde Inhabitants of the Countrey, but not the eldest, called *Bedwines*, the same which other Historians haue called *Iacobite Christians*, that haue long dwelt there, with these he hath had a warre, as the *Arabs* report, and dwell in the Mountaines very populous but are now at peace, on condition to liue quietly, and to breed their children *Mahometans*, which I perceiue they doe not, hauing no manner of conuersation with the *Arabs*. The reason why I take them to be the old *Iacobite Christians*, mentioned by *Maginas*, *Purchas* and others, is, because Master *Boughton* saw an old Church of theirs in the way to *Tamara*, left desolate, the doore shut, but onely tyed, being desirous to enter it, the *Sheck* his guide told him it was full of Spirits, yet he aduentured in and found an Altar with Images, and a crosse vpon it, which he brought out, then the *Shecke* told him they were a people of another Religion, but very loth to haue them much enquired after, as I suspect, knowing them to be a kind of *Christians*, doubting we would either with them better, or not suffer them to bee oppressed. The fourth sort are a sauage people, poore, leane, naked, with long haire, eating nothing but Roots, hiding in bushes, conuersing with none, afraid of all, without houses, and almost as sauage as beasts, and by coniecture, the true ancient Naturals of this Iland.

The Iland is very mountainous and barren: hauing some Beeues, Goates and Sheepe, a few Dates and Oranges, a little Rice and nothing else for sustenance, of commoditie they haue Aloes; which is the iuyce of a leafe like *Semperiua*, they make a poore cloth of their Wooll for their slaues.

The King had *Sanguis Draconis*, and Indico of Labor, but held it deare: many small Ciuit Cats and Ciuit: all is either the Kings, or passes his hands and price. He hath a handsome Galley and Iuncke of *Surat*, with Mariners, that serue him to transport his goods for wages by the



yeare. The King hath some knowledge of *Prestier Iohn*; confessing him the greatest Prince in the World, about the *Turke* and *Persian*, giving faire reasons for his opinion: he hath among his slaues diuers *Abbassines*. Hearing our hoy-boyes in the Generals boat, hee asked if they were the *Psalmes* of *Dauid*? and being answered yes: hee replied, it was the inuention of the *Deuill*, who did inuent it: for King *Dauid*, who before prayesd God with his lips and heart in deuotion, but after it was left to sencelesse Instruments. They bury their dead all in Tombes, and haue in great reuerence the Monuments of their Saints, whereof there haue been many: But of most account *Serdy Hachim*, buried at *Tamara*, who being slaine one hundred yeares since by the *Portugalls* once inhabiting heere, appeares to them, and warnes them of dangers to ensue. They impute the violence of winds to his walking, and haue him in wonderfull reuerence. I neuer went ashore, not knowing what entertainment I should find, in respect of the quality I beare, but gleane vp the most probable reports. If I had gone my selfe, and conferred with the King, or could haue spoken with any of his people of vnderstanding, I had enquired further to satisfie the curious: But all the Interpreters followed the Generall, that I had no oportunity.

Aduice not to  
stay outwards  
at *Socatra*.

I giue my aduice that the Fleet stop not at all outwards, bound at *Socatra*: But from *Molalia*, hauing made *Cape Guardafui*, and there rested a conuenient time for refreshing, or attending the latter end of the Monson, if it be soone in the yeare, shape their course right for *Surat*. If it be objected, that they shall want their vsuall refreshings: I answer, at *Socatra* the victualls is both carrion, and as deare as in *England*, goodnesse considered, the water farre to fetch and dangerous, so that euery Fleet hath lost some men in rowling it downe a streame full of deepe holes. At *Cape Guardafui* you shall ride at ease, and without doubt trade plentifully and cheape, and fish at pleasure: and though we made no experience of trade, yet wee saw people in Turbants and cloathed, who assuredly, if we had stayed, might haue been drawne to bring downe cattell: for not farre to the West of that place, Sir *Henry Middleton*, and some other ships had excellent Goats and sheepe for trifles, as both his Iournall, and Master *Barret* of his owne experience haue enformed mee.

## ¶ II.

*His iourney to the Court, and entertainment there, and Customs thereof.*

September 26.  
Visitation of  
*Sultan Peruis*.



He six and twentieth of September, I landed, accompanied with the Generall and principall Merchants: Captaine *Harris* was sent to make me a Court of guard, with one hundred shot, and the ships in their best equipage, giuing mee their Ordnance as I passed. (*The passages betwixt the Embassador and those of Surat I omit; their barbarous customes and actions holding so ill correspondence with his honorable condition, and ciuill conditions, that euen heere also it would be harsh to the Reader: we will therefore find him remouing from them in his way toward the Court.*)

The fifteenth of Nouember, I arriued at *Brampore*, being by my coniecture two hundred twenty three miles from *Surat*, and the course wholly East, a miserable and barren Countrey, the Townes and Villages all built of mudde, so that there is not a house for a man to rest in. This day at *Batherport*, a Village two mile short of *Brampore* is their Store-house of Ordnance. I saw diuers of brasie, but generally too short, and too wide bored. Betweene that and *Brampore* I was met by the *Cutwall*, well accompanied, and sixteene Colours caried before them: he brought mee to the *Saralia*, where I was appointed to lodge, where at the gate hee tooke his leaue, being a handsome front of stone: but when I entered, I had foure chambers allotted me, like *Ouens*, no bigger, round at the top, made of bricke in a wall-fide; this troubled mee, but my Tents were my refuge, and I sent the *Cutwall* word I would depart the Towne, scorning so meane vsage: hee desired me to be content vntill morning. Heere liues *Sultan Peruis*, the Kings second sonne, holding the State and custome of his Father; and the *Channa Channa* being the greatest subiect of the *Mogoll*, Generall of his Armies, whereof fortie thousand horse are with him: The Prince hath the name and state, but the *Chan* gouernes all.

The eighteenth, for many considerations, as well to see the fashions of the Court, as to content the Prince, who desired it, and I was loath to distaste him, because there was some purpose of erecting a Factory in the Towne; and I found by experience Sword-blades were well sold in the Armie; I went to visite the Prince, and carryed him a Present. I was brought in by the *Cutwall*: at the outward Court were about one hundred horsemen armed, being Gentlemen that attend the Princes setting out to salute him, making a lane of each side: in the inner Court hee sate high in a Gallery that went round, with a Canopy ouer him, and a Carpet before him, in great, but barbarous State. Comming toward him thorow a lane of people, an Officer came and brought me word I must touch the ground with my head, and my hat off: I answered, I came in honour to see the Prince, and was free from the custome of Seruants. So I passed on, till I came to a place railed in, right vnder him, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him reuerence,



and he bowed his body; and so went within it, where stood round by the sides all the great men of the Towne, with their hands before them like Slaues; the place was couered ouer-head with a rich Canopie, and vnderneath, all Carpets. To describe it rightly, it was like a great Stage, and the Prince sate aboue as the Mock-Kings doe there. When I was entered, I knew not where to be placed, but went right, and stood before him, where there is an ascent of three steppes, vpon which stands his Secretary, to deliuer what is said or giuen briefly. I told him, being an Embassador from the King of *England* to his father, and passing by, I could not but in honour visite him: he replied I was very welcome, and asked me many questions of the King, to which I replied as I thought fit: but standing in that manner below, I demanded licence to come vp and stand by him. He answered, If the King of *Persia* or the Great *Turke* were there, it might not be admitted. I replied that I must bee excused, for I doubted not hee would come downe and meete them at his gate; but I desired no more priuiledge, then the Embassadors of such Princes had, to whom I held my selfe equall: he protested I had that, and should in all things. Then I demanded a Chaire, but I was answered no man euer sate in that place: but I was desired, as a courtesie, to ease my selfe against a pillar, couered aboue with siluer, that held vp his Canopie. Then I moued him for his fauour for an *English* Factory to be resident in the Towne, which hee willingly granted, and gaue present order to the *Buxy*, to draw a *Firma* both for their comming vp, and for their residence. I also desired his authoritie for cariages for the Kings Presents, which he gaue in charge to the *Cutwall*. Then I gaue him my Presents, which hee tooke in good part, and after some other questions, he said to giue me content, although I might not come vp where he sate, he would go into another place, where I should come vnto him; but one of my Presents was a Case of Bottells, which tooke him vp by the way, and after I had staid a while, I heard he was drunke, and one of his Officers came to mee in his name, with an excuse, desiring mee to goe home, and to take some other time to returne to visite him: this night I tooke my feauer.

The sixt of December, we lodged in a wood, not farre from the Kings famous Castle of *Mandoa* which stands on a steepe hill, walled round in circuit fourteene Course: the Castle is faire, and of wonderfull greatnesse.

The two and twentieth, Master *Edwards* met me, accompanied with *Thomas Coryat*, who had passed into *India* on foote five Course to *Cytor* an ancient Citie ruined on a hill, but so that it appeares a Tombe of wonderfull magnificence: there stands aboue one hundred Churches, all of carued stone, many faire Towers and Lanthornes cut thorow many pillars, and innumerable houses, but no one Inhabitant: there is but one ascent to the hill, it being precipitious, sloaping vp, cut out of the Rocke, hauing foure gates in the ascent, before one arriue at the City gate, which is magnificent: the hill is incompassed at the top about eight Course, and at the South-west end a goodly old castle: I lodged by a poore Village at the foot of the hill. This Citie stands in the countrey of one *Ranna*, a Prince newly subdued by this King, or rather bought to confesse Tribute. The Citie was wonne by *Echarsha*, father to this *Mogoll*. *Ranna* is rightly defended from *Porus*, that valiant *Indian*, ouercome by *Alexander*: so that I take this Citie to haue been one of the ancient Seats of *Porus*, though *Dely* much further North be reported to haue been the chiefest, famous now only in ruines. Neare that stands a pillar, erected by *Alexander* the Conqueror, with a great inscription. The present *Mogoll* and his Ancestors, descendants of *Tamberlane*, haue brought all the ancient Cities to ruine, hauing dispeopled them, and forbidden reparation, I know not out of what reason, vnlesse they would haue nothing remembred of greatnesse beyond their beginnings, as if their Family and the world were equalls.

The three and twentieth, I arriued at *Adsmere*, two hundred and nine Courses from *Bram-pore*, foure hundred and eightene *English* miles, the Courses being longer then toward the Sea. I kept my bed.

The tenth of January, I went to Court at foure in the euening to the Darbar, which is the place where the *Mogoll* sits out daily, to entertaine strangers, to receiue Petitions and Presents, to giue commands, to see and to be seene. To digresse a little from my reception, and declare the customes of the Court, will enlighten my future discourse. The King hath no man but Eunuches that comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons, they doe iustice one vpon another for offences. Hee comes euery morning to a window called the *Iarne*, looking into a Plaine before his gate, and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noone he returns thither, and sits some houres to see the fight of Elephants and wilde beasts. Vnder him within a raile attend the men of rancke: from whence he retyres to sleep among his women. At after-noon he returns to the Darbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes downe to the *Guzelcan*, a faire Court, wherein in the middest is a Throne erected of free-stone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these without leaue, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no business done with him concerning the State, Gouvernement, disposition of War or peace, but at one of these two last places where it is publicly propounded and resolved, and so registred, which if it were worth the curiositie, might be seene for two shillings: but the common base people knew as much as the Councell.

Master Ed-  
wards.  
Thomas Coryat.  
Cytor.

Ranna.

Eunuches only  
and women,  
his household  
Courtiers.



Necessitie of  
the Kings pre-  
sence.

and the newes euery day, is the Kings new resolutions, tossed and censured by euery rascall. This course is vnchangeable, except sicknesse or drinke preuent it, which must be knowne: for as all his Subiects are slaues, so is hee in a kind of reciprocall bondage, for hee is tyed to obserue these houres and customs so precisely, that if he were vnseene one day, and no sufficient reason rendred, the people would mutinie; two dayes no reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores, and be seene by some, to satisfie others. On Tuesday at the Iarneo he sits in Iudgement, neuer refusing the poorest mans complaint: where he heares with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the execution done by his Elephants. *Illemerere, sed quid tu ut adesses?*

His coming  
to the King.

At the Durbar I was led right before him: at the entrance of an outward raile, where met mee two principall Noble Slaues to conduct me nearer. I had required before my going, leaue to vse the customes of my Countrey, which was freely granted, so that I would performe them punctually. When I entered within the first raile, I made a reuerence; entring in the inward raile, another; and when I came vnder the King, a third. The place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little Gallery ouer-head; Ambassadors, the great men and strangers of quality within the inner-most raile vnder him, raised from the ground, couered with Canopies of Veluet and Silke; vnder-foote laid with good Carpets: the meaner men representing Gentry, within the first raile: the people without, in a bale Court, but so that all may see the King. This sitting out hath so much affinity with a Theatre, the manner of the King in his Gallery; the great men lifted on a Stage, as Actors; the Vulgar below gazing on, that an easie description will enforme of the place and fashion. The King preuented my dull Interpreter, bidding me welcome, as to the Brother of my Master. I deliuered his Maiesties Letter translated; and after, my Commission, whereon he looked curiously; after, my Presents, which were well receiued. He asked some questions; and with a seeming care of my health, offered me his Physicians, and aduising me to keepe my house till I had recovered strength, and if in the interim I needed any thing, I should freely send to him, and obtaine my desires. He dismissed me with more fauour and outward grace, if by the *Christians* I were not flattered, then euer was shouen to any Ambassador either of the *Turke* or *Persian*, or other whatsoever.

Face of the  
Presence like a  
Theatre.

Sultan Coronne.

The fourteenth, I sent to the Prince *Sultan Coronne*, his third sonne by birth, but first in fauour, that I determined to visite him, not doubting he would vse me with due respect: for I was enformed he was enemie to all *Christians*, and therefore feared some affront. Hee answered I should be welcome, and receiue the same content I had from his father. He is Lord of *Surat* our chiefe residence, and his fauour important for vs.

His conditions.

The two and twentieth, I visited the Prince, who at nine in the morning sits out in the same manner (as his Father) to dispatch his businesse, and to be seene of his followers. He is proud naturally, and I feared my entertainment. But on some occasion he not resolving to come out, when he heard of my arriual, sent a principall Officer to meete me, who conducted mee into a good roome (neuer before done to any) and entertaine mee with discourse of our owne businesse halfe an houre, vntill the Prince was ready, who came abroad on purpose, and vsed mee better then his promise. I deliuered him a Present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Maiestie, it being too meane; but excused it, that the King could not take knowledge of his being Lord of *Surat* so lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Maiesty would send to him according to his worth. This was the respect of the Merchants, who humbly commended themselves to his fauour and protection. He receiued all in very good part: and after opening of some grieuances and iniuries suffered at *Surat* by vs from his Gouvernours, of which for respect to him I had forborne to complaine to the King, hee promised mee speedie and effectuall Iustice, and to confirme our securitie by any propositions I should offer, professing to be ignorant of any thing past, but what he had receiued by *Asaph Chan*, deliuered by mee; especially of any command to dismiss vs, which the Gouvernour had falsely coyned, and for which hee should dearly answere. So he dismissed me, full of hope to rectifie the decayed estate of our reputation, with promise of a *Firman* for *Surat* effectually.

His second  
hearing.

The foure and twentieth, I went to the Durbar to visite the King, who seeing me a farre off, beckned with his hand, giuing signe I should not stay the ceremony, of asking leaue, but come vp to him, where he appointed me a place about all other men, which I after thought fit to maintaine: I gaue him a small Present; it being the custome, when any body hath businesse, to giue somewhat, and those that cannot come neare to speake, send in, or hold vp their gift; which he excepts, be it but a Rupie, and demands their businesse. The same course he held with mee, hauing looked curiously, and asked many questions of my Present, he demanded what I required of him: I answered Iustice; that on the assurance of his Maiesties *Firman* sent into *England*, the King my Master had not only giuen leaue to many of his Subiects to come a dangerous Voyage with their goods, but had sent me to congratulate the amity so happily begun betweene two so mighty Nations, and to confirme the same: but that I found the *English*, feared at *Amadanius*, iniured by the Gouvernour in their persons and goods, fined, exacted vpon, and kept as prisoners, that at euery Towne new Customs were taken of our goods, passing to the Port, contrary to all Iustice



Iustice and the former Articles of Trade. To which he answered he was sory, it should be amended, and presently gaue order for two *Firmans*, very effectually, according to my desire to be signed, one to the Gouvernour of *Amadanas*, to restore money exacted from Master *Kerridge*, and to vse the *English* with all fauour: the other to release all customes required on any pretence on the way; or if any had been taken, to repay it of his owne accord: wishing mee, that if these gaue not speedy remedy, I should renew my complaint against the disobeyer, and he should be sent for to answere there: and so he dismissed me.

Two *Firmans* granted to the *English*.

The first of March, I rode to see a house of pleasure of the Kings, giuen him by *Asaph Chan*, two miles from *Adsmere*, but betweene two mightie Rockes, so defended from the Sunne, that it scarce any way sees it; the foundation cut out of them, and some roomes, the rest of free-stone, a handsome little Garden with fine fountaines, two great Tankes, one thirty steps aboue another; the way to it is inaccessible, but for one or two in front, and that very steepe and stony, a place of much melancholy delight and securitie, onely beeing accompanied with wild Peacocks, Tur- tles, fowle, and Munkeyes, that inhabite the Rockes hanging euery way ouer it.

March 1<sup>st</sup>  
A house of pleasure.

The second, the *Norose* began in the Euening. It is a custome of solemnizing the new yeare, yet the Ceremonie begins the first new Moone after it, which this yeare fell together: it is kept in imitation of the *Persians* feast, and signifies in that language *Nine dayes*, for that anciently it endured no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner is, there is erected a throne foure foote from the ground, in the Durbar Court, from the backe whereof, to the place where the King comes out a square of fiftie sixe paces long, and fortie three broad was rayled in, and couered ouer with faire Semianes or Canopies of Cloth of Gold, Silke, or Veluet ioyned together, and sustained with Canes so couered: at the vpper end West, were set out the Pictures of the King of *England*, the Queene, the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Countesses of *Somerset* and *Salisbury*, and of a Citizens wife of *London*; below them an other of Sir *Thomas Smith*, Gouvernour of the *East-India* Companie: vnder foot it is laid with good *Persian* Carpets of great largeness, into which place come all the men of qualitie to attend the King, except some few that are within a little raile right before the Throne, to receiue his Commands, within this square there were set out for shew many little houses, one of Siluer, and some other curiosities of price. The Prince, *Sultan Corome* had at the left side a Paulion, the supporters whereof were couered with Siluer, as were some of those also neere the Kings Throne: the former thereof was square, the matter wood, inlayed with mother of Pearle, borne vp with foure pillars, and couered with cloth of Gold: about the edge ouer-head like a valence, was a net fringe of good Pearle, vpon which hung downe Pomgranats, Apples, Peares, and such fruits of Gold, but hollow; within that the King sate on Cushions, very rich in Pearles, in Jewels round about the Court; before the Throne the Principall men had erected Tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with Veluet, Damaske, and Tassatae ordinarily, some few with cloth of Gold, wherein they retired, and set to shew all their wealth: for anciently the Kings were vsed to goe to euery Tent, and there take what pleased them; but now it is changed, the King sitting to receiue what New-yeeres gifts are brought to him. Hee comes abroad at the vsuall houre of the Durbar, and retires with the same: here are offered to him by all sorts great gifts, though not equall to report, yet incredible enough: and at the end of this Feast the King in recompence of the Presents receiued, aduanceth some, and addeth to their entertain- ment some horse at his pleasure.

The *Norose* a  
solemne Feast,  
and Rites  
thereof.

The twelfth, I went to visit the King, and was brought right before him, expecting a present which I deliuered to his extraordinary content; so he appointed I should be directed within the raile to stand by him, but I beeing not suffered to step vp vpon the railing, on which the Throne stood, could see little, the raile beeing high, and doubled with Carpets, but I had leifure to view the inward roome, and the beauty thereof, which I confesse was rich, but of so diuers pieces, and so vsfutable, that it was rather patched then glorious, as if it seemed to strue to shewe all, like a Lady that with her Plate, set on a Cupboord her imbroydered Slippers. This Euening was the sonne of *Ranna* his new Tributary brought before him with much ceremonie, kneeling three times, and knocking his head on the ground: he was sent by his Father with a Present, and was brought within the little raile, the King embracing him by the head; his gift was an *Indian* voy- der full of Siluer, vpon that a carued Siluer dish full of Gold; so he was lead toward the Prince. Some Elephants were shewed, and some Whoores did sing and dance: *Sic transit gloria Mundi*.

The thirteenth at night, I went to the *Gussell Chan*, where is best opportunitie to doe busi- nesse, and tooke with me the *Italian*, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to prooue the King, being in all other wayes delayed and refused; I was sent for in with my old Broaker, but my Interpreter was kept out: *Asaph Chan* mistrusting I would vtter more then he was wil- ling to heare. When I came to the King, he appointed me a place to stand iust before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of *England*, and of the Present I gaue the day before: to some of which I answered; but at last I said, my Interpreter was kept out, I could speake no *Portugall*, and so wanted meanes to satisfie his Maiestie, whereat (much against *Asaph Chans* desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the King, I desired to speake to him; he answered, willingly: whereat *Asaph Chans* sonne in law, pulled him by force away, and that faction hedged

Passages re-  
markeable.



the King so, that I could scarce see him, nor the other approach him. So I commanded the *Italian* to speake aloud, that I craued audience of the King, whereat the King called me, and they made me way. *Asaph Chan* stood on one side of my Interpreter, and I on the other: I to enforme him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and iogging. I bad him say, that I now had been here two Moneths, whereof more then one was passed in sicknesse, the other in Compliments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my Master had employed mee, which was to conclude a firme and constant loue and peace betweene their Maiesties, and to establish a faire and secure Trade and residence for my Countrey-men. He answered, that was already granted. I replied it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thred, on so weake conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentique confirmation, then it had by ordinary *Firmans*, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what Presents we would bring him. I answered, the League was yet new, and very weake: that many Curiosities were to bee found in our Countrey of rare price and estimation, which the King would send, and the Merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable Conditions, hauing been heretofore many wayes wronged.

He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned, whether I meant Iewels and rich stones. I answered, No: that we did not thinke them fit Presents to send backe, which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe Lord; that we esteemed them common here, and of much more price with vs: but that we sought to finde such things for his Maiestie, as were rare here, and vnseene, as excellent artifices in painting, caruing, cutting, enamelling, figures in Brasse, Copper, or Stone, rich embroyderies, stufes of Gold and Siluer. He said it was very well: but that hee desired an *English* horse: I answered, it was impossible by Sea, and by Land the *Turke* would not suffer passage. He replied, that hee thought it not impossible by Sea. I told him, the dangers of stormes, and varietie of weather would prooue it. Hee answered, if fixe were put into a ship, one might liue; and though it came leane, he would fat it. I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a Voyage, but that for his Maiesties satisfaction, I would write to aduise of his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded? I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions, which I had conceiued for the confirmation of the League, and for the securitie of our Nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had beene often wronged, and could not continue on such tearmes, which I forbore to complaine of, hoping by faire meanes to procure amendment. At this word, *Asaph Chan* offered to pull my Interpreter; but I held him, suffering him onely to winke and make vnprofitable signes.

An *English*  
horse much  
desired.

The King an-  
gry with his  
Sonne,

The King hereat grew suddenly into choller, pressing to know who had wronged vs, with such shew of fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken *Spanish* to my Interpreter, to answer, That with what was past I would not trouble his Maiestie, but would seeke Iustice of his Sonne, the Prince, of whose fauour I doubted not. The King not attending my Interpreter, but hearing his Sonnes name, conceiued I had accused him, saying, *Mio Filio, Mio Filio*, and called for him; who came in great feare, humbling himselfe: *Asaph Chan* trembled, and all of them were amazed. The King chid the Prince roundly, and he excused himselfe, but I perceiuing the Kings error, made him (by meanes of a *Persian* Prince, offering himselfe to interpret, because my *Italian* spake better *Turkish* then *Persian*) and the Prince both vnderstand the mistaking, and so appeased him, saying, I did no way accuse the Prince, but would in causes past in his Gouernement, appeale to him for Iustice, which the King commanded hee should doe effectually. The Prince for his iustification, told the King he had offered me a *Firman*, and that I had refused it: demanding the reason: I answered, I humbly thanked him, but he knew it contained a condition which I would not accept of; and that further I did desire to propound our owne demands, wherein I would containe all the desires of my Master at once, that I might not daily trouble them with complaints, and wherein I would reciprocally bind my Soueraigne to mutuall offices of friendship; and his Subiects to any such conditions, as his Maiesty would reasonably propound, whereof I would make an offer, which beeing drawne Tripartite, his Maiesty (I hoped) would signe the one, the Prince the other, and in my Masters behalfe I would firme the third. The King pressed to know the Conditions I refused in the Princes *Firman*, which I recited, and so we fell into earnest dispute, and some heate. *Mocrib Chan* enterposing, said, he was the *Portugals* aduocate; speaking slightly of vs, that the King should neuer signe any Article against them. I answered, I propound none against them, but in our owne iust defence; and I did not take him for such a friend to them: the Iesuite and all the *Portugals* side fell in, in so much that I explained my selfe fully concerning them; and as I offered a conditionall peace, so I set their friendship at a mean rate, and their hatred or force at lesse. The King answered, my demands were iust, resolution noble, and bad me propound. *Asaph Chan* that stood mute all this discourse, and desired to end it, least it breake out againe (for we were very warme) enterposed, that if wee talked all night it would come to this issue, that I should draw my demands in writing, and present them, and if they were found reasonable, the King would firme them; to which the King replied, yes; and I desired his Sonne would doe the like, who answered he would: so the King rose. But I calling

*Mochreb Chan*  
back-friend to  
the *English*.



to him, he turned about, and I bad my Interpreter say, That I came the day before to see his Ma-  
iestie, and his greatnesse, and the Ceremonies of this Feast, that I was placed behind him, I con-  
fessed with honour, but I could not see abroad; and that therefore I desired his Maiestie to licence  
me to stand vp by his Throne; whereat he commanded *Asaph Chan* to let mee choose my owne  
place.

The foureteenth in the morning, I sent a Messenger to *Asaph Chan*, least hee or the Prince  
might mistake me by the Kings mistakings, that I had complained against them, which as I did  
not, so it was not yet in my purpose: onely I was willing to let them see, I did not so depend on  
*Asaph Chan*, by whose mouth I vsed to doe my businesse; but that if he continued his manner of  
neuer deliuering what I said, but what he pleased; I would find another way. My message was  
to cleare any such doubt, if it remained; or if not, to entreat him that he would soften the Prince  
in my demands concerning *Surat*. He answered, Neither the Prince nor hee had any reason to  
suspect, my purpose was to complaine of them: that the error was euident enough, for his part  
he had euer had the loue of the *English*, and would endeaour to continue it.

The sixe and twentieth of April, I receiued intelligence, that the Prince caused one of his  
Seruants at the Durbar, to aske the King why he vsed so good countenance to the *English*, that  
for their cause the *Portugals* were barred the Port of *Surat*, who brought more profit to the King,  
as many Ballaces, Pearles, and Iewels, whereas the *English* came onely to seeke profit, with  
Cloth, Swords, and Kniues of little estimation. The King answered onely, it was true, but who  
could mend it. Hereby the Princes good affection was manifest, and I had faire warning to bee  
watchfull, and to study to preserue our selues in the Kings grace, in which onely wee were safe;  
but I resolved to take notice of this, and to make prooffe if I could settle a better opinion in the  
Prince of our Nation.

The two and twentieth of May, I went to the Durbar to visit the King, and to desire his au-  
thoritie to haue one *Iones* a youth, that was runne away from mee to an *Italian*, and protected  
himselfe vnder the name of the King to the infamy of our Nation. The King gaue order for his  
deliuerie, but the Prince who euer waited opportunitie to disgrace our Nation for the cause of  
his Faurite *Zulphackarcon* with whom I was newly broken off from conference, and had sent the  
Prince word I would no longer forbear opening my cause to the King, mooued the King in pri-  
uate to send for the youth first, which at the *Gusel Chan* hee did: and the Prince giuing him  
countenance, he railed to my face with most virulent malice, desiring the King to saue his life, so  
the King resolved not to deliuer him to me, but to send him Prisoner to *Surat*, but the Prince to  
braue me, begged him for his seruant, the fellow hauing quite renounced his Countrey, the King  
gaue him to the Prince, notwithstanding any reasons I could alledge: so the Prince presently  
gaue him one hundred and fiftie Rupias, and the pay of two Horse, and forbade mee to meddle  
with him.

The three and twentieth, at night my man came and fell at my feet, asking pardon for his ly-  
ing and madnesse, and offered to submit himselfe in any kind. I told him I would not now keepe  
him Prisoner he was the Princes seruant, but that before I could giue him any answere he should  
make me publike satisfaction as farre as he was able.

The foure and twentieth, *Iones* made meanes to come to the *Gusel Chan*, and there  
asked pardon of the King for his lyes, denying euery word hee had spoken, and to haue been  
done to protect himselfe from me, whom he had offended, desiring the King to send for me that  
he might there aske my pardon: the King was well pleased. But the Prince fell into a great rage.

The fise and twentieth, I went to the *Guzelcan*, where after many protestations of the King,  
that he neuer beleueed him, that he was a Villaine, yet that hee could doe no lesse but protect  
him, hauing cast himselfe into his mercy: the youth was sent for, who on his knees asked mee  
forgiuenesse, and on his oath swore to the King, that he had in euery particular belyed me, which  
he professed to doe voluntarie, for that he durst neuer returne to his countrey. The King chid him  
a little, and told me, he nor any good man euer beleueed him: but the Prince grew so angry that  
mouing him with many questions to stand to his first word, which he refusing was bid be gone:  
and the Prince publikely calling for him againe, bad him most basely returne him the one hun-  
dred and fiftie Rupias, deliuered him for that he gaue it to maintayne him against me, which see-  
ing he went from, he would haue his money: which the fellow promised but he should haue it  
presently, and so sent an vnder Treasurer with him to the house, where hee was lodged, for into  
mine, I would not suffer him to come.

The seuen and twentieth, thus I was enforced to seeme content, because I had no way to seeke  
remedie, for Presents I had none, and the King neuer takes any request to heart, except it come  
accompanied, and will in plaine tearmes demand it, which aduantage the Prince takes, vrging  
the *Portugals* bringing of Iewels, Ballests and Pearles with much disgrace to our *English* com-  
moditie.

The nine and twentieth, the *Portugals* went before the King with a Present, and a Ballas Ru-  
bie, to sell as was reported, weighing thirteene Tole, two Tole and a halfe being an ounce: they  
demanded fise Leckes of Rupies, but the King offered but one. *Asaph Chan* is also their Sollici-  
tor,



tor, to whom they gaue a Present of Stones, they had diuers Rubies Ballaces, Emeralds and Jewels set to sell, which so much contented the King and his great men, that we were for a time eclipsed.

The Prince and the Iesuite fell out about presenting them, which the Prince desired; but it was promised to *Asaph Chan* before concerning the *Portugals* credit, here I euer made my iudgement by report, but now experience shewes me the difference made betweene vs and them, for they were sought after by euery bodie, whereas they seeme to buy our commodities for almes, besides their Neighbour-hood and aduantage to hinder that Trade into the Red Sea, is euer more readier then ours to doe harme, because they are settled, so that onely for a little feare wee were entertained, but for our trade or any thing we being not at all respected.

10

## p. III.

*Occurrents happening in Iune, Iuly, August 1616. and diuers passages of speech and action, whence the Nature, Arts, and disposition of the King and his Subjects may bee obserued.*

Iune 11.  
Sultan Coroone,  
to be employed  
in the Decan  
warres.



He twelfth of Iune, there is a resolution taken that *Sultan Coroone* shall goe to the *Decan* warres, and the day prefixed hauing consulted all the *Bramans*. Prince *Parnis* is called home, whom (it is reported) wrote to his father, that if hee would send his elder brother, he would obey, but to dishonour him by imploying this, hee would first fall on him, and after finish the warre. All the Captaines, as *Channa Chana*, *Mahobet Chan*, *Chan John*, refuse to stay if this Tyrant come to command, so well is he beloued: it is true, all men awe him more then the King, now that hee is to receiue the Armie; the King cannot bee remooued from his resolution, so that his sudden departure two and twentie dayes from this present, must hasten me to finish this businesse, and to know a resolution: for after his departure with his Mision *Zulphbeckarcon*, there is no hope to recouer a penny, nor any Iustice against him.

Seuere com-  
mand.

The eighteenth, the King commanded one of his brothers sonnes (who was made a *Christian* in policie, to bring him into hatred with the people) to go strike a Lyon on the head, which was brought before the King; but he being atrait, refused it: so the King bade his yongest sonne to go touch the Lyon, who did so without any harme, whereat the King tooke occasion to send his Nephew away to a prison, where hee is neuer like to see day-light.

The foure and twentieth, the Prince had a sonne borne, and now being preparing for this warre, all mens eyes were on him, either for flattery, gaine, or enuy, none for loue. He receiued twenty Lecks of Rupies towards his charges, (two hundred thousand pound sterling) and began to deale money liberally: but notwithstanding his show of his Fathers affection and greatness, a *Chan* perswaded the King that the Voyage would bee dangerous, in respect of the Prince *Parnis*, whose honour was so wounded, that he would not returne without reuenge. The King replied, let them fight, I am well contented, and he that proues himselfe the better Captaine shall pursue the warre.

*Abdala Hassan*.

Exquisite mark-  
men.

*Abdala Hassan* is Captaine of all the souldiers, entertained at Court, and Treasurer to all the Armies: he entertained me courteously, with few complements, but much ciuility, wee sate to see his souldiers shoote in bowes and peeces, most of them with single bullet did hit the marke, being a hand-breath in a butt, wee had some discourse of our vse of weapons, and so I departed.

Iuly 13.

The thirteenth of Iuly in the morning, I sent *Sultan Carronne* three bottles of Alligant, and a Letter concerning the *Portugalls*, the differences betweene our Trade and theirs, and to procure all the customs in and out to farme for the Companies vse (the copy is registred.) The Prince caused (as is his barbarous custome in all businesse passing in publike) the Letter to be twice read by his Secretary, and often interrupted it with speech to him: in the end sent word, that at night when he came downe, he would reade it himselfe, and consider it, and that I should receiue answer from *Merze Sorocalla*.

The Kings de-  
light in Pain-  
ting.

At night I went to the *Darbar* to visite the King: So soone as I came in, he sent *Asaph Chan* to me, that he heard I had in my house an excellent Painter, and desired me he might see some of his worke: I replied, according to truth, that there was none, but a yong man, a Merchant, that for his exercise did with a pen draw some figures, but very meanelly, farre from the arte of Painting. The King replied, that I should not feare that hee would take any man from mee by force, that he would neither doe mee iniury, nor suffer any other; and prayed that he might see that man and his worke, howsoeuer it was. I replied, I had no such doubt of his Maiesty, and for his satisfaction I would bring him to the *Guzell Chan* with such toyes as he had, which perhaps was an Elephant, or a Deare, or such like in paper. At this answer the King bowed himselfe, and returned, that if I desired an Elephant, or the figure, or any other thing in his Countrey,



trety, I should not buy it, nor seeke any other way but to him, that whatsoeuer I had a mind to, he would giue me, and that I should freely speake to him, for he was my friend. I made a Reuerence, and answered that I humbly thanked his Maiesty, Elephants were of no such vse to mee, neither was it the custome of my Nation, especially of my place, to aske any thing, if his Maiestie gaue me but the worth of a Rupie, I would receiue it, and esteeme it as a marke of his fauour. He replied, he knew not what I desired, that there were some things in his Countrey, rare in mine, and that I should not make dainty to speake to him, for he would giue mee such things as should be most welcome, and that I should bee cheerefull, for that he was a friend to our Nation  
 10 and to mee, and would protect vs from any iniury, but desired that I would that night come to the *Guzell Chan*, with the youth that painted, with his Pictures. So *Asaph Chan* wished me to send home to fetch him to his house; whither if I would go and stay with him vntill the King came abroad, I should be very welcome; which I promised. I neuer receiued so much grace and fauour from the King, as at this time, which all men tooke notice of, and accordingly altered their fashions towards mee; specially it happened well that the Iesuit was made Interpreter of all this by the Kings appointment.

This day a Gentle-woman of *Normalls* was taken in the Kings house in some action with an Eunuch; another Capon that loued her, killed him: the poore woman was set vp to the armpits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three dayes and two nights without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the Sunnes violence: if shee dyed not in that  
 20 time, shee should be pardoned: the Eunuch was condemned to the Elephants. This Damsell yeelded in Pearle, Jewels, and ready money, sixteene hundred thousand Rupies.

Story of an Eunuch and one of the Kings women.

The two and twentieth, I receiued Letters from *Bramport*: in answere of those to *Mahobet Chan*, who at first granted my desire, making his *Firman* to *Barooch* most effectually, to receiue our Nation, and to giue them a house neare the Gouvernour, strictly commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, or to take any custome of them, or any way trouble them vnder colour thereof. Finally, that they might buy, sell, and transport any commoditie at their pleasures, without any molestation, concluding, that they should expect to heare no other from him, and therefore they should be carefull in execution. I receiued with it a Letter from himselfe (which was more  
 30 ciuility then all the *Indies* yeelded me) full of courtesie and humanity, and great respect, protesting his desire to giue me content, and that what I had demanded, I should make no doubt of performance: and if I had any other occasion to vse him, hee desired mee to write, and it should be performed. The Copies are worthy the seeing for the rarenesse of the phrase. The *Firman* I caused to be sent to *Surat*: so that *Barooch* is prouided for a good retrait from the Princes iniuries, and the custome giuen, whereby fifteene hundred pound, *per annum*, will bee saued, besides all manner of searches and extortions. For the performance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men confesse, that he neither careth for the Prince, and so feareth not, nor needeth any man, being the only beloued man of the King, and second person in his Dominions; and in all his life so liberall of his purse, and honorable of his word, that he hath ingrossed good reports from all others: and concerning Custome, the King takes none, the Gouvernours make it their  
 40 profit, which he professeth to scorne that he should abuse the liberty of the Kings Ports.

*Mahobet Chan* his grant to the English for *Barooch*.

His Ciuility and good parts

The sixt of August, I was sent for to the Durbar; the businesse was about a Picture I had lately giuen to the King, and was confident that no man in *India* could equall it. So soone as I came, he asked mee what I would giue the Painter that had made a copy so like it, that I should not know my owne: I answered, a Painters reward, fifty Rupies. The King replied, his Painter was a Cauteler, and that too small a gift; to which I answered, I gaue my Picture with a good heart, esteeming it rare, and meant not to make comparison or wagers: if his seruant had done as well, and would not accept of my gift, his Maiesty was most fit to reward him. So with many passages of iests, mirth, and bragges concerning the Arts of his Countrey, hee fell to aske mee questions, how often I dranke a day, and how much, and what? what in *England*? what Beere was? how  
 50 made? and whether I could make it heere? In all which I satisfied his great demands of State. He concluded that I should come to the *Guzel Chan*, and then I should see my Pictures. At night he sent for me, being hasty to triumph in his work-man, and shewed me fixe Pictures, fixe made by his man, all pasted in one table so like, that I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which, I confesse, beyond all expectation: yet I shewed mine owne, and the differences, which were in arte apparant, but not to be iudged by a common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and ioyfull, and craked like a Northerne man: I gaue him way and content, praising his mans art. Now, saith he, what say you? I replied, I saw his Maiestie needed no Picture from our Countrey; but saith he, what will you giue the Painter? I answered, seeing he had so farre excelled in my opinion of him, I would double my liberality, and that if  
 60 he came to my house, I would giue him one hundred Rupies to buy a Nagge, which the King tooke kindly, but answered, he should accept no money, but some other gift: which I promised. The King asked what? I said it was referable to my discretion: so he answered it was true, yet desired I would name it. I replied, a good Sword, a Pistall, a Picture; whereat the King answered, You confesse hee is a good work-man: send for him home, and shew him such toyes as you haue,

August 6. The Kings curiosity in painting, and the Indian workmanship, for which cause, and for notice of the Kings disposition, it is heere added.



The courtesie  
of the King.

haue, and let him choose one, in requitall whereof you shall choose any of these Copies to shew in *England*. We are not so vnskillfull, as you esteeme vs: so hee pressed me to choole one, which I did; the King wrapping it vp in a paper, and putting it vp in a little booke of mine, deliuered it, with much ioy and exultation of his mans supposed victory, whereat I shewed him a Picture I had of his Maiesties, farre inferiour to the worke I now saw, which caused me to iudge of all other by that which he deliuered me as the best. He asked me where I had it; I told him. Why, said he, doe you buy any such things? haue not I the best? and haue not I told you, I would giue you whatsoever you desired? I thanked his Maiesty, but that I held it not ciuility to trouble him in such trifles, especially as a begger: he replied, it was no shame to aske of him, and bad me speake at all times freely, pressing me to aske somewhat: I answered, I would not choose my gift, whatsoever came from his Maiesties hands I would receiue as a marke of honour: hee replied, if you desire my Picture, I will giue you one for your selfe, or for your King. I answered, if his Maiestie would lend the King one, I would gladly cary it, and knew his Maiestie would take it friendly, and esteeme it much. But that since his Maiestie had emboldened mee, I would desire one for my selfe, which I would keepe and leaue to my Posteritie, as an ensigne of his Maiesties fauour. He replied, your King doth not desire one, but you doe, therefore you shall haue it, and so he gaue present order for the making: then he turned to rest, and wee were blind-fold dismissed.

The courtesie  
of Gemal-din-  
vssin.

The twelfth of August, *Gemal-din-vssin*, a man of seuentie yeares, Vice-roy of *Patan*, and Lord of foure Cities in *Bengala*, one that hath beene often Embassadour, and of more vnderstanding and courtesie then all his Countrimen, and to be esteemed hospitable, and a receiuer of strangers, not secretly ambitious, he often made meanes that I would come to his house, which at last I did, and was receiued with extraordinary familiaritie and kindnesse, offering me a Lecke of Rupias, and such other courtesies so great, that they bespake their owne refull. His fauour with the King, his credit, his counsell, all was offered that could fulfill complements. And this I must confesse, that from a person reuerent in yeares it seemed more cordiall, and for in some Discourse speaking so plainly of his fellowes in Court, truthes in mine owne experience, I resolued hee was a good natured and right hearred old man. He told me much of the Customes of this Countrey, of their seruitude, of their want of Lawes, of the increase of this Empire, wherein hee had serued three Princes in grace and fauour, of which times hee shewed me a Booke or Annall of all memorable Actions which he had daily committed to record, and had composed them into a Historie, the Copie whereof he offered me if I could procure it translated. Concerning the Kings reuenue and the manner of raising it, besides confiscations, gifts, and cuttings vpon great men; that the Gouvernement of euery Prouince did yearely pay a Rent: as for his Gouvernement of *Patan* onely, he gaue the King eleuen Leckes of Rupias, (the Rupias sterling is two shillings two pence) all other profits were his, wherein he had Regall authoritie to take what he list, which was esteemed at fise thousand horse, the pay of euery one at two hundred Rupias by the yeare, whereof he kept fiteene hundred, and was allowed the Surplusse as dead pay: besides the King gaue him a Pension of one thousand Rupias a day, and some smaller governments. Yet he assured me there were diuers had double his entertainment, and aboue twentie equall.

A History writ-  
ten by him.  
Manner of  
Mogoll Go-  
uernment.  
Eleuen Leckes  
for *Patan* to the  
King.

Their opinion  
of Christ.

He prayes the good Prophet Iesus and his Lawes, and was full of very delightfull and fruitfull Discourse. This Visit was past some few dayes, and I thought that his courtesie had beene at an end; but this day he had borrowed of the King his house and Garden of pleasure: *Hanar Gemall*, a mile out of Towne to feast me in; and ouernight earnestly inuiting me, I promised to come.

Entertainment  
at a house of  
pleasure.

At midnight he went himselfe and carryed his Tents and all furniture, and fitted vp a place by the Tanke side very handsomely. In the morning I went. At my comming he came to meet mee and with extraordinary ciuilitie carryed me into his roome prepared where hee had some company and one hundred seruants attending, two of his sonnes, being a father to thirtie. He entertained me with shewing me the Kings little closets and retyring roomes which were painted with Antiques, and in some panes Copies of the *French* Kings and other Christian Princes; wanting no Court-ship. That he was a poore man, slaue to the King, that he desired I should receiue some content, and that therefore he had drawne me to a slight Banquet to eate bread and salt together, to seale a friendship which he desired me to accept: that there were many great men able to shew me more courtelie, but they were proud & false wishing me to trust to none, for that if I had busines to the King of any weight, either concerning the *Portugals* or any other, they would neuer deliuer truth who were my Interpreters, but only what either please themselves or would content in the relation. That therefore I should neuer be rightly vnderstood, nor effect my businell without abuse, nor neuer cleerely know my estate vntill I had an *Englishman* that could speake *Persian*, and that might deliuer my minde without passing the tongue of another, which the King would grant me if I could find any: for that hee had conceiued a good opinion of me, and the last night at the *Gussel Chan*, hauing brought before him the Jewels of *Sheck Ferid*, Gouvernour of *Labar* lately dead, he remmbred me of himselfe, and seeing a Picture of his owne that pleased him, he deliuered it to *Asaph Chan*, commanding him to send it me to weare for his sake, with many words of fauour towards me, which would make all the great men respect me.

Censure of his  
fellow Nobles.

The Kings re-  
sponse to Sir  
T. Roc.



In this time came in Dinner. So sitting on Carpetting, a cloth was layd and diuers banquetting set before vs, and the like a little a part for the Gentlemen that companied him, to whom hee went to eat, they holding it a kind of vncleanenesse to mingle with vs. Whereat I told him, hee promised we should eate bread and salt together, that without his company I had little appetite to he rose and fate by me, and we fell roundly to our victuals. The substance was made dishes of diuers sorts, Raisons, Almonds, Pittachees and Fruit. Dinner ended, he played at Chesse, and I walked, returning after some discourse I offered to take my leaue, he answered he had intreated me to come to eate, that what was passed was but a collation, that I must not depart till I had supped, which I easily granted to.

Rites of entertainment.

The prouision. Chesse-play.

10 About an houre after came to visit him the Ambassadour of one of the *Decan* Kings whom he presented to me, vsing him with ciuilitie, but in a much inferiour manner, in respect of his fashion toward me: he asked me if his Maiestie my Master would not take in scorne the offer of seruice from from so poore a man, and if hee would vouchsafe, to accept of a Present from a stranger, for that he would send a Gentleman with me to kisse his Maiesties hands, and to see our Countrey. I answered him as became ciuilitie and good manners; so hee sent for one presently, and questioned him if he would venture the iourney, who seeming willing hee presented to mee, and said he would prouide some Toyes of the Countrey for his Maiestie, and send m in my companie. By the manner, this seemed to me to be earnest.

Purpose to send one into England.

20 While we thus spent time, our Supper came, two clothes being spread, as in the morning and before me and my Chaplaine, and one Merchant were set diuers dishes of Sallets and meate rost, fried, boyled, and diuers Rices: he desired to be excused, that it was their manner to eate among themselves, his Countymen would take it ill, if he eate not with them; so hee and his guests, I and my Company solaced our selues with a good refreshing. The meate was not amisse, but the attendance and order much better, his seruants being very diligent and respectfull. He gaue mee for a present, as is the manner, when one is invited, fise cases of Sugar Candie dressed with Muske, and one Loafe of most fine Sugar white as Snow, about fiftie pound weight, desiring me to accept of one hundred such against my going, which said he, you refuse of me thinking I am poore, but it costs me nothing, it is made in my Gouernment, and comes gratis to me. I answered, hee had too farre alreadie obliged me, that I would not refuse his courtelie when I was readie to depart.

Supper serued in.

They giue Presents to their Guests.

30 He replied, he might bee then vnfurnished, and therefore desired I would now speake, that hee might not lose his offer and labour too. Thus professing himselfe my father and I his sonne, with complements I tooke my leaue.

The sixteenth, I went to visit the King, who as soone as I came in, called to his women and reached out a Picture of himselfe set in Gold, hanging at a Wire Gold Chaine with one pendant foule Pearle, which he deliuered to *Asaph Chan*, warning him not to demand any reuerence of me, other then such as I would willingly giue; it being the custome whensoever hee bestowes any thing, the receiuer kneeles downe and puts his head to the ground, which hath beene exacted of the Ambassadors of *Persia*. So *Asaph Chan* came to mee, and I offered to take it in my hand, but he made signe to put off my hat, and then put it about my necke, leading me right before the

The Kings fauour.

40 King. I vnderstood not his purpose, but doubted he would require the custome of the Countrey, called *Sizeda*. But I was resolu'd rather to deliuer vp my Present: Hee made signe to giue the King thanks, which I did after my owne custome, whereat some Officers called mee to *Sizeda*: but the King answered no, no, in *Persian*; so with many gracious words sent me, I returned to my place, you may now iudge the Kings liberalitie; this gift was not worth in all thirtie pound, yet it was fise times as good as any he giues in that kind, and held for an especiall fauour, for that all the great men that weare the Kings Image, which none may doe but to whom it is giuen, receiue no other then a meddall of Gold as bigge as fixe pence, with a little Chaine of foure inches to fasten it on their heads, which at their owne proper charge, some set with stones, or garnish with pendant Pearles.

50 The nineteenth, *Gemal-din-ussin*, who inuited me to *Hauaz Gemall*, being newly made Gouernour of *Sindu*, came to me to dinner with two sonnes and two other Gentlemen, and about one hundred seruants: hee ate some Banqueting stufte made in my house by a *Moore Cooke*, but would not touch such meate as I had prouided of my owne fashion, though his appetite was very good, a kind of superstition forbidding him. But hee desired me that foure or fise dishes might be sent to his house, such as he would choose, being all baked meates which hee had neuer seene, and that he would dine on them in priuate, which was accordingly done, and so offering vs the Towne of *Sindu*, and all other courtelies in his power, he made haste to fill his belly. I gaue him a small Present according to custome. This day suddenly dyed to my great grieve, and discomfort my Minister Master *Hall*, a man of most gentle and milde nature, religious, and of vnspotted life.

Superstitious Cautels.

60 The twentieth day, and the night past fell a storme of raine called the *Olipphant*, vsuall at going out of the raines, but for the greatnesse very extraordinary, whereby there ran such streames into the Tanke whose head is made of stone, in shew extremely strong, but the water was so growne that it brake ouer in one place, and there came an alarme and sudden feare, that it would

Huge raine called the Olipphant.

giue



giue way and drowne all that part of the Towne where I dwelt, insomuch that the Prince and all his women forsooke their house; my next Neighbour carryed away his goods and his wife on his Elephants and Camels to flye to the hils side. All men had their Horles ready at their doores to saue their liues, so that we were much frightened and sat vp till mid-night for that we had no help, but to flye our selues and loose all our goods, for it was reported that it would run higher then the top of my house by three foot, and carry all away being poore muddy buildings, foureteene yeeres past, a terrible experience hauing shewed the violence, the foot of the Tanke being leuell with our dwelling, and the water extreame great and deepe, so that the top was much higher then my house which stood in the bottome in the course of the water, euery ordinary rain making such a Current at my doore, that it runne not swifter in the Arches of London Bridge, and is for some houres impassible by Horse or man. But God otherwise disposed it in his mercy, the King caused a sluice to be cut in the night to ease the water another way, yet the very raine had walshed downe a great part of the wals of my house, and so weakened it by diuers breaches, in that I feared the fall more then the flood: and was so moyled with dirt and water, that I could scarce lye dry or safe, for that I must be enforced to bee at new charge in reparation. Thus were we euery way afflicted; fires, smokes, floods, stormes, heats, dust, flies, and no temperate or quiet season.

Mandoe.

The nine and twentieth, the King went to *Hauaz Iemal* and so to hunting, there was taken a resolution to remooue to *Mandoe*, a Castle neere *Bramport* where is no Towne, for that *Sultan Parnis* being come from the warre in disgrace, and being with his traine neere *Asmere*, the King commanded him to *Bengala*, excusing himselfe to be seene, and so hauing dispatched him without such incommoditie as was feared would arise if the two brothers met, hee intended himselfe to settle *Sultan Caronne* in the warres of *Decan*, to which all the chieft were so contrary, that the King feared to send him downe as was the resolution some monethes past, and therefore dissembled it, vntill the other Prince were withdrawne & he established by his owne countenance, coming so neere as *Mandoe*, which remoue if it proceed will put vs to extreame trouble and cost, for that we must build a new house both for our selues and goods, the Castle standing on a hill without any other buildings neere it.

A wild Boare sent by the King.

The thirtieth, the King returned in the night, and about eleuen a clocke sent mee a very fat wild Boare, and so great, that he desired the Tusks backe, with this message, that he kild it with his owne hand, and that therefore I should eat it merrily, and make good cheare. This occasion *Jaddowe* that was sent for to the King to bring it, tooke to tell *Asaph Chan*, that I desired to visit him on the morrow, and hoped to receiue from his hands the Priuiledges granted by the King. He answered, hee could not dispatch them so soone, but that they should on Sunday bee sealed, and that he was loth to see me, vntill he had giuen me content.

## D. III.

## The Kings birth day, and manner of the obseruation, with other accidents in September.

Rites of the Kings Birth-day.

**T**He second of September, was the birth day of the King, and solemnized as a great Feast, wherein the King is weighed against some Iewels, Gold, Siluer, stufes of Gold, Siluer, Silke, Butter, Rice, Fruit, and many other things of euery sort a little, which is giuen to the *Bramini*. To this solemnitie the King commanded *Asaph Chan* to send for me, who so doing, appointed me to come to the place where the King sits out at Durbar, and there I should be sent for in; but the Messenger mistaking, I went not vntill Durbar time, and so missed the sight, but being there before the King came out, as soone as he espyed me, hee sent to know the reason why I came not in, he hauing giuen order? I answered according to the error; but he was extreame angry, and chid *Asaph Chan* publicly. He was so rich in Iewels, that I must confesse I neuer saw together so vnuallenable wealth. The time was spent in bringing of his greatest Elephants before him, some of which being lord-Elphants, had their chaines, bells, and furniture of Gold and Siluer, attended with many gilt banners and flags, and eight or tenne Elephants waiting on him, clothed in Gold, Silke, and Siluer. Thus passed about twelue Companies most richly furnished, the first hauing all the Plates on his head and breast set with Rubies and Emeraulds, being a beast of a wonderfull stature and beautie. They all bowed downe before the King, making a reuerence very handsomely, and was as shew as worthy as euer I saw any of beasts onely. The Keepers of euery chiefe Elephant gaue a Present. So with some gracious complements to me, he rose and went in.

The Kings riches in Iewels, &amp;c.

Another curiositie about Pictures.

At night about tenne of the clocke, he sent for me, I was a bed. The Message was, hee heard I had a picture which I had not shewed him, desiring me to come to him and bring it, & if I would not giue it him, yet that he might see it, and take copies for his Wiues. I rose and carryed it with me: when I came in, I found him sitting crosse-legged on a little Throne, all clad in Diamonds, Pearles,



Pearles, and Rubies, before him a table of Gold, in it about fiftie pieces of Gold plate, set all with stones, some very great and extreamly rich, some of lesse value, but all of them almost couered with small stones, his Nobilitie about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drinke froliquely, severall wines standing by in great flagons. When I came neere him, he asked for the Picture: I shewed him two; he seemed astonished at one of them, and demanded whose it was? I answered, a friends of mine that was dead. He asked me if I would giue it him. I replied, that I esteemed it more then any thing I possessed, because it was the image of one that I loued dearely, and could neuer recouer; but that if his Maiestie would pardon me my fancie, and accept of the other, which was a *French* Picture, but excellent worke, I would most willingly giue it him. He sent me thanks, but that it was that onely Picture he desired, and loued as well as I, and that if I would giue it him, he would better esteeme of it, then the richest Iewell in his house. I answered, I was not so in loue with any thing, that I would refuse to content his Maiestie; I was extreame glad to doe him seruice, and if I could giue him a better demonstration of my affection, which was my heart to doe him seruice, I was ready to present it to him. At which he bowed to me, and replied, it was sufficient that I had giuen it, that hee confessed hee neuer saw so much Art, so much Beauty; and coniured me to tell him truely, whether euer such a woman liued? I answered, there did one liue that this did resemble in all things but perfection, and was now dead. He returned me, that he tooke my willingnesse very kindly; but seeing I had so freely giuen him that that I esteemed so much, he would not rob me of it, onely he would shew it his Ladies, and cause his Workemen to make him fise Copies, and if I knew my owne I should haue it. I answered, I had freely and willingly giuen it, and was extreamly glad of his Maiesties acceptance. He replied, that he would not take it, that he loued me the better for louing the remembrance of my friend, and knew what an iniury it was to take it from me, by no meanes hee would not keep it, but onely take Copies, and with his owne hand he would returne it, and his Wiues should weare them: for indeed in that art of limming his Painters worke miracles, the other bee- in in oyle he liked not.

Then he sent me word, it was his birth day, and that all men did make merry, and to aske if I would drinke with them. I answered, whatsoever his Maiestie commanded; I wished him many prosperous dayes, and that this Ceremonie might be renewed an hundred yeeres: he asked mee what wine, whether of the Grape, or made; whether strong or small? I replied, what he commanded, hoping he would not command too much, nor too strong: so hee called for a Cuppe of Gold of mingled Wine, halfe of the Grape, halfe artificiall, and dranke, causing it to bee filled, and sent by one of his Nobles to me with this Message, That I should drinke it, twice, thrice, foure or fise times off for his sake, and accept of the Cup and appurtenances as a Present. I dranke a little, but it was more strong then euer I tasted, so that it made me sneeze, whereat he laughed, and called for Raisons, Almonds, and sliced Limons, which were brought mee on a Plate of Gold, and he bad me eat and drinke what I would, and no more. So then I made reuerence for my Present after mine owne manner, though *Asaph Chan* would haue caused me to kneele, and knocke my head against the ground, but his Maiestie best accepted what I did. The cup was of Gold, set all ouer with small Turkies and Rubyes, the Couer of the same set with great Turkies, Rubies, and Emeralds in workes; and a dish suitable to set the Cup vpon: the value I know not, because the stones are many of them small, and the greater (which are also many, are not all cleane, but they are in number about two thousand, and in gold about twenty Ounces. Thus hee made fro- lieke, and sent me word, he more esteemed me then euer any *Franke*; and demanded if I were merry at eating the wild Boare sent me a few daies before; how I drest it, what I dranke, and such complements; That I should want nothing in his land: which his publike, and many graces I found presently in the fashion of all his Nobilitie.

Then he threw about to those that stood below, two Chardgers of new Rubies, and among vs two Chardgers of hollow Almonds of Gold and Siluer mingled; but I could not scramble as did his great men: for I saw his sonne take vp none; then he gaue Shashes of Gold, and Girdles to all the Musicians and Wayters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others, his Maiestie; and all his Lords became the finest men I euer saw, of a thousand humors; but his sonne *Asaph Chan*, and two old men, and the late King of *Candahar*, and my selfe forbore. When hee could not hold vp his head, he lay downe to sleepe, and we all departed. At going out, I moued *Asaph Chan* for dispatch of my priuiledges; assuring him his Maiesty could giue me no Present so acceptable; if he pleased not to dispatch me, which I doubted not, if it lay in his power, but that some other hinderance was in my way, I would on the morrow moue the King, he desired mee not to doe so: for the King loued mee, and had giuen order for it, that the preparation of this Feast had hindered him, but that now hee would send it me, and doe me all seruice.

The fourth of September, I found it easie to iudge what vexation it is to traffique with those faithlesse people. Seuen moneths I had promise from weeke to weeke, from day to day, and no exception, but finding I had so drawne them, that I should not much need the Prince, and if we disliked, we might refuse his gouernement. He vtterly renounced his word in choller and rage. I durst not yet leaue him, nor take notice of his falshood. He that first tooke him for our Solicitor, people,

The King gaue  
Sir Thom. Roe a  
cup of Gold.  
Strong Wine.

*Franke* a name  
common to  
European Chri-  
stians.

Scrambling  
of the Nobles  
for Gilded  
Almonds.



engaged vs into this miserie, knowing him to bee the Protector of our enemies, and a Slaue to bribes, which they multiply vpon him. But now I had a Wolfe by the eares: I seemed onely to apprehend his dislike of the length and phrased, and sent him a Letter to interpret me, and a Brieft of the substance of all required on their parts, contained in generall words, touching onely such particulars as he liked, and left out quite all the Conditions demanded formerly by him of mee, desiring him to put it in forme, and procure the Seale, or to giue me leaue to receiue mine owne deniall from the King, and so to depart the Countrey. These I finished in *Persian* the same day, and sent them to him, they are recorded in their order.

The eighth, *Asaph Chan* sent to me that answer, That absolutely, he would procure nothing sealed, that any way concerned the Princes gouernement; that I should onely expect from him what we desired, whose *Firmans* were sufficient. And so reuealed that purpose which he had long in practise, to make vs wholly depend on the Prince. Now I had iust cause to looke out, and was blamelesse if I sought new friends when he had forsaken me. I resolved to trie the Prince, and to seeme to depend wholly on him, hauing sent formerly to his Secretary foure clauses, to which I demaunded his *Firman* for our present vse at *Surat*, for the Fleete expected, which his Highnesse had agreed to.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, who cast downe to the Secretary his *Firman* by mee desired and promised; so that I hoped I had been at rest. The eleuenth, I receiued it, but when I read it, it was in two of the foure clauses demanded and promised, much different, and one whole branch left out; so I returned it with a round answer, I would not accept it, nor suffer any goods to come ashore. Neuer any man had to doe with so much Pride, Couetousnesse, and falshood. At night, I rode to *Merxe Socorolla*, the Princes Secretary, to expostulate the businesse, and to declare my resolution of departure, but I found the *Firman* not such as I was enformed, but containing all the clauses required by me, though in phrased, to my iudgement, somewhat restrained, which he expounded in the best sence, declaring that it was the Princes intent to satisfie my desire fully, and that it was sufficient. I vrge the obscurity of some points; desiring him as he had cleared his Highnesse meaning to me, so he would by his Letter to the Gouvernour of *Surat*, which hee granted, principally commanding that the Customer should pay for fiftie clothes, which hee had many moneths bought, and now would returne them vnto the Factors, to their extreame losse. In the ende, he opened the old point of the Princes desire, that I should rely on him, and not crosse him in busineses of his Gouernment with the King, and I should find him a better friend then I expected: and finally gaue me such satisfaction in all points, that I was both pleased, and in some hope of good successe, the rather because he is no briber, reputed honest, and did vndertake on his credit, to whom the Prince had referred all busineses, that we should not sustaine the losse of one piece, nor any the least iniury: so I accepted the *Firman*, which vpon translating I found verie effectuell.

The sixteenth, I visited the Prince, purposing yet to runne on in a way of seeming dependance on him, vntill I heard from our ships, and what entertainment they were like to receiue this yeare. I found him sad, fearing the comming of *Sultan Parnis* to Court, being within eight course, and importuned to kisse his Fathers hands; who had graunted him, but by the power of *Normall* was after diswaded, and a command sent, that the Prince should take his iourney right to *Benga*, yea although the King had fallen downe, and taken his Mother by the feet to obtaine her leaue to see his Sonne. The Kings remouue continued, but whether, no man could certainly resolue.

¶ V.

*The broiles about Abdala Chan, and Chan Channa; Sultan Caroones ambition, his policies to subuert his elder Brother: fight with a Portugall Carricke: disfast about the Prince: Persian Embassage, Presents and entertainment.*

October 10.  
Abdala Chan in  
disgrace.

Manner of hu-  
miliation.



He tenth of October, *Abdala Chan* the great Gouvernour of *Amadanas*, beeing sent for to Court in disgrace for many insolencies and neglects of the Kings authority, and thought he would stand on his guard, and refuse; yet the Prince *Sultan Coronne* (whose ambition wrought on euery aduantage) desirous to oblige so great a man (beeing one of the chiefe Captaines in these Kingdomes) preuailed with him on his word to submit; so that comming in Pilgrims Clothes with fortie seruants on foote, about sixtie mile in counterfeited humiliation, finished the rest in his Palanke, vntill he arriued neere the Court, but one dayes iourney behind he had two thousand horse attending. This day he was brought to the Iarruco (the publike sitting of the King to see Games, and to heare complaints) chained by the feete, barefoot between two Noble men, he puld his Turbant in his eyes, before hee had the happinesse to behold the Kings face. After reuerence made, and some fewe questions, the King forgave him, caused his yrons to be loosed, and clothed in a new Vest of Cloth of Gold. Turbant and Girdle

acco-



according to the custome. The Prince who intended to build his honour on the warres of *Decan*, which his elder brother had left with disgrace, and the great Commander *Chan Channa* did not prosper in (which doubtlesse was a practiser with the *Decans*, from whom he receiued pension) caused his Father to recall *Chan Channa*, who refusing to come, desired the King not to send *Sultan Caronne* to that warre, but one of his yongest sonnes about fiftene yeares of age. This *Co-* *Sultan Caronne*  
*ronne* tooke to heart, but prosecuting his purpose of the warre, promised to *Abdela Chan* the his purpose,  
Command of the armie vnder him, by displacing *Chan Channa*.

The King fearing troubles, and knowing all the ambitions and factions of this sonne, the discontent of his two elder, the power of *Chan Channa*, was desirous to accommodate all by accepting a peace, and confirming *Chan Channa* in the Gouvernement hee held, and closely to that end wrote a letter of fauour, and purposed to send a Vest, according to the Ceremony of reconciliation, to *Chan Channa*; but before he dispatched it, he acquainted a kinswoman of his living in the *Zereglia*, of his purpose. Shee, whether fallie to her friend (wrought by *Sultan Caronne*) or out of greatnesse of heart, to see the top of her family so dealt with; after so many merits; answered plainly, that shee did not beleue *Chan Channa* would weare any thing sent from the King, knowing his Maiefty hated him, and had once or twice offered him poylon, which hee putting in his bolome (in stead of his mouth) had made triall of. Therefore shee was confident hee would not dare to put on his body any thing that came from his Maiefty. The King offered to weare it himselfe before her an houre, and that shee should write to testifie it: shee replied, hee would trust neither of them both with his life, but if he might liue quietly in his command, would doe his Maiefty true seruice. Whereupon the King altered his purpose, and resolved to proceed in the sending of *Sultan Caronne*, and to countenance his reception, would follow after with another armie.

*Zereglia* or *Sa-*  
*ralia*. the place  
where the  
Kings women  
are kept.  
Th King's dea-  
ling with *Chan*  
*Channa*.

*Chan Channa* that discovered the storme, practised with the *Decans*, who were at his seruice, to offer termes of peace for a season, finding no other way to dissolve this cloud that hung ouer them both, vntill the King and Prince were departed and settled further off. To this end came two Ambassadors this day from the Princes of *Decan*. They brought horses bar'd, richly furnished for Presents. At first the King refused to heare them and their gift, but turned them ouer to his sonne with this answer; If he would haue peace or warre, it was in his brest. The Prince advanced by this fauour, and swelling with pride, resolved (though I was informed the conditions were very honorable, and such as the King would haue accepted) to goe on the iourney, answering he would treat of no peace, vntill he were in the field with his Armie; *Chan Channa* should not so beguile him of the honor of finishing that warre.

*Decans* offer  
peace.

The ambitions of this yong Prince are open, the common talke of the people, yet his Father suffers all, but intends him not the Kingdome. For *Sultan Corseronne*, the eldest brother, is both extreemely beloued, and honored of all men (al most adored) and very iustly for his Noble parts, and this the King knowes and loues, but thinks his liberty would diminish his owne glory, and sees not that this ill youth doth more darken him by ambitious practises, then the other could by vertuous actions.

Thus he nourisheth diuision and emulation betweene the brethren, and putteth such power in the hand of the yonger (supposing hee can vndoe it at his pleasure) that the wisest foresee a rending and tearing of these Kingdomes by diuision, when the King shall pay the debt to Nature, and that all parts will be torne and destroyed by a ciuill warre.

Fear of future  
broiles.

The history of this Countrey, for the variety of subiect, and the many practises in the time of *Echarsha*, Father of this King, by him then Prince; and these later troubles, were not vnworthy committing to writing; but because they are of so remote parts, many will despise them: and because the people are esteemed barbarous, few will beleue them. Therefore I content my selfe with the contemplation, but I could deliuer as many rare and cunning passages of State, subtilt euasions, policies, answers, and adages, as I beleue, for one age would not be easily equalled.

Only one that passed lately I cannot omit, to shew wisdome and patience in a father, faith in a seruant, falshood in a brother, impudent boldnesse in a faction that dare attempt any thing, when the highest Maiefty giues them liberty, either beyond the law of their owne condition, or the limits of policie and reason.

The Prince *Sultan Caronne*, *Narmahel* the deare Queene, Aunt to his wife, *Asaph Chan* his father in law, brother to the Queene, and *Etiman Dowlet*, father to them both (being they that now gouerne all, and dare attempt any thing) resolved it was not possible for them to stand, if the Prince *Sultan Corseronne* liued, whom the Nobility loued, and whose deliery or life would punish their ambitions in time; therefore practised how to bring him into their power, that poyson might end him. *Narmahel* attempts the King with the false teares of womens bewitching flattery, that *Sultan Corseronne* was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughts deposed: the King heares her say it, but would not vnderstand more then shee deliuered plainly.

The parties of  
the faction.

Drifts to take  
away *Sultan*  
*Corseronne*.

This failing, they tooke opportunity of the Kings being drunke; the Prince, *Etiman Dowlet* and *Asaph Chan*, moued the King, that for the safety of *Sultan Corseronne*, and for his honour, it



were fitter he were in the company of his brother, whose companies would be pleasing one to the other, and his safetie more regarded, then in the hands of a *Rashboote Gentile*, to whom the King had committed him. Therefore they humbly desired his Maiefty, that he might be deliuered into the hands of his deare brother, which the King granted, and so fell asleepe.

\* A prince.

Anna Rah his  
fidelity.

The Kings an-  
swere.

Sultan Cor-  
seronne, a louer  
of Christians.

October 13.  
Foure English  
ships arrive at  
Swally.

Of this fight,  
see more in  
Master Childs  
Iournall fol-  
lowing.

After it was  
knowne that  
some fewe sea-  
ped with life  
and pouerty.

Complements  
with the King.

They thought their owne greatnesse such, as bringing the Kings authority no man durst refuse, and being once in their possession, they would dispute the redeliuery: so the same night *Asaph Chan* in the name of the King, sent by the Prince, came with a guard to demand and receiue *Sultan Corseronne*, at the hand of *Anna Rah*, a \* *Rajah Rashboote*, to whom the King had intrusted him. He refused to deliuer his charge, with this answer, That he was *Sultan Caronnes* humble seruant, but that he had receiued the Prince his brother from the hands of the King, and to no other would deliuer him, but he should haue patience till the morning, when he would discharge himselfe to his Maiefty, and leaue it to his pleasure to dispose. This answer cooled all. In the morning *Anna Rah* came to the King, and acquainted him with the demand of the Prince, his refusall and answer, and added his Maiefty had giuen him the charge of his sonne, and made him the Commander of foure thousand horse, with all which hee would dye at the gate, rather then deliuer his Prince into the hands of his enemies: If his Maiefty required him, hee was ready to obey his will, but he would prouide for his owne innocency. The King replied, You haue done honestly, faithfully, you haue answered discreetly: continue your purpose, and take no knowledge of any commands: I will not seeme to know this, neither do you stirre further; hold your faith, and let vs see how farre they will prosecute it.

The Prince and the Faction, the next day finding the King silent, hoping hee might forget what passed in wine, tooke no notice of the grant, nor of the refusall, but it fell (not without suspicion) on both parts. This I insert to this end, that you may beware scattering your goods in diuers parts, and engaging your stocke and seruants farre into the Countrey: for the time will come, when all in these Kingdomes will be in combustion, and a few yeares warre will not decide the inueterate malice laid vp on all parts against a day of vengeance, wherein if *Sultan Corseronne* preuaile in his right, this Kingdom will be a Sanctuary for *Christians*, whom he loues and honours, fauouring learning, valour, the discipline of warre, and abhorring all couetousnesse, and discerning the base customes of taking, vsed by his Ancestors and the Nobility. If the other winne, we shall be losers: for he is most earnest in his Superstition, a hater of all *Christians*, proud, subtile, false, and barbarously tyrannous. There is daily expected an Ambassadour from the *Shah* King of *Persia*.

The thirteenth of October at night, the King returned and sent me a wilde Pigge. I receiued aduice of the arriual of foure shippes safe at the Port of *Swally*, with Letters from *England*, that they departed the Coast the ninth of March 1615. with sixe ships, losing company of the *Rose* about the North Cape by foule weather.

The twelfth of Iune 1616. the other five came safely to the Bay of *Soldania*, where the *Lyon* homeward bound, was ready for a wind; her Commanders and people in health, staying dayes at the Road, without newes of the small ship. They dispeeded the *Swan* to *Bantam*, for effecting the businesse, and set saile for *Surat* the nine and twentieth with foure shippes, and came to anchor to their Port, the foure and twentieth of September 1616. In their passage the sixt of August, neare the Ilands of *Comora*, about twelue degrees, fiftie minutes, they had sight of a Carrick burthen fiftene hundred tunne, manned with sixe hundred, being Admirall of the Fleet sent for *Goa*, bearing the Flagge: the *Globe* fetcht her vp to wind-ward, and after salutations of the Sea, the Carricke commanded her to Lee-ward, and seconded it with five shot thorow her Hull, which shee requited with eightene, and so fell off. The Admirall and English Fleet comming vp, demanded satisfaction for the iniury; which was replied to with scorne: so began a fresh fight in few shot, the Commander *Benjamin Ioseph* was slaine, and the new established continued it: at the euening shee ranne her selfe ashore among the rockes of *Angazesia*. The Fleet anchored short of her, to attend the issue, and sent a Boat to offer faire warres: but about midnight shee fired her selfe, and burned all the next morning. The English sending their Boats could not approach, but beleue that not one man was saued, by circumstances very probable: the new Vice-Roy for *Goa* was in this shippe, whose resolution was the death of all the others.

The next day, I imparted the King, with his Maiesties remembred salutations, which were with much courtesie receiued: but he began with the Presents. I first mentioned our late fight and victory, which he seemed to reioyce in, and to applaud the valour of our Nation: but fell off to What hath the King sent me? I answered, Many tokens of his loue and affection: That my Master knew he was Lord of the best part of *Asia*, the richest Prince of the East. That to send his Maiefty rich Presents, were to cast Pearles into the Sea, the mother and store-house of them, that therefore his Maiefty thought it vnecessary; but had presented him with his loue, with many curious toyes, which I hoped would giue him content. He vrged mee to some particulars, which I named: he asked me for *French Musse* or *Veluet*. I answered, my letters were not arriued: some other was come, which he desired. He enquired for *Dogges*: I told him, some had their



their fortune in the fight, some dyed, two were preserved for him, at which hee reioyced, and continued if I could procure him a Horse of our great size, such as I described, being a *Rone* or *Dutch* Horse; he would accept it better then a Crowne. I replied, I would doe my endeavour for his Maiesties satisfaction, but I feared it could not be effected: he answered, if I would procure one, he would giue me a Leck of Rupias. I desired his Maiesties Letter for the comming of these Presents without search, and for the good vñage of our people: he replied, the Port was his Sonnes, but sent for him and publikely gaue expresse order for what I would require, and take on me, that it should not be searched, nor pay custome, but be dispeeded with expedition safe to my hands, that I might distribute it at my discretion, that he should command the good reception of our people, and finally, that he should giue me content in all my desires. This generally extended not to the grant of a Fort, for that clause *Asaph Chan* refused to deliuer. This charge was very round and hearty in the King, and a grace to me. The Prince called *Asaph Chan* to me, and there professed and promised before his Father and all the Court, to giue mee all reasonable content. This is the strength of new Presents.

His desire of  
Dogges and a  
Horse.

A Horse pri-  
zed about  
10000. pounds.

The fifteenth, I receiued from *Masulipatan*, that Captaine *Keeling* had taken two *Portugall* Barks and a ship, one on the Coast of *Cochin*, laden with Tinne, the other freighted from *Bengala*, which he carried to *Bantam*: that Sir *Robert Sherley* was dismissed with disgrace from *Goa*, and that he was on his way ouer land to *Masulipatan* to seeke passage; vnprobable, and I beleue vntrue.

The seuenteenth, the Prince pursuing his purpose of finishing the *Decan* Warres by his owne person, and vndertaking to giue answer to the Ambassadors, giues none; but detaines them vntill his approach. But being to depart, he and his partie thought not themselves secure if *Sultan Corseronne* remained in the hands of *Annarah*, that in his absence the King might bee reconciled, and by his libertie all the glory and hopes of their faction would vanish, and the iniurie and ambition hardly be pardoned. They newly assaile the Kings constancie to deliuer vp his sonne into the hands of *Asaph Chan*, as his Guard vnder *Sultan Coronne*. They pretend that it will fright *Chan Channa*, and the *Decans*, when they shal heare that this Prince is so fauoured, who now comes to make warre vpon them, that the King hath deliuered vp his eldest sonne; in that as it were his whole Kingdome, and hope of succession, and the present power thereof.

This day he was deliuered vp, the Souldiers of *Anna Rah* discharged, and the Souldiers of *Asaph Chan* planted about him with assistance of two hundred of the Princes Horse. His Sister and diuers women in the Seraglia mourne, refuse their meate, cry out of the Kings dotage and crueltie, and professe, that if he dye, there will an hundred of his Kindred burne for him in memorie of the Kings bloudinesse to his worthiest sonne. The King giues faire words, protesteth no intent of ill towards the Prince, and promiseth his deliery, and sends *Normahell* to appease these enraged Ladies: but they curse, threaten, and refuse to see her. The common people all murmure, they say the King hath not deliuered his sonnes, but his owne life into the hands of an ambitious Prince, and a treacherous faction, that *Corseronne* cannot perish without scandall to the Father, or reuenge from him; therefore he must goe first, and after him his Sonne, and so through their blouds this youth must mount the Royall seat. New hopes are spread of his redeliuerie, and soone allaid, euery man tels newes according to his feares or desires. But the poore Prince remaynes in the Tygres power, refuseth meate, and requires his Father to take his life, and not to let it be the triumph and delight of his Enemies. The whole Court is in a whisper, the Nobility sad, the multitude like it selfe, full of tumour and noyse, without head or foot; onely it rages, but bends it selfe vpon no direct ends. The issue is very dangerous, principally for vs: for among them it matters not who winnes. Though one haue right and much more honour, yet he is still a *Moore*, and cannot be a better Prince then his Father, who is of so good disposition that he suffers all men to gouerne, which is worse then to be ill: for wee were better beare iniuries of Princes, then of their Ministers.

*Anna Rah* discharged and  
*S. Corf.* deli-  
uered to the  
faction to the  
griefe of the  
Court and  
Commality.

Ill through  
goodnesse.

The nineteenth, the *Persian* Ambassadour *Mahomet Rosa Beag* about noone came into the Towne with a great troupe, which were partly sent out by the King to meete him with one hundred Elephants and Musique, but no man of greater qualitie then the ordinary receiuers of all strangers: his owne traine were about fiftie Horse well fitted in Coats of cloth of Gold, their Bowes, Quiuers and Targets richly garnished, fortie shot, and some two hundred ordinary Peons, and attenders on baggage; he was carried to rest in a roome within the Kings outward Court till euening. When he came to the Durbar before the King (to which Ceremony I sent my Secretary to obserue the fashion) when hee approached, hee made at the first raile three *Tessilms* and one *Sizeda*, which is prostrating himselfe and knocking his head against the ground: at the entrance in the like, and so presented the *Shabas* his Letter: which the King tooke with a little motion of his bodie, asking onely, *How doth my Brother?* without any title of Maiesty. And after some few words, he was placed in the seuenth ranke, against the raile by the doore, below so many of the Kings Seruants, on both sides; which in my iudgement was almost inferiour place for his Masters Ambassadour, but that he well deserued it for doing that reuerence which his Predecessors refused to the dishonour of his Prince, and the murmure of many of his Nation. It is

*Persian* Em-  
bassadour.

His submissi-  
on.



Mogols assistance of the Persian against the Turke.  
Persian Presents.

said he had order from the *Sophie* to giue content, and thereby it is gathered, his Message is for some aide in money against the *Turke*, in which kind he often finds liberall succour, though it bee pretended he comes onely to treat a peace for the *Decans*, whose protection the *Shabas* taketh to heart, enuying the increase of this Empire. The King according to custome gaue him a handsome Turbant, a Vest of Gold and a Girdle, for which againe hee made three *Tessims*, and one *Sixeda* or ground courtesie: he brought for Presents, three times, nine Horses of *Persia* and *Arabia*, this being a ceremonious number among them. Nine Mules very faire and large, seven Camels laden with Veluet, two Sutes of *Europe Arras*, which I suppose was *Venetian*, Hangings of Veluet with Gold, and not *Arras*, two Chests of *Persian* Hangings, one Cabinet rich, foure Muskets, five Clockes, one Camell laden with *Persian* cloth of Gold, eight Carpets of Silke, two Rubies balast, one and twentie Camels of Wine of the Grape, fourteene Camels of distilled Sweet Waters, seven of Rose Waters, seven Daggers set with stones, five Swords set with stones, seven *Venetian* Looking Glasses, but those so faire, so rich, that I was ashamed of the relation. These Presents were not deliuered now; onely a Bill of them. His owne Furniture was rich, leading nine spare Horses, trapped in Gold and Siluer; about his Turbant was wreathed a chaine of Pearles, Rubies, and Turqueesses, and three Pipes of Gold, answerable for three spridges of Feathers. Yet I caused diligent obseruance to be made of his reception, and compared it with mine owne, and find he had in nothing more grace, in many things not so much, in ranke farre inferiour to that allowed me, except onely his meeting without the Towne; which by reason of my sicknesse was omitted to be demanded; neither did the King receiue the *Shabas* his Letter with such respect as my Masters, whom he called the King of *England* his Brother, the *Persian* barely Brother without any addition, which was an obseruation of the Iesuite, that vnderstood the Language.

## p. VI.

*The Princes brauerie; the Persian Ambassadors behaviour, the manner and effects of Drinking, of the King and his Nobles; the Kings remoue, his super-exceeding pompe, wealth, magnificence therein: Portugall fray: relations of Sultan Corforoone: Persian newes.*

\* A certaine clause in his Letter to *Su-rat* ambiguous like the old oracles, &c

Feathers in request.

A rich Present.

Pompous brauerie.

Behaviour of the Persian.

He one and twentieth of October, I went to the Prince and opened my desire, to haue a certaine \* clause in his Letter expounded, at which his highnesse sticke a little, and I perceiued his Highnesse to be as hollow as I imagined. Hee demanded then how hee should haue his Presents, or see such toyes as came vp, and moued mee to goe with him. I replied, I could not doe so vntill I had deliuered my Masters Message, and Tokens to the King, but that finished, I would my selfe attend his Highnesse with his Presents, and all such raritie as came to my hands, should be sent after him: he prest me to passe my word, and so I obtayned order for the *Firman* to my content. His Highnesse looking on a white Feather in my Hat, demanded if I would giue it him, I replied, I would not offer that I had worne, but if he please to command it, that or any thing in my power was to serue him. He asked if I had any more, I answered three or foure of other colours; hee replied, if I would giue them all, for that hee was to shew his Horses and Seruants to the King within two dayes, and that he wanted some, being very rare in those parts. I promised to bring all I had on the morrow that his Highnesse might take his pleasure.

*Abdala Chan* in a gallant Equipage both of his person and Attendants, in apparell, strange and antike, but in these parts *Alia Soldado* presented the Prince a white Horse, the Saddle and Furniture of Gold enamelled, a Beast of delicate shape, life and courage, who returned him a Sword plaine with a belt of Leather. There were brought before him many others, the Hilt of Siluer, Chapes set with small Stones, and Targets couered with Gold Veluets, some painted and bossed with Gold and Siluer, which he gaue to his Seruants. Against this Muster many Saddles and Furniture of Gold, rich set with stones, of his owne, were shewed for spare Horses, his Boots imbrothered, and all other ingredients of brauery. I confesse, the expence is wonderfull, and the riches daily seene inualluable.

This night past, it is reported sixe of the Princes Seruants came to murder *Sultan Corforoone*, but were refused the Key by the Porter; that the Queene Mother is gone to the King with an ouerture of all the practice, the truth is vncertaine, and it is dangerous to aske.

At euening, I went to the Durbar to visit the King, where I met the *Persian* Ambassador with the first Muster of his Presents, he appeared, rather a Iester or Iugler, then a person of any grauity, running vp and downe and acting all his words like a Mimicke Player (now indeed the *Archikanne*, was become a right Stagge) hee deliuered the Presents with his owne hands; which the



the King with smiles and cheerefull countenance, and many words of contentment received; his tongue was a great advantage to deliver his owne businessse, which he did with so much flattery and obsequiousnesse, that it pleased as much as his gift, ever calling his Majesty *King and Commander of the World* (forgetting his owne Master had a share in it) and on every little occasion of good acceptation hee made his *Tesslims*. When all was delivered for that day, hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head, as if hee would enter in. The gifts were a faire Quiver for Bow and Arrowes delicately imbroydered, all sorts of *European* Fruits artificially in dishes, many other folding Purles and Knackes of Leather wrought with Needle-work in coloured Silkes, Shooes imbroydered and sticht, great Glasses in-layed in frames, one square piece of Veluet, imbroydered high with Gold in paynes, betweene which were *Italian* Pictures wrought in the stuffe, which hee said was the King and Queene of *Venice*, (which, as I suppose, was the Hangings called *Arras*) of these fixe were giuen, one onely shewed; many other *Tricados* of small value. After, the three Nines of Horses and Mules, which were faire ones, the Horses either had lost their flesh or beauty, for except one or two I iudged them vnfit for to be sent or taken by Princes. So he returned with many antike trickes to his place farre inferiour to that allowed me, which was alone and aboue all Subiects which at first *Asaph Chan* would haue put me by, but I maintayned it as my due. This is but the first act of his presenting, the Play will not be finished in ten dayes. At night I sent to the Princes Secretary for my promised writing: but his Highnesse was loth to let the Presents passe without ransacking, and had changed his mind refusing to seale the Letter.

Nine, a remarkable number.

The two and twentieth, at my coming, I delivered him two *Plumages*, and two Birds of Paradise; he accepted them easily, and my businessse being moued, and my resolution made knowne not to consent to open, nor to send them vp, but by the hands of my Seruants, at last he yielded and gaue command to the Secretary to dispatch me.

At night I went to the Durbar to obserue the Ambassadour of *Persia*, I found him standing in his ranke, and often remoued and set lower as great men came in. The King once spake to him, and he danced to the tune thereof, but gaue no present: onely the King commanded that hee should be feasted by the Nobles; The time was spent in seeing Saddles and Furniture for the remoue, of which his Maiestie gaue some to his Followers, it beeing daily expected to rise: the Kings Tents were out foure dayes since. I sent to the Secretary for my *Firma*, but hee delayed it with excuses.

The foure and twentieth, the King remoued to *Hauaz Gemall*, and called the *Persian* Ambassadour, where at night hee ate and dranke before the King with the Nobilities, in the same fashion that I did the Birth-day; the difference onely was, the King gaue him for expence twenty thousand Rupias, for which he made innumerable *Tesslims* and *Sizedaes*, not rising from the ground a good space, which extreemely pleased the King, and was base, but profitable Idolatry. The Prince attending his Father, I could get no dispatch in my businessse.

The Kings gift to the *Persian*.

The five and twentieth, the King returned at Euening, hauing been ouer-night farre gone in Wine: some by chance or malice spake of the merry night past, and that many of the Nobilitie dranke wine, which none may doe but by leaue. The King forgetting his order, demanded who gaue it? It was answered the Buxie (for no man dares say it was the King, when he would onely doubt it.) The Custome is, that when the King drinks (which is alone) sometime hee will command, that the Nobilitie shall drinke after, which if they doe not, it is an offence too, and so every man that takes the Cup of wine of the Officer, his name is written, and he makes *Teselem*, though perhaps the Kings eyes are mystie. The King not remembring his owne command, called the Buxie; and demanded if he gaue the order? He replied, No, (falsly: for he received it, and by name called such as did drinke with the Embassadour) whereat the King called for the list, and the Persons, and fined some one, some two, some three thousand Rupias, some lesse, and some that were neerer his person, he caused to be whipped before him, receiuing one hundred and thirtie stripes with a most terrible instrument, hauing at each end of foure cords, irons like Spurrowels, so that every stroke made foure wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the standers by to foot them, and after the Porters to breake their stauers vpon them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carryed out, of which one dyed in the place. Some would haue excused it on the Embassadour; but the King replied, hee onely bad giue him a Cup or two. Though drunkennesse be a common and a glorious vice, and an exercise of the Kings, yet it is so strictly forbidden, that no man can enter into the *Gusel-Chan*, where the King sits, but the Porters smell his breath: and if hee haue but tasted wine, is not suffered to come in; and if the reason be knowne of his absence, he shall with difficultie escape the whip: for if the King once take offence, the Father will not speake for the Sonne. So the King made the Company pay the *Persian* Embassadours reward.

Strange dealing with Nobles.

Terrible whipping.

Drunkennesse preuented.

Awe of the King.

The fixe and twentieth, I sent to *Sorocolla* for the *Firman*. He sent me a copy as ambiguous and fraudulent as the former, which I refused, and drew the misliked clause my selfe, which I sent backe, and was promised that on the morrow it should be sealed.

The eight and twentieth, the Kings day of remouue at hand, I sent to *Asaph Chan* for a warrant



rant for carriages: the Merchants hauing sought all the Towne to remboue their goods to *Agra*, could find none, so I receiued order being enrolled by his Maiesty vpon my offer for twenty Camels, foure Carts, and two Coaches at the Kings price: whereof I disposed as many as the Factors needed to their vse. But it were an extreame error to omit a passage, either of wonderfull baseness in this great Monarch, or a tryall of me. The King had condemned diuers Theenes, among which were some boyes: there was no way to saue their liues, but to sell them for slaues: his Maiesty commanded *Asaph Chan* to offer two of them for money, which hee appointed the *Cuttwall* (that is the Marshall) to doe. My Interpreter made answere without my knowledge, that *Christians* keepe no slaues, that those the King had giuen I had freed, and that it was in vaine to propound it to me. But after I suspected it might be a tryall of me, whether I would giue a little money to saue the liues of two children: or else I supposed, if it were in earnest, it were no great losse to do a good deed. And to try the baseness or scope of this offer, I commanded my Interpreter to returne to *Asaph Chan*, to tell him that he had acquainted me with the motion and his answer: that I reprehended him for presuming in any case to giue my resolution, that my owne reply was, if there were any money to saue the life of two Children, to those whom they had robbed, or to redeeme them from the Law; both for respect of the Kings command, and for charitie I was ready to giue it, but I would not buy them as slaues, onely pay their ranfome and free them; that if he pleased to know the Kings pleasure that I might giue them libertie without offence, I was very willing to doe it. *Asaph Chan* replied, I might at my owne will dispose them, that it was an extraordinary goodnesse; with many prayes accepted the money, desiring mee to send it to the *Cuttwall*, and to vse my discretion to the boyes, not once offering to informe the King, which was one end of my liberality. I was loth to be coozened, and knew not whether this might be the profit of Officers or no, resolved to pay the money, but so as the King should not be ignorant I had more mercy then he, and that a *Christian* esteemed the life of a *Moore* above money. So I sent a Factor and my Interpreter to the *Cuttwall*, to acquaint him with the communication with *Asaph Chan*, and to let him know, if at night he would enforme the King, that I had offered to redeeme the Prisoners for charities sake, if after his Maiesty would consent to their liberty, I was ready to send him money; but to buy them as slaues, though for an houre, I would not, they should neuer come nor be manumised by mee, but that I desired his Maiesty to pardon them vpon my redemption, so I put them to the test of their base offer. This money exceeded not ten pound, a poore summe to impose on a stranger, or to bee gained by a King. The *Cuttwall* returned answere, hee would know the Kings pleasure, and accordingly aduise mee. Some would perswade me this is one of the *Mogols* signall fauours to choose out such great men, as he will giue occasion to doe good and honourable workes, to redeeme Prisoners, and that the money giues satisfaction to the Plaintiffe robbed, and that those so appointed by the King to ranfome others, make *Sizeda* as for some benefit receiued. Yet I find not any honour in a Prince to impose it on a stranger, to whom hee giues neither maintenance nor liberality; I went to the Durbar to see if his Maiesty would of himselfe speake to me, that I might deliuer my owne offer. The *Cuttwall* made many motions, brought in the Executioner who receiued some command, but I vnderstood it not, but expected my answere.

An old custome.

Sixe hundred rich Elephants and other brauery of the Prince. Rich Sword.

The first of Nouember, *Sultan Corronne* tooke his leaue and went to his Tents. The King at noone sat out at the Durbar, where the Prince brought his Elephants about sixe hundred richly trapped and furnished, and his fellowes by estimation ten thousand Horse, many in cloth of gold, with Hearne top-feathers in their Turbants, all in gallantry; Himselfe in cloth of Silver imbrodered with great Pearle and shining in Diamonds like a Firmament. The King imbraced him and kissed him, and shewed much affection: at his depature he gaue him a Sword, the Scabbard all of Gold set with stones, valued at an hundred thousand Rupias: a Dagger at forty thousand, an Elephant and two Horses with all the Furniture of Gold set with stones, and for a close one of the new Caroches (made in imitation, of that sent by his Maiesty my Master) and commanded the *English* Coachman to driue him to his Tents, into which he ascended and sat in the middle, the sides open, his chiefeest Nobles a foot walking by him to his Tents about foure mile. All the way he threw quarters of Rupias being followed with a multitude of people, he reached his hand to the Coachman, and put into his Hat about one hundred Rupias.

The Kings remoue.

The second, the King remoued to his Tents with his women, and all the Court about three mile. I went to attend him comming to the Pallace, I found him at the *Farraco* window, and went vp on the Scaffold vnder him; which place not hauing seene before, I was glad of the occasion. On two Treffels stood two Eunuches with long Poles headed with Feathers, fanning him; hee gaue many fauours and receiued many Presents, what hee bestowed hee let downe by a Silke, rould on a turning Instrument; what was giuen him, a venerable fatte deformed olde Matrone hung with Gymbals like an Image pluckt vp at a hole with such another Clue; at one side in a window were his two principall Wiues, whose curiositie made them breake little holes in a grate of Reed that hung before it, to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and after laying their faces close, now one eye now another sometime I could discerne the full proportion, they were indifferently white, blacke haire smooth vp, but if I had had no other light, their



their Diamonds and Pearles had sufficed to shew them: when I looked vp they retyred and were so merry, that I supposed they laughed at me. Suddenly the King rose, and wee retyred to the Durbar, and sate on the Carpets attending his comming out: not long after he came and sate about halfe an houre, vntill his Ladies at their doore were ascended their Elephants, which were about fifty, all most richly furnished, principally three with Turrets of Gold, grates of Goldwyre euery way to looke out, and Canopies ouer of cloath of Siluer. Then the King descended the staires with such an acclamation of Health to the King, as would haue out-cryed Cannons. At the staires foote, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty Carpe, another a dish of white stuffe like Starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the filh, and so  
10 rubbed it on his fore-head; a ceremōny vsed presaging good fortune. Then another came and buckled on his sword and buckler, set all ouer with great Diamonds and Rubies, the belts of gold sutable: another hung on his quier with thirty arrowes, and his bow in a case (the same that was presented by the *Persian* Ambassadour) on his head he wore a rich Turbant, with a Plumbe of horne tops, not many, but long: on one side hung a Rubie vnset, as bigge as a Walnut; on the other side a Diamond as great; in the middle an Emerald like a heart, much bigger. His Shash was wreathed about with a chaine of great Pearle, Rubies and Diamonds drild: about his necke he caryed a chaine of most excellent Pearle thrice double, so great as I neuer saw: at his elbowes armelets set with Diamonds; and on his wrists three rowes of Diamonds of seuerall  
20 sorts: his hands bare, but almost on euery finger a Ring; his gloues were *English*, stucke vnder his girdle; his coat of cloath of Gold, without sleeuues, vpon a fine Semian as thinne as Lawne: on his feet a paire of embroydered buskins with Pearle, the toes sharpe and turning vp. Thus armed and accommodated he went to the Coach, which attended him with his new *English* seruant, who was cloathed as rich as any Player, and more gaudy, and had trained foure horses, which were trapped and harnished in Gold Veluets. This was the first he euer sate in, and was made by that sent from *England*, so like, that I knew it not but by the couer, which was a Gold *Persian* Veluet. He got into the end, on each side went two Eunuches, that caried small Maces of Gold, set all ouer with Rubies, with a long bunch of white-horse-taile to driue away flies: before him went Drummes, ill Trumpets, and loud musicke, and many Canopies, Quittusols and other strange ensignes of Maiesty of cloath of Gold set in many places with great Rubies: nine spare horses, the furniture some garnished with Rubies, some with Pearles and Emeralds, some onely with studs enamelled.

Superstitious  
r.e.

Huge Gems.

The *Persian* Ambassadour presented him a horse; next behind him came three Palankees, the carriages, and feet of one plated with Gold, set at the ends with Pearle, and a fringe of great Pearle hanging in ropes a foot deepe: a border about, set with Rubies and Emeralds. A footman caryed a foot-stoole of Gold, set with stones, the other two were couered and lined with cloath of Gold. Next followed the *English* Coach, new couered and trimmed rich, which hee had giuen the Queene *Normahell*, who rode in it: after them a third of this Countrey fashon, which me thought was out of countenance: in it sate his yonger sonnes: after followed about  
40 twenty Elephants Royall, spare, for his owne ascendings, so rich, that in stones and furniture they braued the Sunne. Euery Elephant had diuers flagges of cloath of Siluer, gilt Satin and taffata. His Noble-men hee suffered to walke a foote, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wiues on their Elephants were caryed like Parakitoes halfe a mile behind him. When he came before the doore where his eldest sonne is prisoner, hee stayed the Coach, and called for him: hee came and made reuerence with a sword and buckler in his hand, his beard growne to his middle, a signe of dis-fauour. The King commanded him to ascend one of the spare Elephants, and so rode next to him, to the extreame applause and ioy of all men, who now are filled with new hopes. The King gaue him one thousand Rupias to cast to the people, his Gaoler *Asaph Chan* and all the Moniters yet a foot.

Sultan's  
roone deliuered

I tooke horse to auoyd presse and other inconuenience, and crossed out of the Leskar before him, and attended vntill he came neare his Tents. He passed all the way betweene a guard of Elephants, hauing euery one a Turret on his backe; on the foure corners foure banners of yellow Taffaty; right before a sling mounted, that carried a bullet as big as a great tennis ball, the Gunner behind it; in number about three hundred: other Elephants of honor that went before and after about sixe hundred, all which were couered with Veluet or cloath of Gold, and had two or three gilded banners carried: in the way ranne diuers foot-men with skinnies of water that made a continuall showre before him: no horse nor man might be suffered to approach the Coach by two furlongs, except those that walked a foot by, so that I hasted to his Tents, to attend his alighting.

Brauerie of  
Elephants.

They were walled halfe a mile in compasse, in forme of a fort, with diuers Coynes and Bulwarkes, with high Cannats of a course stuffe made like Arras, red on the out-side, within which figures in panes with a handsome gate-house. Euery post that bare vp these, was headed with a top of brasse. The throng was great: I desired to go in, but no man was suffered, the greatest of the Land sate at the doore; but I made an offer, and they admitted me, but refused the *Persian* Embassador and all the Noble men. Heere first the *Persian* Embassador saluted mee with a silent comple-

Stately Tents.



complement only. In the midst of this Court was a throne of mother of Pearle, borne on two pillars raised on earth, couered ouer with an high Tent, the pole headed with a knob of gold, vnder it Canopies of Cloath of gold, vnder-foot Carpets. When the King came neare the doore, some Noble-men came in, and the *Persian* Embassador: we stood one of the one side, the other of the other, making a little lane: the King entring cast his eye on me, and I made a reuerence: he laid his hand on his brest and bowed, and turning to the other side, nodded to the *Persian*. I followed at his heeles till he ascended, and euery man cryed good, ioy, and fortune, and so tooke our places. He called for water, washed his hands and departed. His women entred some other Port to their quarter: and his sonne I saw not. Within this whole raile was about thirty diuisions with Tents. All the Noble-men retired to theirs, which were in excellent formes, some all white, some greene, some mingled, all incompassed as orderly as any house, one of the greatest rarities and magnificences I euer saw. The whole vale shewed like a beautifull Citie, for that the ragges nor baggage were not mingled. I was vnfitted with carriage, and ashamed of my prouision, but five yeeres allowance could not haue furnished me with one indifferent sute sortable to others; and which addes to the greatnesse, euery man hath a double, for that one goes afore to the next Remoue, and is set a day before the King riseth from thence. So I returned to my poore house.

November 5.

The fift of Nouember, the Prince sate in the same magnificence, order and greatnesse that I mentioned of the King: his throne being plated ouer with siluer, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the Canopie ouer it square, borne on foure pillars couered with siluer; his armes, sword, buckler, bowes, arrowes, and launce on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was euening when he came abroad. I obserued now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions: he receiued two letters, read them standing, before he ascended his Throne. I neuer saw so settled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a grauitie, neuer smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all, yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokennesse and distraction in his thoughts, vnprovidedly and amazedly answering sutors, or not hearing; If I can iudge any thing, he hath left his heart among his Fathers women, with whom hee hath liberty of conuersation. *Normahell* in the *English* Coach the day before visited him and tooke leaue, hee gaue him a cloak all imbroydered with Pearle, Diamonds and Rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse.

Fray betwixt  
the *Portugalls*  
and *English*.

The sixt, I receiued a letter from Master *Browne*, from *Amadauas*, who certified me of a fray begun by the *Portugalls*: five of them setting on an *English* Boy in *Cambaya*, and disarming him, vpon rumours whereof *Iohn Browne* and *James Bickesford* went to his rescue, and were assailed by seuen of them. One shooting a Pistoll, hurt *Iohn Browne* in the hand, but his heart lay not there: they defended themselves honestly, branelly like *Englishmen*, killed one, hurt some others, and chased them vp and downe the Towne like beasts, to the great shame of such villaines, and reputation of our Nation. To reuenge this, the *Portugalls* being arriuen in their Frigats, diuers came ashore, no more *English* in Towne but the three mentioned. The Gouvernour vnderstood the occasion, and sent the *Cutwall* with a guard to our house, and shut the water ports, expelling the *Portugalls*, by commanding vpon paine of chastisement not to meddle with the *English*: and so deliuered them safe out of Towne, who are returned to *Amadauas*.

Card-play.

The ninth, I found the Prince earnest at Cards, but he excused himselfe of forgetfulnesse, and blamed the Officers formally; but in the wisedome of more courtesie then ordinary, calling me to see his Cards, and asking many questions. I expected he would speake of my going with him; but finding no such discourse, I told him I was come only to obey him, and to take my leaue, that I desired his pardon, that I hastened away, for that I was to returne to *Adsmere*, being vnprovidedly to stay all night. He answered, he sent for me to see me before his going, that I should presently be dispatched. Then he sent in an Eunuch, and diuers of his Captaines came smiling, saying the Prince would giue me a great Present, and if I feared to ride late, I should haue ten horse to guard me, and made such a businesse, as if I should haue receiued his best chaine of Pearle. By and by came a Cloath of gold Cloake of his owne, once or twice worne, which hee caused to be put on my backe, and I made reuerence very vnwillingly. When his Ancestor *Tamerlane* was represented at the Theater, the garment would well haue become: but it is heere reputed the highest fauour to giue a garment worne by a Prince, or being new, once laid on his shoulder.

Order to fire  
the Leskar at  
*Adsmere*.

The sixteenth, the King gaue order to fire all the Leskar at *Adsmere*, to compell the people to follow, which was daily executed. I was left almost desolate, and the *Persian* Embassador (who had fought, chid, brauld, complained, but could not get remedy) in the same estate, wee sent to bemone one another, and by his example I began to resolute to buy (for many would sell, which at the Kings price could not hire) and I cast it at the best hand I could, almost to saue the hire, though the carts were deare, for in three moneths the price was eaten; necessity inforced me, for the Towne was burnt and desolate. I was in danger of theues, that from the armie came and robbed in the night. I could not find bread to eate, yet I sent anew to Court, and resolved to abide all the inconueniences of a hard siege.

The



The seuenteenth, I receiued from *Goa* for truth, that *Don Emannell de Menesses*, with about three hundred of those saued ashore from out the Admirall, were arriued poore, robl and rifled by the Inhabitants of *Angazesia*, who had slaine many, and forced some to Circumcision. On the foure and twentieth of October, not one of the Fleet sent out from *Lisbon* arriued, to their great wonder. The Gallion of *Mosambique* was fought with by the *Hollander* that lately departed from *Surat*, who lay off and on before *Goa* as shee came in to meet the Ships expected; she was rich in Gold and other Commodities, but she escaped by meanes of the Port. Obserue the boldnesse of the *Hollanders*, to attempt with one ship, and to braue the head of the *Indies*. I receiued a promise for Camels to remoue.

The eighteenth, I could not procure carriages, but was so daily delaied, that I feared to stay. Two Carts I was inforced to buy, and Camels I was constantly promised. *M. Biddolph* remained in the Princes *Leskar* to get mony, the King was yet but twelue course from *Adsmere*. The Iesuite tooke his leaue of me, being forced to buy carriage, notwithstanding his order for it out of the Kings store, but scarcitie punished all men. This emptie time offering no discourse of my owne affaires, I shall digresse conueniently to mention the state of *Sultan Corforoone*, of whose new deliury into the hands of his enemies, euery mans heart and mouth was full. The King notwithstanding he had so farre agreed to satisfie his proud sonne at his departure, yet it seemed meant not to winke at an iniurie offered to the Elder, and partly to secure him in the hands of *Asaph Chan*, partly to satisfie the people that murmured, and feared the practise of some treachery against him, he tooke occasion to declare himselfe publicquely. *Asaph Chan* had visited his newe Prisoner, and in his fashion did not acknowledge him as his Prince, but rudely prest vpon him against his will, and with no reuerence. Some are of opinion, he pickt a quarrell, and knowing the braue nature of the Prince, that would not beare indignitie, tempted him to draw his Sword, or to vse some violence, which the guard should suddenly reuenge; or else it should bee declared to the King, as an attempt to kill his Keeper, and to escape: but the Prince was patienter; onely he got a friend to acquaint the King with the manners of his Iaylor. The King called *Asaph Chan* at the Durbar, and asked when he saw his charge; he answered two dayes past: his Maiestie replied, what did you with him? he sayes, onely visit him: but the King prest to knowe what reuerence and fashion he carried towards him? *Asaph Chan* found his Maiestie knew what had passed, and confessed he went to see him in affection, and offer his seruice; but that the Prince refused him admittance into his Chamber; which because he had charge of his safetie, hee thought it both necessary for him to doe, and discourtesie for the other to deny, therefore he prest in. The King returnes quicke, When you were in, what said you, and what did you? what duty shewed you toward my Sonne? He stands blancke, and confesseth he did not any reuerence: whereat the King told him, he would make his proud heart know him to bee his eldest and beloued Heire, his Prince and Lord, and if he once heare of any the least want of reuerence, or dutie toward him, he would command his sonne to set his feet on his necke, and trample on him: that he loued *Sultan Coronne* well, but he would make the world know, he did not intrust his Sonne among them for his ruine.

The three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, I stayed for the Merchants, and receiued an answer from *Spahan* that my Letters were dispeeded for *Aleppo*, that our comming into *Persia*, was expected, but on conditions to fit the *Shabas*, so that it might aduance his designe of diuerting his Silkes from the way of *Turkie*: that the Generall of the *Grand-signior* lay with a mighty army at *Argerone* fixe dayes march short of *Tauris*, vncertaine, whether to assaile the Citie, or to enter *Gorgeston* and *Gilan* (the Countreys of Silks) to win that by conquest which he was prohibited by commerce. To meet both attempts, the *Shabas* was incamped at *Salmas*, a Village indifferently seated in the way; but if in two moneths the armies incounter not, winter approaching, and the wants which attend such multitudes, will dissolue them both, without any honourable action: or if they meete, the *Persian* though by report one hundred and eightie thousand, will not aduenture battell, but beeing light and able to march easily, without Cannon and Baggage, will fall on and off on euery side so on the *Turkes* armie, as he will breake, and waite him without hazard.

## §. VII.

*Sir Thomas Roes following the Court in this Progresse, description of the Kings Leskar, and some places which they passed: the Kings Superstition, drinke, and dealing about the Present.*

60 The first of December, I remooued foure course to *Ramfor* where the King had left the bodies of an hundred naked men, slaine in the fields for robbery, and the Carauan at midnight departed *Adsmere*.

The fourth five course, I ouertooke in the way a Camell laden with three hundred  
men

Decemb. 1.



mens heads, sent from *Candabar*, by the Gouvernour in Present to the King, that were out in rebellion.

Description of  
*Godab.*

The sixth, foure course, where I ouertooke the King at a walled Towne called *Godab*, in the best Countrey I saw since my landing being a faire Champion, ar euery course a Village, the soyle fruitfull in Corne, Cotton, and Cartell.

Inconueni-  
ence which  
followeth the  
slauery of Sub-  
iects, and the  
Kings onely  
proprietie.  
The Kings  
Lescar admi-  
rable.

The seuenth, the King passed onely from one side of the Towne to the other, which was one of the best built I euer saw in *India*, for that there were some houses two stories high, and most such as a Pedler might not scorne to keepe shop in, all couered with tyle. It had beene the seat of a *Raza Rashboote*, before the Conquest of *Echarsha*, and stood at the foot of a great Rocke very strong, had many excellent workes of hewed stone about it, excellently cut, many Tankes arched, vaulted, and descents made large, and of great depths. By it stood a delicate Groue of two mile large, a quarter broad, planted by industry, with Manges, Tamerins, and other fruits, diuided with walkes, and full of little Temples and Altars of Pagods, and Gentilitiall Idolatry, many Fountaines, Wels, Tankes, and Summer-houses of carued stone curiously arched, so that I must confesse, a banished *Englishman* might haue been content to dwell there, but this obseruation is generall, that ruine and destruction eates vp all: for since the proprietie of all is come to the King, no man takes care for particulars; so that in euery place appeares the vastations and spoiles of warre, without reparation.

The ninth, returning, I viewed the Lescar, which is one of the wonders of my little experience, that I had seene it finished, and set vp in foure houres, except some of great men that haue a double prouision, the circuit being little lesse then twenty *English* miles, the length some waies three course, comprehending the skirts, and the middle, wherein the streets are orderly, and Tents ioyned; there are all sorts of shops, distinguished so by rule, that euery man knowes readily where to seeke his wants, euery man of qualitie, and euery trade being limited how farre from the Kings Tents he shall pitch, what ground he shall vse, and on what side without alteration, which as it lies together, may equall almost any Towne in *Europe* for greatnesse; onely a Musket shot euery way no man approacheth the *Ataszkanka* royall, which is now kept so strict, that none are admitted but by name, and the time of the Durbar in the Euening is omitted and spent in hunting or hawking on Tanks by Boat, in which the King takes wonderfull delight, and his Barges are remooued on Carts with him, and he sits not but on the side of one, which are many times a mile or two ouer. At the *Iarruco* in the morning he is seene, but businesse or speech prohibited: all is concluded at night at the *Guzelchan*, when often the time is preuented by a drow-sinesse which possesseth the King from the fumes of *Bacchus*. There is now a gre t whisper in Court, about a new affinitie of *Sultan Corsoroone* and *Asaph Chan*, and great hope of his libertie. I will finde occasion to discourse it, for that the passages are very worthy, and the wisdom and goodnesse of the King appeares, aboue the malice of others, and *Noomabel* fulfill the obseruation, that in all actions of consequence in Court, a woman is not onely alwaies an ingredient, but commonly a principall drug of most vertue, and she shewes that they are not incapable of conducting businesse, nor her selfe void of wit and subtiltie. It will discouer a Noble Prince, an excellent Wife, a faithfull Counsellour, a craftie Step-mother, an ambitious Sonne, a cunning Fauourite, all reconciled by a patient King, whose heart was not vnderstood by any of all these. But this will require a place alone, and not to be mingled among businesse.

Humilitie and  
Charitie super-  
stitious, and  
therefore  
blind.

The sixteenth, I visited the King, who hauing been at his sports, and his quarry of fowle and fish lying before him, he desired me to take my choice, and so distributed the remainder to his Nobilitie. I found him sitting on his Throne, and a Begger at his feet, a poore silly old man all asht, ragd, and patcht, with a young roague attending on him. With these kind of professed poore holy men, the Countrey abounds, and are held in great reuerence, but for workes of chastisement of their bodies, and voluntary sufferings, they exceed the brags of all heretiques or Idolaters. This miserable wretch cloathed in rags, crowned with feathers, couered with ashes, his Maiestie talked with about an houre, with such familiaritie and shew of kindnesse, that it must needs argue an humilitie not found easily among Kings. The Begger fate, which his sonne dares not doe: he gaue the King a Present, a Cake, asht, burnt on the coales, made by himselfe of course graine, which the King accepted most willingly, and brake one bit and eate it, which a daintie mouth could scarce haue done. After he tooke the clout, and wrapt it vp, and put in the poore mans bosome, and sent for one hundred Rupias, and with his owne hands powred them into the poore mans lap, and what fell besides, gathered vp for him; when his collation of banquetting and drinke came, whatsoeuer he tooke to eate, he brake and gaue the Begger halfe, and after many strange humiliations and charities, rising, the old Wretch not being nimble, he tooke him vp in his armes, which no cleanly body durst haue touched, imbracing him, and three times laying his hand on his heart, calling him father, he left him, and all vs and me in admiration of such a vertue in a heathen Prince.

The sixe and twentieth, we passed through Woods, and ouer Mountaines, torne with bushes, tired with the incommodiousnesse of an impassible way, where many Camels perished, many departed for *Agra*, and all complained. I lost my Tents and Carts, but by midnight we met, the King,



King rested two dayes, for that the *Leskar* could not in lesse time recouer their order, many of the Kings women, and thousands of Coaches, Carts, and Camels, lying in the woody mountaines, without meat and water, himselfe got by on a small Elephant, which beast will climbe vp rockes and passe such straits, as no horse nor beast that I know can follow him.

The twenty fourth of Ianuary, newes arriued at Court, that the *Decans* would not be frightened out of their Dominion, which *Asaph Chan* and *Normahal* had pretended, to procure this Voyage, but that they had sent their impediments into the heart, and attended in the borders, with fifty thousand horse, resolved to fight, and that *Sultan Caronne* was yet aduanced no further then *Mandoo*, afraid both of the enemy and *Chan Channa*. These Counsellors changed their aduice, and declaring to the King that they conceiued the *Decan*, before his passage ouer the last hills, would haue yeelded by the terrour of his approach, but finding the contrary, perswaded him to conuert it to a hunting iourney, and to turne his face toward *Agra*, for that the other was not an enemy worthy his person. He replied this consideration came too late, his honour was engaged seeing he had so farre past, hee would prosecute their first counsells and his purpose, and aduenture the hazard of both. But hee daily dispeeded fresh troopes towards his sonne, partly from his owne, the rest commanded from governments, according to reports, thirty thousand horse, but not by muster.

Ianuary 24.  
*Decans resist the Mogolls power. Mandoo.*

The third of February, departing out of the Roade of the *Leskar* for ease and shade, and resting vnder a tree for the same commodities, came vpon me *Sultan Corfuroone*, the Kings eldest restrained sonne, riding vpon an Elephant, with no great guard nor attendance: his people desired me to giue him roome, which I did, but attended to see him, who called for mee, and with some gentle and familiar questions, full of courtesie and affabilitie hee departed: his person is good, and countenance chearefull, his beard growne to his girle; this only I noted, that his questions shewed ignorance of all passages in Court, in so much hee neuer heard of any Ambassadors nor *English*.

February 3.  
Conference with *Sultan Corfuroone*.

The next at night, we came to a little Tower newly repaired, where the King pitched in a pleasant place vpon the Riuer of *Sepra*, short of *Vgen*, the chiefe City of *Mulwa*, one Course. This place called *Calceda*, was anciently a Seat of the *Gentile* Kings of *Mandoo*, one whereof was there drowned in his drinke, hauing once before fallen into the Riuer, and was taken vp by the haire of the head, by a slaue that diued; and being come to himselfe it was related to him to procure a reward: he called for the instrument of his safety, and demanding how he durst put his hands on his Soueraignes head, caused them to be stricke off. Not long after, sitting alone with his wife in drunkenesse, hee had the same mischance to slip into the water, but so that shee might easily haue saued him, which shee did not: and being demanded why, shee replied, shee knew not whether he would also cut off her hands for her recompence.

*Sepra. Mulwa. Calceda. King drunken, drowned.*

The eleuenth, the King rode to *Vgen* to speake with a *Deruis* or Saint, liuing on a hill, who is reported to be three hundred yeares old: I thought this miracle not worth my examination. At noone by a foot-post I receiued a letter, that the Prince, notwithstanding all *Firmans* and Commands of his Father, had intercepted the Presents and goods sent vp, to fulfill his base and greedie desire, and that notwithstanding any gift nor entreaty, or perswasions of Master *Terry*, to whose charge they were committed, would not part with them, but by force compelled them to returne with him toward *Brampore*: yet did he forbear to breake any thing open, but pressed the *English* to consent, which they refusing by my order, he thought to winne them by vexations; such is the custome to see all Merchants goods euen before the King, that he may first choose, but I resolved to breake that in our behalfe.

Old *Deruis*

Princes incivillitie.

The Prince to satisfie his desire, before I could haue knowledge, he sent a Post to the King to certifie him, that such goods he had slayed without mention of Presents, and prayed leaue to open them, and to buy what he fancied. So soone as I heard of this faithlesse vnciuill vsage, I resolved I was iustificable before all the world, if I vsed the extremitie of complaints, that I had practised all meanes to win and purchase fauour, and had suffered beyond the patience of a freeman, my former courses will witnesse, and leaue me without blame in ill successes, though I found it in a rougher way, seeing I could find no better in the smoothest. Briefely I resolved to appeale to Iustice by complaint, but as calmly and warily as I could, to expresse my whole griefe, extreme iniuries, and long patience. To go to *Asaph Chan* (though to neglect him would displease him) yet to trie him I feared would preuent my purpose: to send to him that I desired to visite the King at the *Glutel-chand*, I doubted what I intended might be suspected, if hee had heard of the iniury: so I practised first to preuent, and auoid preuention.

The Prophet, whom the King visited, offered me occasion, and my new Linguist was readie. I rode and met his Maiestie on his Elephant, and alighted making signe to speake: he turned his monster to mee, and preuented mee. My sonne hath taken your goods and my Presents: bee not sad, he shall not touch nor open a seale, nor locke; at night I will send him a command to free them, with other very gracious speeches, that he knew I came full of complaint, to ease mee he beganne first. Vpon the way I could doe no more, but at night, without further seeking to *Asaph Chan*, I went to the *Guzel Chan*, resolved to prosecute the complaint of forcing backe our

A a a a

goods,



The *Mogoll* in  
drinke.

goods, in respect of the charge and trouble, of the abuses of *Surat*, and all our other grievances. So soone as I came in, the King called my Interpreter, and deliuered by him, that he had written and sent his command very effectually, that not a haire should be diminished: I replied, the iniury was such, and the charge and abuses of our liberty by the Princes officers, that I desired redresse, for that we could not longer suffer. It was answered, what was past I must remit to his sonne, but by *Asaph Chans* mediation I could procure nothing but very good words, for he smoothed on both sides; so that I was forced to seeme content, and to seeke an opportunitie in the absence of my false friend and procurator. The good King fell to dispute of the Lawes of *Moses*, *Iesus* and *Mahomet*, and in drinke was so kind, that he turned to me, and said: I am a King, you shall be welcome *Christians*, *Moore*s, *Jewes*, he medled not with their faith; they came all 10  
in loue, and he would protect them from wrong, they liued vnder his safety, and none should oppress them; and this often repeated, but in extreame drunkenesse he fell to weeping, and to diuers passions, and so kept vs till midnight.

Master *Terry*  
the Minister  
welcomed.

Iudge all men what trauell I endured, by reason the Factors kept my Presents foure moneths; and sent them euen in the mouth of the Prince, arriued within two dayes of *Brampore*, and hereby euery way our charge doubled, that I rested not satisfied; but seeing I had begun, and that the Prince was, as I feared, enough exasperated with a little, I thought as good lose him to some purpose, as to none, at least to trie the King what hee would doe. So I waited aduantage, but sent backe the messenger to Master *Terry*, to stand out and attend the Kings answere, which I would speedily send him. And so resolved to dissemble that I hope to repay, when I came, with base 20  
flattery worse then the theft, or at least to giue me some satisfaction, because trouble was in my face, for otherwise it is no iniury heere to bee so vsed: he beganne to tell me he had taken diuers things, that please him extreamely well, naming two Cushions embroydered, a folding Glasse, and the Dogges, and desired mee not to bee discontent, for whatsoeuer I would not giue him, I should receiue backe: I answered, there were few things that I intended not to present him; but that I tooke it a great discourtesie to my Soueraigne, which I could not answere, to haue that was freely giuen seized, and not deliuered by my hands to whom they were directed: and that some of them were intended for the Prince and *Normahall*, some to lye by me, on occasions, to prepare his Maiesties fauour to protect vs from iniuries that strangers were daily offered, and some for my friends or priuate vse, and some that were the Merchants, which I had not to doe withall: he 30  
answered, that I should not be sad nor grieved, that hee had his choyce, for that hee had not patience to forbear seeing them, hee did mee no wrong in it, for hee thought I wished him first serued, and to my Lord the King of *England* hee would make satisfaction, and my excuse: the Prince, *Normahall* and he were all one; and for any to bring with me to procure his fauour, it was a ceremony, and vnnecessary, for he would at all times heare me; that I should be welcome empty handed, for that was not my fault, and I should receiue right from him; and to go to his sonne, he would returne me somewhat for him, and for the Merchants goods pay to their content: concluding I should not be angry for this freedome; he intended well: I made no reply. Then hee pressed me whether I was pleased or no. I answered his Maiesties content pleased me: so seeing Master *Terry*, whom I brought in with me, he called to him, *Padre* you are very welcome, and 40  
this house is yours, esteeme it so, whensoeuer you desire to come to me, it shall bee free for you, and whatsoeuer you will require of mee, I will grant you.

Norable question  
about  
the Picture of  
a Satyre.

Then he conuerted himselfe with this cunning vnto me, naming all particulars in order: The Dogges, Cushions, Barbers case, you will not desire to haue backe, for that I am delighted in them: I answered no. Then said he there were two Glasse chestes, for they were very meane and ordinary, for whom came they? I replied, I intended one for his Maiestie, the other to *Normahall*. Why then, said hee, you will not aske that I haue, being contented with one? I was forced to yeeld. Next he demanded whose the Hats were, for that his women liked them. I answered, three were sent to his Maiesty, the fourth was mine to weare. Then said he, you will not take them from me, for I like them, and yours I will returne if you need it, and will not bestow that 50  
on me, which I could not refuse. Then next he demanded whose the Pictures were. I answered, sent to me to vse on occasions, and dispose as my businesse required: so hee called for them, and caused them to be opened, examined me of the women, and other little questions, requiring many iudgements of them, of the third Picture of *Venus* and a Satyre: he commanded my Interpreter not to tell me what he said: But asked his Lords what they conceiued should be the interpretation or morall of that, he shewed the Satyres hornes, his skinne which was swart, and pointed to many particulars: euery man replied according to his fancie; but in the end hee concluded they were all deceived: and seeing they could iudge no better, hee would keepe his conceit to himselfe, iterating his command to conceale this passage from me: But bade him aske me what it meant: I answered, an Inuention of the Painter to shew his arte, which was Poeti- 60  
call, but the interpretation was New to mee that had not seene it. Then he called Master *Terry*, to giue his iudgement, who replying, hee knew not. The King demanded why hee brought vp to him an inuention wherein hee was ignorant; at which I enterposed that he was a Preacher, and medled not with such matters, nor had charge of them, onely coming



ming in their company, hee was more noted, and so named as their conductor.

This I repeate for instruction, to warne the company and him that shall succeed me to be very way what they send, may be subiect to ill Interpretation: for in that point this King and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of iealousie and trickes, for that notwithstanding the King conceited himselfe, yet by the passages I will deliuer my opinion of this conceit, which (knowing, I had neuer seene the Picture, and by Ignorance was guiltlesse) hee would not presse hard vpon me. But, I suppose, he vnderstood the Morall to be a scorne of *Asiatiques* whom the naked Satyre represented, and was of the same complexion and not vnlike; who being held by *Venus* a white woman by the Nose, it seemed that shee led him Captiue. Yet he reuealed no discontent, but rould them vp, and told me he would accept him also as a Present. For the Saddle and some other small Toyes, he would fit me with a gift to his Sonne, to whom he would write according to promise, so effectually that I should need no Solicitor, in many busineses with as many complements, excuses, professions & protestations as could come from any very Noble, or very base minde in either extreame. Yet he left not, but enquired what meant the figures of the beasts, and whether they were sent me to giue to him: I had vnderstood they were very ridiculous and ill shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other then a lumpe of wood; I was really ashamed and answered, it was not my fault, those that seized them must beare the affront, but that they were not intended to him, but sent to shew the formes of certaine beasts with vs. He replied quickly, did you thinke in *England* that a Horse and a Bull was strange to mee? I replied, I thought not of so meane a matter, The sender was an ordinary man in good will to mee for Toyes, and what he thought, I knew not: well said the King, I will keepe them, and onely desire you to helpe me to a horse of the greatest size. It is all I will expect, and a Male and Female of Mastiffes, and the tall *Irish* Grey-hounds, and such other Dogges as hunt in your lands, and if you will promise me this, I will giue you the word of a King, I will fully recompence you, and grant you all your desires.

The Kings requests.

I answered, I would promise to prouide them, but could not warrant their lines, and if they dyed by the way, onely for my discharge, their skinnies and bones should bee preserued, hee gaue extraordinary Bowes, layd his hand on his heart, and such kind of gestures as all men will witnesse, he neuer vsed to any man, nor such familiarity, nor freedom, nor profession of loue.

This was all my recompence, that he often desired my content to be merry, that the wrong he had done me, he would royally requite, and send me home to my Countrey with grace and reward like a Gentleman. But seeing nothing returned of what was seized, but words, I desired his Maiesty to deliuer backe the Veluets and Silkes being Merchants goods, that they were sent vp among mine by his Maiesties command, for that by that pretence, they escaped the rauine of the Princes Officers: so hee gaue order to call Master *Biddolph* to agree with him, and to pay for them to content. Then I deliuered a Letter I had ready written contayning my desire for Priuiledges and Iustice otherwise I should returne as a Fayzneane and disgraced to my Soueraigne, and desired some Iustice for *Sulpherkarons* Debt lately dead: he replied he would take such order with his Sonne for *Surat*, as I should haue no cause to complaine, and that he should cleere it for which he gaue instant order. For other places, he would giue me his commands, and euery way shew how much he loued me, and to the end I might returne to my Master with honour, Hee would send by me a rich and worthy Present with his Letter of my behauiour filled with many prayses, and commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable, I answered, I durst not craue, it was not our custome, nor stood with my Masters honour, but whatsoever he sent, I doubted not, would be acceptable from so potent a King, and so much loued of my Lord. He replied, that I thought he asked in iest, to please mee, and that he saw I was yet discontent, but he coniured me to beleue he was my friend, and would at conclusion proue so, and vowed by his head hee spake heartily concerning Presents, but I must not refuse for his instruction to name somewhat. This earnestnesse enforced mee to say, if his Maiesty pleased, I thought large

*Persian* Carpets, would be fittest; for gifts of cost and value, my Master expected not.

He answered, he would prouide of all sorts and sizes, and added to them what hee thought was fit, that your King may know I respect him: next, hauing Venison of diuers sorts before him, he gaue me halfe a Stagge, with these words, hee killed it himselfe, and the other halfe I should see bestowed on his wiues, which was presently cut out, in small pieces of foure pound and sent in by his third sonne, and two women that were called out to diuers such Mammockes, as if it had beene a dole to the poore, and carryed by the Prince bare in his hands. Now I had as much satisfaction, and so abundant grace as might haue flattered me into content, but the iniury was aboue words, though I were glad of these and of colour to dissemble, for hee sent as a conclusion to know if I were pleased, and did not depart discontent. I answered his Maiesties fauour was sufficient to make mee any amends. Then, said he, I haue onely one question to aske you; which is, I wonder much now I haue seene your Presents two yeares, what was the reason why your King sent a Merchant, a meane man before you with fve times as many, and more curious Toyes that contented all, and after to send you his Ambassadour with a Commillion and his Letter mentioning Presents, and yet what you brought was little, meane and inferiour to the other.



I acknowledge you an Ambassadour, I haue found you a Gentleman in your vsage, and I am amazed why you were so slightly set out.

I would haue replied, but he cut me off, I know it is not the Kings fault, nor yours, but I will let you see I esteeme you better then they employed you. At your returne, I will send you home with honour, with reward, and according to your qualitie; and not respecting what you brought me, will like a King present your Lord and Master: onely this I will require from you, and not expect it from the Merchants, to take with you a patterne of a Quiuer, and Case for my Bow, a Coat to weare, a Cushion to sleepe on of my fashion, which was at his head, and a paire of Boots, which you shall cause to bee embroydered in *England*, of the richest manner, and I will expect and receiue them from you, for I know in your Countrey they can worke better then any I haue seene, and if you send them mee, I am a King, you shall not lose by it, which I most thankfully vndertooke, and he commanded *Asaph Chan* to send me the patternes. Then he demanded if I had any Grape Wine. I could not denie it; he desired a taste next night, and if hee liked it he would be bold, if not, he desired me to make merrie with it. So spending this night onely on me, he rose.

The third of March, wee came to *Mandon*, into which the King entred in state, but no man was suffered to goe in before hee was set, by the aduice of his Astrologers, so that wee all sate without, attending a good houre.

*Mandon.*

The sixth, I came into *Mandon*, hauing sent before, and found a faire Court well walled, and in that a good Church, one great Tombe: it was taken vp by one of the Kings Seruants, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within all the wall, but two mile from the Kings house, yet so sufficient that a little charge would make it defensible against raines, and saue one thousand Rupias, and for Aire very pleasant vpon the edge of the hill.

Ill profore-  
cast.

The eleuenth, at night I went toward the Court, but the King vpon newes of a Lion that had killed some Horses, was gone to hunt, so that I had leisure to seeke some water: for we were brought to a hill with a multitude of people (so great is the foresight, and so good the Policie) where was no water, that men and Cattle were like to perish, that little that was in Pooles some great men possessed, and kept by force, I could get none, the poore forsooke the Citie, and by Proclamation many were commanded away, all Horses and Cattel forbid, and so those who were now in hope to rest, were forced to seeke new Dwellings, who departed some two, three and foure Course off, to the extreame trouble of all men, and the terrible rising of prouisions. I knew not what to doe: my Roome and House was good, and though I were farre from Markets, yet it was a lesse inconuenience then to sit in the fields without house or shelter, onely I wanted water, so I rode my selfe to seeke some, and found a great Poole possessed by *Chan*, which was giuen by the King. I sent to desire him leaue to draw, who granted me foure load a day, which satisfied me in such sort, that with selling away some of those Iades that were put vpon me from *Swat*, and putting off my Cattell, I had hope to liue, to which purpose I sent two with them to lye out of Towne. There was not a misery, nor punishment, which either the want of Gouvernment, or the naturall disposition of the Clime gaue vs not.

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## ¶ VIII

*The New-yeares Feast: Suspitions of the English: Trade of Dabul, distaste of the Persian, English-men of Warre in the Indian Seas.*

**T**He twelfth, I went to the King, and carried a New-yeares gift, a paire of very faire Kniues of my owne, and sixe Glasses of yours; the excuse I made was well receiued, and the King vsed mee with all grace, this onely was my comfort. He said whatsoever came from my hands was present sufficient, he accepted my loue, and it was his part now to giue me. I found a gainer by him, who had so farre performed his promise that I perceiued the King instructed in my desire, and gaue present order to an Officer to send for Master *Bidolph* to pay him to his content for such things as he claymed, and all the others were acknowledged to be receiued by name, and that when I went to the Prince, the King would write; but was loth to part with any thing, of which the best sweet bagge lay before him. I replied, I was as loth to goe empty handed: so it rested, the King commanded I should come vp and stand within, on the degrees of his Throne by him, where I found on one side the *Persian* Ambassadour, on the other the old King *Candabar* with whom I ranked, and he presently fell to begge a Knife which next day I sent. The King called for the *Persian* to come downe, to whom he gaue a Jewell, and a young Elephant, for which he kneeled and saluted the ground with his head. The Throne was the same vsed the last yeare, and all the other furniture: at the vpper end was set the King my Soueraignes Picture, the Queenes, my Lady *Elizabeths*, Sir *Thomas Smiths* and some others,

English Pi-  
ctures.



others, two pieces of good and fine Tapistrie below them, that came from *Persia*, a Throne of Gold set all ouer with Rubies, Emeralds and Turqueis, and the old Musicke of singing Whores. This day I dispatched to *Surat* my aduice of the *Persian* businesse and the new Ambassadour, and some remembrance to *Abram Chan* the Gouvernour from whom I receiued a Letter, that in his absence our Nation had beene wronged against his knowledge, but that his power being augmented by the Prince, he desired me to be confident in him, that while he liued in authoritie we should neuer suffer any such abuses, but we should liue in all freedome.

The thirteenth, I sent a Complement to *Asaph Chan*, a faire wrought Night-cap of mine owne, and a rich paire of Gloues which he returned as vfelesse in this Countrey; the Cap he receiued and desired some Alegant Wine, which I sent the next day at night. *Aganor* (whose diligence now gaue me great hope and ease) sent a *Bannian* his Secretary to tell mee hee had order for the dispatch of the Merchants goods, and that his man should attend Master *Biddolph* to finish it, that the patternes should be sent me home, and that the King would giue me a Coat and money to beare my charges to the Prince. I returned answere, that I had no vse of a *Babylonish* Garment, nor needed money; if his Maiestie were pleased to consider the iniuries offered, of which the Paper testified remayned in his hands, and to giue me his Letter to the Prince with some Presents or else to write in my excuse. it was all I would desire, but for his gifts I expected none but Iustice.

The one and twentieth: I yet could not at instant presse it further, only I discovered the Kings doubts, for he suspected my stealing out of his Countrey, and breach with our Nation for the Prince, either out of guiltinesse or feare, or perhaps cunning to make vs the pretence of his owne designs, had newly enformed the King, that next yeare, the *English* purposed the taking of *Surat*, and keeping it, of which our owne folly gaue some colour; for lately vpon one of their ordinary brabbles they caused two hundred Musketers to land and march toward *Surat*, and being met by diuers the ioyfull Mariners gaue out, they went to take it. This absurde *brauado* for a handful of men to passe twelue mile to a walled Towne, able to put out a thousand horse armed, and as many shot, a Riuer to passe which a few men would defend against a good Armie, gaue iust occasion of scorne and offence: and which the Prince apprehended for some other his owne ends, to refortifie the Castle and Towne, and to send downe Ordnance for the defence: a good prouision to keepe a doore open to flie out, if his Brother liue to correct his ambition. But this information occurring with my discontentes heere, and some free language, my pressure to goe to *Bramptore*, and flying newes that we had taken *Goa*, and were preparing a great Fleet in *England*, did cause some suspition in the King, which though he concealed it, yet hee thought to discover by the former Discourse, with which hee rested fully satisfied, but I did not: I had beene long fed with words, and knew as well as the heart that trembled, that feare of vs only preserved our residence.

The nine and twentieth of March: this complaining of Officers is a tune so new, so odious in Court, that it troubleth all great men, it beeing their owne case, who liuing vpon farming Governments in which they vse all tyrannie to the *Naturals*, are loth to suffer a way open to the Kings vnderstanding of their practice, who ordinarily hang men by the heeles, to confesse money, or to ransom themselves from no fault: this made all men enuie my imployment, and auoid me as an Informer.

A. D. 1617.  
Tyranny of  
Officers.

The five and twentieth of April, I receiued from *Dabull* road from Cap. *Pepwell*, that according to aduise he had stayed the Iuncke bound for *Mocha*, but weighing the caution giuen by mee to consider well what correspondence were betweene that Prince and *Mozolapatan*, in whose Territorie the *Solomon* was and could not get to Sea, finding both alliance and friendship, he freed her without spoile, alleging the refusall of Trade to *Middleton*, which courtesie procured him, so good entertainment as the *Indies* affords seldome, free Trade and promise to take three hundred Clothes yearly: a good quantitie of Lead sold for money, and some Ordnance (which I like not to arme the *Indians*, and the *Portugals* friends, enemies to the *Mogoll*) and all other courtesies, which if this kindnesse proceeded not, for that the Iuncke was yet vnder command, giues me good hope of some Trade in sale yearly at the Port, howeuer the freeing of the Iuncke assures me the Commander will doe nothing by catching, preiudiciall to the Company, and deliuer himselfe honestly from the iealousies cast vpon him from *Dabul*, hee signifies his intent to proceed to *Callicute*, and if that Factorie be not worth supplies to transmit it to *Dabul*.

Letter from  
Capitaine  
Pepwell at  
*Dabulla*

The seven and twentieth, by the Foot-post I receiued from *Mozolapatan*, that the *Salomon* was got to Sea, and the *Hoslander* from *Bantam* arriued, who brought the ill newes of the losse of the *Heitor* and *Concord*, careening in the Roade of *Iacatra*, on *Iana*, in recompence that the *Dragon*, *Cloue* and *Defence*, were homeward laden from *Bantam*. I tooke this occasion to conuey a letter to the Gouvernour of *Dabul* ouer-land, to appretend the ouerture newly made by him of the trade: though I had little opinion of the place, yet I would not neglect that, nor encourage the next Fleet to proceed, but vpon better assurance then a forced friendship, and offers made while their Iuncke was in our power. The effect was to signifie the causes of our staying their goods for refusing trade to Sir *Henry Middleton*, but now finding in him a better inclination and a

Ouerture of  
Trade at  
*Dabull*.



desire to receiue vs, & to establish a friendship and league, a promise to take cloth in good quantitie. I required if these motions were hearty, and such as befit a man of honour, that he would write to the King his Master, to procure his *Firman* with such priuiledges as were fit for Merchants, and his promise to buy our goods, and to fulfill all the friendly offers made by him, his Officer, vnder his Seale, and with expedition to send it mee to the Court of the great *Mogoll*: whereby I might receiue assurance and encouragement that they intended faith, and on such reception I did vndertake on the behalfe of the King of *England*, a good and firme Peace toward his Master, his subiects free passage in the seas, from any oppression by our Fleets: and that yearly I would either send a ship to his Port for trade, or if it so required, leaue & establish a residence in his *Gouernment*. I doubt not, but yearly for feare or loue, some good trade by sales may be made, but for enuestments, it will not be worth it: only I proceeded as I would haue wished all men, not with too seeming eager a desire, nor to swallow any offers and conditions hungerly, for strict care in the first setting is the best aduantage: and for misery of ensuing times, it being a generall rule neuer to mend your first estate, often to empaire it, euery mans best houre is when he is new, a stranger, and at first seene: after, the naturall lenitie of these *Barbarians*, finds all that brings not change, fastidious. This dispatch I committed to Master *Bangham*, and desired him to make diligent enquiry of the commodities, aduantages, inconueniences, humours and affections of these *Decannies* towards vs.

Dislike of the  
Persian Amb-  
bassador.

The thirtieth, the time that he brought me the excuses of the *Persian* Ambassador, for failing in taking his leaue of me, which he would not send by a seruant, but vttered the truth that the Ambassador was not sicke, as he pretended, but receiuing no content from the King in his business he suddenly tooke leaue, and hauing giuen thirty faire horses at his departure: the King gaue in recompence three thousand *Rupias* which he tooke in great scorne; whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassador had giuen him at meane rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arriual, euen to slaues, *Drinke*, *Mellons*, *Pines*, *Plantanes*, *Hawkes*, *Plumes*, the *Eliphant* and whatsoeuer at extreme high rates, and sending both Bills made it vp in money. This base vsage and scorne caused him to excuse his not seeing *Asaph Chan* and *Estimon Dowlet* on a *Feuer*, which hauing done hee could not come through the *Towne* to mee without discouerie, but desired him to acquaint me with the truth, and to make all excuse and profession that hee would recompence this discourtesie by double friendship to my Countermen in *Persia*: with some bitterness against the King, which *Aganor* as freely deliuered, and I seemed as vnwilling to heare. I presented them with some *Aligant* and *Kniues*, and we parted.

The twelfth of May, I receiued newes of a great blow giuen the *Persian* by the *Turkes* Army, so that *Tanris* was rased, and the *Shabas* not able to keepe the field.

The five and twentieth, a *Lion* and a *Wolfe* vsed my house, and nightly put vs in alarum, fetching away *Sheepe* and *Goats* out of my Court, and leaping a high wall with them. I sent to aske leaue to kill it, for that no man may meddle with *Lions* but the King, and it was granted: I ranne out into the Court vpon the noyse, and the beast missing his prey, seized on a little *Island* *Dogge* before me, that I had long kept, but the *Wolfe* one of my *Seruants* killed, and I sent it the King.

The fourteenth of Iune, certaine goods of the *Iesuites* were sent from *Cambaya* in a *Cabinet*, *Phisicke* and necessaries, and a *Letter*, which were betrayed by the bringer, and deliuered the King: which he opened and sent for the *Padre* to reade the *Letter*, and to see all in the *Boxes*, of which nothing liking him, he returned all; which I obserue as a warning to all that deale in this Kingdome, to be wary of what they write or send, for such is the custome and humour of the King, that he will seize and see all, lest any *Toy* should escape his appetite.

The eighteenth, I receiued *Letters* from *Amadaur* of the *Hope* of the fall of *Indico*, by the failing of the *Goa* *Cassila*, and that there was plentie to be bought but deare. That the *Vnicornes* *Horne* was returned as without vertue, concerning which I gaue him new aduice; many complaints against *Surat* and others, which I meddle not with. I receiued from *Brampoore* two *Letters*, how doubtfull the Debt of *Ralph* stood, and newes of the returne of *Spragge* from the *Left* *kar* of *Decan*. The *Generall* *Meliskamber* with much shew of honour, gaue instant order for priue search in all his *Campe*, for the *Persian* fled, and by me remanded; but finding him departed to *Vizeapoores*, by testimony that business was pursued no further, but by a *Letter* to a *Dutch* there resident. The *Generall* desired *Spragge* to be a meanes to bring him *English* cloth and swords to his *Campe* for the supply of his *Souldiers* which lye within sixe dayes of *Brampoore*. In my opinion, that had bene a good employment of some idle men, and a way to vent our dead commodities.

The thirtieth of Iuly, I receiued from *Surat*, of the casting away of two *Dutch* ships on the Coast of *Damon*, that hauing come from the Southward with *Spices* and *China* *Silkes*, were bound for the *Red Sea*, but losing their season with much extremitie of weather beating many weekes about the entrance for harbour, attempted the like at *Socatra*, and vpon the Coast of *Arabia*, but being not able to get in any way, they resolued for *Surat*, hoping by the last yeares good successe to be able to ride safely: but the yeares differ, and being forced to anchor in extre-

mitie



mitie their greater ship cut her Masts by boord, and after her Cables breaking, shee went ashore vpon the Coast Ozie ground within Musket shot. The ship kept vpright, but hauing lost their long Boat, and their Skiffe not able to liue by rafters, foure men got alhoare, and the Tydes heauing her in vpon the Spring, they saued much goods and all their people: her Pinnasse of sixtie Tunne was beaten to pieces.

The one and twentieth of August, the King of *Candahor*, came to visit me, and brought wine and fruit, sate halfe an houre, and for one Iest of his begged a bottle of wine.

The Prince *Sultan Corferoone* had his first day of hoped libertie, and came to take ayre and pleasure at the Banquetting house by me. The Prince at *Brampoore* had made a Marriage without the Kings consent, and gotten displeasure: besides some practice of his was discovered against his Brothers life; but this as a secret; he was called for to Court. *Normahal* and *Asaph Chan* by their Fathers aduice, came about to make a peace with *Corferoone* and Alliance, and with infinite ioy his libertie is expected.

The two and twentieth, the King feasted at *Asaph Chans*. I receiued from *Aleppo* and *Persia*, passages of the Warre, the *Turkes* retrait; but no word of our *English*: only, that the Captaine of *Grinins*, had written to practise their disgrace.

The five and twentieth, I aduised to *Agra* my proceeding in the *Armenians* businesse backe to *Surat*, and *Brampoore* of all occurrents. This day *Asaph Chan* feasted *Normahal*, the Prince *Sultan Corferoone*, as is reported, to make a firme alliance, and that he will bring away a Wife by his Fathers importunitie, this will beget his full libertie, and our proud Masters ruine.

The first of September, was the Kings Birth-day, and the solemnitie of his weighing, to which I went, and was carryed into a very large and beautifull Garden, the square within all water, on the sides flowres and trees, in the midst a Pinacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a crosse beame plated on with Gold thinne: the scales of massie Gold, the borders set with small stones, Rubies and Turkey, the Chaines of Gold large and massie, but strengthened with silke Cords. Here attended the Nobilitie all sitting about it on Carpets vntill the King came; who at last appeared clothed, or rather loden with Diamonds, Rubies, Pearles, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious! his Sword, Target, Throne to rest on correspondent; his head, necke, breast, armes, aboue the elbowes at the wrists, his fingers euery one, with at least two or three Rings; fettered with chaines, or dyalled Diamonds; Rubies as great as Wal-nuts, some greater; and Pearles, such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly hee entered into the scales, sate like a woman on his legges, and there was put in against him, many bagges to fit his weight which were changed fixe times, and they say was siluer, and that I vnderstood his weight to be nine thousand Rupias, which are almost one thousand pound sterling: after with Gold and Jewels, and precious stones, but I saw none, it beeing in bagges might bee Pibles; then against Cloth of Gold, Silke, Stuffles, Linnen, Spices, and all sorts of goods, but I must beleuee, for they were in fardles. Lastly, against Meale, Butter, Corne, which is said to be giuen to the *Banians*, and all the rest of the Stuffle: but I saw it carefully carryed in, and none distributed. Onely the siluer is reserued for the poore, and serues the ensuing yeare, the King vsing in the night to call for some before him, and with his owne hands in great familiaritie and humilitie to distribute that money. The scale he sate in by one side, he gazed on me, and turned me his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spake nothing, for my Enterpreter could not be admitted in. After he was weighed, he ascended his Throne, and had Basons of Nuts, Almonds, Fruits, Spices, of all sort made in thinne siluer, which he cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate vpon their bellies, which seeing I did not, hee reached one Bason almost full, and powred into my Cloke, his Noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke, that they had left me none, if I had not put a remayner vp. I heard he threw Gold till I came in, but found it siluer so thinne, that all I had at first being thousands of seuerall pieces had not weighed sixtie Rupias. I saued about twentie Rupias weight, yet a good dishfull, which I keepe to shew the ostentation, for by my proportion he could not that day cast away aboue one hundred pound sterling. At night he drinketh with all his Nobilitie in rich Plate. I was inuited to that, but told, I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sicke and in a little fluxe of bloud, and durst not stay to venture my health.

The Kings weighing.

The ninth of September, the King rode to the Riuer of *Darbadath*, fue course on pleasure, and comming by my house I rode out to meete him. The custome is, that all men by whom hee passeth neere their gate, make him some Present, which is taken as a good signe, and is called *Mombareck*, good Newes, or good Successe. I had nothing to giue, nor might fitly goe with nothing, nor stay at home without discourtesie, which made mee venture vpon a faire Booke well bound filleted and gilt, *Mercators* last Edition of the Maps of the world, which I presented with an excuse that I had nothing worthy, but to a great King I offered the World in which he had so great and rich a part. The King tooke it in great courtesie, often laying his hand on his breast, and answering euery thing that came from mee was welcome. Hee asked after the ships arriual, which I told him I daily expected: hee told me hee had some fat wild Hogges sent him from *Goa*, and if I would eate any at his returne he would send me some. I made him due reuerence, and answered

*Mercators Atlas* presented to the *Mogoll*.



swered any thing from his Maieftie was a feaft to me : he rode on his Eliphant, and the way was ftonie, and I offering to bring him toward the gate, hee bade God keepe mee, and returne to my houfe, demanding which it was, and praying it : indeed it was one of the beft in the *Laskar*, yet but an old Church and large Tombe inclofed : iterating his fare-well, he faid the way was ill, and defired me to goe home, and with much shew of courtesie tooke leaue.

Prince of *Candabor* vnciuillie.

The fixteenth, I rode to repay the visit of *Marre Rustam* the Prince of *Candabor*, who at my arriual sent word he durst not fee mee, except hee asked leaue of the King or acquainted *Etimon Dowlet* or *Asaph Chan*, which at the Darbar he would. I answered he should not need, for I neuer meant to trouble my selfe with a man so vnciuill, nor to come a second time. I knew well it was a shift out of ill manners ; that the King would bee no more angry for his bidding mee wel- 10 come to his houfe, then for his comming to mine, but that I cared not to see him, but came in ciuilitie to requite, that I took so in him. His man desired me to stay vntill he told his Master my answer, but I would not, and returned : at night, I rode to Court to visit the King, who questioned about the Booke of Maps, but I did forbear any speech of my debts.

The five and twentieth, I rode to the Court very weake, to make triall of the King about our debts, for that *Muckshud* had also newly answered he had mist his Prigany, and knew not how to pay, but by his house. I deliuered the King the Merchants Petition, which hee caused to bee read aloud, and the names of the debtors, and sureties, and summes distinctly, by *Asaph Chan* : which done, he called *Araddat Chan*, the chiefe of his officers of Household, and the *Curwall*, and gaue them order, but what I vnderstood not ; reading the names, hee questioned their abilities 20 and qualities, and what goods they receiued; finding some dead, some strangers : concerning *Rulph*, *Asaph Chan* offered to speake to the Prince at his arriual to finish it. My Interpreter was now called in, and the King conuerted to mee, giuing this answer : That the Merchants had made debts at their owne wills, and not brought a note of their goods to him, therefore if the men were insufficient, it was at their perill, for that it was no reason to expect the money from him, which, I suppose, he spake of his seruant *Hergonen*, who being dead, his goods were seized for the Kings vse : but seeing it was the first time, he would now assist me, and cause our money to be payed : but if hereafter the *English* would deliuer their goods to his seruants without mo- 30 ney or acquainting him, they should stand to the hazard; but if when their commodities came to the Court, they would bring a bill to him of all, he would first serue himselfe, and after distribute the rest to such as should buy that, and if any of them failed, he would pay the money himselfe : this is indeed the custome of *Persia* Merchants, to bring all to the King, which I haue often seene, who takes his choice, and deliuers the rest to his Nobilitie, his Scriuanes writing to whom, and his Officer cutting price; a copy of which is giuen the Merchant, and hee goes to their houses for money; if they pay not, there is an expresse Officer that hath order by currant course to force them. Then was it told my Interpreter what command the King had giuen, that *Arad Chan* should call the debtors before him, and cause them to pay : but this pleased not our Merchants, I thought it both a iust and gracious answer, better then in such cases priuate men can get of great Princes.

Mercator returned.

The King hearing I had been sicke, and wished for wine, gaue me five bottles, and commanded when I had ended those, to send for five more, and so as I wanted; and a fat Hogge, the fattest 40 I euer saw, sent vp by *Mochreb Chan*, that came from *Goa*, which at midnight was brought home by a *Haddy* with this message; since it came to the King it had eaten nothing but Sugar and Butter. I tooke this as a signe of fauour, and I am sure in that Court it is a great one. Then he sent for the Map-booke, and told me he had shewed it his *Mulaies*, and no man could reade nor vnderstand it, therefore if I would, I should haue it againe : I answered, at his pleasure, and so it was returned.

A *Raia* withstood the Kings forces.

The fixe and twentieth, there being a *Raia* in rebellion in the hills, not past twentie Course from the *Laskar*, the King lately sent out two *Vmbras* with horse to fetch him in, but he defended his quarter, slew one of them, and twelue *Maancipdares*, and in all of both sides about five 50 hundred, returning scornfull messages to the King to send his sonne, for he was no prey for ordi- nary forces.

October 2.

The second of October, the Prince entered the Towne, and all the great men in wondrous triumph : the King receiued him, as if he had no other, contrary to our expectation. *Brampore* left almost emptie vnder *Chan Channa*. I had sent to *Asaph Chan*, to excuse my not meeting him, for I was not able to stirre, nor had no Present. All the great men, and the Kings Mother, receiued him foure Course off. I sent also some of my seruants with my iust excuse, which his pride only nodded at.

English shippes taken by the English : which might else haue endangered their country-men.

The fifth, I receiued from *Surat* newes of our shippes arriual, the Admirall missing, and her Prize of *Mosambique*; the rest well, who had taken two *English* Rouers, set out by ( ) 60 who were found in chase of the Queene Mothers ship returned from the Red-sea, which they fortunately rescued and brought safe in; if shee had bin taken, we had all bin in trouble : with these the Companies Letter, in voice, instructions for *Persia*, and diuers other notes of aduise, that by reason of the Admiralls absence : they knew not what course to take with the men of Warre. I dispeeded



dispeeded to *Surat* orders about all businesse, as appears in my Letters.

The sixt, I rode to visite the Prince, at his vsuall houre, to giue him welcome, and to acquaint him with our businesse, determining to make offer of all respect to him, and to that end not to come emptie handed, and bought a fine Chaine of gold, *China* worke: I sent in word; he returned that I should come next morning at Sunne rise, when he fate to be worshipped; or stay till his riding to Court; which I must haue done at his doore. This I tooke in extreame soone; his Father neuer denying me accesse; and his Pride is such, as may teach *Lucifer*: which made me answer roundly, I was not his Slaue, but a free Ambassadour of a King, and that I would neuer more visite him, nor attend him, hee had refused me Iustice; but at night I would see him with the King, to whom only I would addresse my selfe, and so departed.

The Princes  
pride.

At night I went to the King, who receiued me graciously. I made a reuerence to the Prince, but he would not once stirre his head. Then I acquainted the King, that according to his order, I had brought an abstract of our ladings, desiring his command: after his manner he asked what and what, and was so wonderfully satisfied, especially with Arras, that he promised mee all fauour, all priuiledges, all that I would desire. He enquired for Dogges, which I could not answer, and for Jewels, which I told him they were dearer in *England* then in *India*, at which hee rested satisfied. I durst not name the Pearles for many reasons; if I had, our people had bene way-haid for by the Prince, and such snatching, as I could not auoyd infinite trouble; I knew I could bring them ashore, and to Court by stealth, that the lesser expected, the better welcome; but my maine reason was, I would make a friend by them. Therefore when *Asaph Chan* pressed me to know, I desired him to make that answer of dearenesse, and that I would speake with him alone; he soone vnderstood me, and made excuse.

The King being well pleased, I thought it good time to moue againe for the debts; and ha- uing my Petition ready, opened it, and offered it vp: the King not marking, others discouered what it was, and knew the King would bee enraged that his order was neglected: whereat one stept to me, and clapt downe my hand gently, desiring me not to doe so. I answered, *Asaph Chan* had absolutely refused me Iustice: at which he being by, came in, in much feare, calling *Asaph Chan*, desiring him to hinder me from complaint. I answered, our ships were arriued, and we could not forbear nor endure such delays: so they consulted together, and called the *Cutwall*, giuing order to execute the Kings command: who that night at midnight beset their Tents, and caught some of them, so that now we shall haue reason.

I had great thanks of all the *Vmreies* for protecting the Queenes ship, and our courtesie to their passengers, which they enformed the King, who tooke it kindly, and they all promised that they were obliged to loue our Nation, and would doe them all seruice: but they wondered we could not gouerne our people, but that theues could come out, without the Kings leaue.

At the Kings rising, *Asaph Chan* carryed me with him to his retyring place, and there first we translated the Abstract into *Persian*, to shew the King an houre after: in which I inserted the money with some addition, because the King might perceiue was brought profit to his Dominions; next the cloath and forts, then the fine wares in generall: lastly the grosse commodities, desiring his Maiestie to order what he would buy, and to giue vs liberty for the rest. This finished, *Asaph Chan* renewed the reason why I would speake alone, bad me be free, vowed and protested such friendship as I neuer could expect. I replied, The reason why I desired it, was to aske his counsell: for it was true I had somewhat, but my vsage last yeare was so bad, that I durst not trust any, but that he might see how I replied on him, I was willing on his oath to reueale it, which he presently gaue. I told him I had a rich Pearle, and some other ropes faire: I knew not whether it was fit to tell the King, lest the Prince were displeased; I told him how in the morning I had been to visite him, and his discourtesie, and my resolution: but that I knew his fauour was so necessary for vs, that I hoped I might recouer it, by this one respect that I kept the Pearle for him. This I said was my purpose and reason I concealed it; he was father in law to him, and fauorite of the King; I was ready to please both, and desired his aduice. He embraced me, and began: I had done discreetly, but I should acquaint neither: if I did, I should neuer want trouble: the King would vse me well, but keepe such a stirre to see it, and get it into his hand, according to custome, and then I must sue for mine owne. The Prince was rauinous and tyrannicall, and wearied all Nations. He bade mee steale all ashore, trust none, and shewed mee many conueyances; bade me obserue the vsage of the *Portugalls*, how they were ransacked, and desired to buy it, which if I would grant it, I should haue money in *deposito*, what I should aske, and he would for this trust of him, sollicite all my desires, that without him I could doe nothing. Now was an oportunitie to make a friend. I answered, I was willing, but I feared hee would reueale it; which hauing receiued his oath, and a ceremony of couenant by crossing thumbe, we embraced: I promised to be directed by him, and he to doe all that I required for the coming vp of the rest; he would take order to giue me *Firmans*, no man should touch any thing, but all come to me, to dispose of at pleasure. The Prince he would reconcile to me, and the next time he visited him, he would take me, and make him vse me with all grace, and for other businesse it should not be in his power to crosse me; but if he did, he would assigne vs a Syndic, which was in his government,



gouernment, or procure any other Port at my desire, and whatsoever I demanded should be performed faithfully. He also aduised me to giue his sister *Normahal* some toy, he said he would make the King giue me money: to which I answered, I desire you to conuert it into the well vñage of my countrey-men, I asked no more.

Thus we rose, and he carryed me in to the King, with the Note translated, who gaue mee all good vñage; asked if the Arras were a Present: I answered yes, lest it should be seized, for the Prince was by. In conclusion, hee said hee would buy all the parcell of cloath, and many other things, appointing me to send for it speedily; *Asaph Chan* to take order for a *Firman* from the Prince.

Thus I had a good night, and I knew though they are all ( ) yet in this he would deale truly, because it was to helpe himselfe, and durst not betray me till he had the Pearle, for feare to misse it, nor after, for hauing himselfe betrayed the Prince. 10

## p. IX.

*ASAPH CHAN* seeketh to further vs for hope of gaine, so also *NORMAHAL*:  
Master *STEELES* arrivall: Danger to the publike, by private  
trade: Stirres about a Fort. 20

*Asaph Chan*  
friendship for  
hope of gaine.



He twelfth, according to promise, *Asaph Chan* carryed mee to the Prince, into his private roome, where I presented him with a small *China* Gold-chaine, in a *China* Cup, he vsed me indifferently: *Asaph Chan* periwaded him to alter his course towards vs, telling him hee gained yearly by vs a Lecke of *Rupias* at his Port: that it appeared we yearly encreased our trade, and it would in time bring profit; that if the hard measure were continued, we would quit both that and the Countrey, of which inconuenience would ensue. That we were his Subjects (such words he must vse) if for desire of toyes he gaue vs discontent, we would practise to conceale all from him; but if hee gaue vs that libertie which was fit, wee would strue to bring all before him, for that I only studied his content and fauour for my particular; that he should receiue mee, when I came, to visite him with honour, and according to my qualitie, it would encourage mee to doe him seruice, and content my Nation. Finally, hee moued him for a *Firman* for our present ease, and obtained it, promising all manner of content, and at instant gaue order to *Asaph Chan* his Secretary, to draw it in euery point according to my owne desires, and to write a Letter to the Gouvernour in recommendations of it: and that I should at all times haue any other Letter, when I called for it. It is easily seene with how base and vnworthy men I traffique. *Asaph Chan* for a sordid hope only of buying some toyes, was so reconciled, as to betray his sonne, and to me obsequious, euen to flattery: for the ground of all this friendship was, that he might buy the Gold taken in the prize, and some other knackes: to which end he desired to send downe a seruant, which I could not deny without losing him, I had so long laboured to get: neither was it ill for vs, for his payment is good, and it will saue vs much charge and trouble to sell aboard, especially wine and luggish that spoiles in cariage; and he obtained leaue vnder false colours, and wrote to the Gouvernour in our behalfe, with all manner of kindnesse. There is a necessitie of his friendship, his word is law, and therefore I durst not see his vnworthinesse, and hope by this course to winne him, at least to make present good vse of him. Vpon this occasion I moued for a *Firman* for *Bengala*, which he promised, and would neuer before hearken to: and this effect of his greatnesse I found, that hee prosecuted our debtors, as if his owne: and passing by the *Cutwa* on his Elephant, called to command dispatch, which was an vnusall fauour; vpon which *Groo* was imprisoned, and *Muckshu* had two dayes libertie only to pay vs; and I doubt not, but to end that in ten dayes, the summe being foure and forty thousand *Rupias*, and the debtors most shifting false knaues in *India*. 30 40 50

The one and twentieth, at this instant, came in to me from *Asaph Chan*, a seruant, in the name of *Normahal*, that shee had moued the Prince for another *Firman*, that all our goods might bee in her protection, and that shee had obtained it, and was readie to send downe her seruant with that, to see and take order for our good establishment, that shee would see that wee should not bee wronged. That *Asaph Chan* had done this for feare of the Princes violence, and because of his delayes; that now hee was sure that his sister had desired to bee our Protectresse, that the Prince would not meddle, that vpon his honour I should receiue all things consigned to mee; that shee had written such a command, and charged her seruant to assist our Factors, so that we should haue neuer more cause to complaine of *Su-at*. Therefore hee desired of mee two or three words to the Captaine and Factors to vse him kindly, and to let him buy for her some toyes, such as I would spare. This I durst not deny, though I saw the greedinesse; and gaue him a note on condition to see the Copy of the *Firman* which was sealed, and I could not without leaue, and so he was dispeeded: but you may by this iudge this place, how easie it were to raise a stocke last yeare, wee weer 60



were not looked after. Now because I translated the Cargazon of fine wares (yet concealed the Pearle) and gaue it the King ; euery one is ready to runne downe to buy : *Normahall* and *Asaph Chan* studying to doe me good offices ; many great men desiring a letter to send their seruants downe, so that if you had treble this stocke, it would be bought vp aboard, and saue you custome, and carriage, and spoile : for which purpose out of this I haue ordered your Factory to sell to the seruants of *Normahall* and her brother, whatsoeuer may bee spared, so that I may bee fitted at Court in any proportion. Thus I shall saue trouble and you charge, the Prince preuented, and our friends confirmed, and yet I hope sufficient for to please the King and his sonne : at the deli-  
 10 uery of which *Asaph Chan* hath vnderaken the *Firman* for *Bengala*, or any Port, and a generall command and grant of free Priuiledges in all his Dominions.

The foure and twentieth, the King departed *Mandao* foure Course, and wandering in the hills, left vs irresolute what way to take, no man knowing his purpose. The six and twentieth, I got a warrant for ten Camels at the Kings price. The nine and twentieth, I remoued after : forced away by the desolations of the place.

The one and thirtieth, I arriued at the Kings Tents, but found him gone with few company for ten dayes a hunting, no man to follow without leaue, the *Leskar* diuided and scattered into many parts, ill water, deare prouisions, sicknesse and all sorts of calamitie accompanying so infinite a multitude ; yet nothing remoues him from following this monstrous appetite. Heere I vnderstood the Kings purpose was vncertaine, whether for *Agra* or *Guzerat* ; the latter giuen  
 20 out ; the former more probable, because his Councell desired to be at rest : but that how euer for the dispatch of my businesse, seeing hee would linger heere about a moneth, I was aduised, and thought it as fit to send for the goods and Presents, as to deferre it vpon vncertainties, being that dispatched, I had hope of some quiet in this course : I wore out my body, being very weake, and not like to recouer vpon daily trauell in the fields, with cold raw muddie water.

The second of Nouember, arriued *Richard Steele* and *Master Jackson*, with the Pearle and some other small matters stolen ahoare, according to my order, which I receiued and gaue quittance for : with him I had conference about his proiects, which because I would not rashly re-  
 30 iect them, as he had set them afoot, after hauing made him see his fancies, and vnderstand the qualitie of these people, how for the water-worke, if to bee effected, it must bee begunne at our charge, and after triall, we shall not enioy the profit, but the Naturalls taught, and our people re- iected ; neither our commoditie vented by it, for that the Lead will treble his price by portage ouer-land ; and cannot bee deliuered at *Agra* so cheape as found there : yet I was content hee should make triall for satisfaction by carrying his work-men to *Amadanas*, to meete mee there, where by assistance of *Mocrib Chan*, who only is a friend to new inuentions. I would make of-  
 40 fer to the King of their industry, and make prooffe what conditions may be obtained ; but in my iudgement it is all money and labour cast away. The Company must shut their eares against these proiectors, who haue their owne employments more in their ends, then their Masters profits : many things hold well in discourse, and in the theorique satisfe curious imaginations, but in practise and execution are found difficult and ayrie, especially to alter the constant receiued  
 50 customes of Kingdomes, where some drinke only raine-water, some of a holy Riuer, some none but what is fetched by their owne cost : his second of reducing the *Cassilaes* and Merchants of *Labor* and *Agra*, by the Riuer *Indus*, that vsed to passe by *Candahor* into *Persia*, to transport by sea in our shipping for *Iasques* or the *Gulph*, is a meere dreame, some man in conference may wish it, but none euer practise it. The Riuer is indifferently nauigable downe, but the mouth is the residence of the *Portugalls*, retournes backe against the streame very difficult. Finally, wee must warrant their goods, which a Fleet will not doe, neither did the *Portugall* euer lade or noise such goods but only for those of *Sindie* and *Tatta*, that traded by their owne Iunckes, they gaue a *Cartas* or Passe to secure them from their Frigats, and traded with them, for which they payed a small matter, and that onely which came to the purses of the *Grand of Din*, *Damon* and *Or-*  
 60 *mu*, or if all other difficulties were taken away, yet will the *Laborers* neuer bee drawne downe, being that *Cassila* consists most of returning *Persians* and *Armenians* that knew the passage from *Iasques* almost as bad, as from *Candahor*, and for that litle on the Confines of *Sinde* not worth mentioning. Notwithstanding for his better satisfaction, I was content hee should by experience learne his owne errors, so it were not at the Companies charge, but I suppose hee will let it fall, not knowing at which end to beginne

A third proiect for to ioyne the Trade of the Red Sea with this, I recommended to him, for that it was alreadie in vse, and the perill for the *Guzerats* very apparant, therefore I doubted not some Merchants might be drawne to lade in our ships at freight, whereby wee should make our selues necessary friends to these people, supply our owne defects, saue export of monies, and final-  
 60 ly, for this yeare employ one ship of the olde account that should retorne in September : and receiue the proceed of the remaynes of this ioynt stocke, which will be sufficient to re-lade a great ship, otherwise to transport it ouer will be extreame losse. This I opened and vrged the consequence shewed which way to effect it, and commended by him to the Commander, the Cape Merchant, and your Factors with all earnestnesse, as by my Letters appeares. The consequence

Nouember 2.  
 Master Steeles  
 proiects ques-  
 tioned.



I will make euident in your profit, if they follow it, for were the goods and estate all my owne, if I could not procure somewhat towards charge by freight from the *Guzurats*, yet hauing so many emptie vessels for so small a stocke, and two fallen into your hands of men of warre, I had rather goe emptie, and for company with them, then to omit that: there are many chances in that Sea, and in the way her returne onely of our owne remaynes, shall requite all forbearance; and be readie in time, for employed she must be if we intend to send the rest vpon this account, for that here is no harbourage at his arriual. I found him high in his conceits, hauing somewhat forgotten me, *Matter Kerridge* and him at warres, which I endeauoured to temper on all parts, but for his Wife I dealt with him cleerely, she could not stay with our safety, nor his Matters content; that he had ruined his fortunes, if by amends hee repayed it not; that shee should not trauell nor liue on the Companies Purse; I know the charge of women, that if he were content to liue himselfe like a Merchant, as others did frugally, and to be ordered for the Companies seruice and to send home his Wife, he was welcome: otherwise, I must take a course with both, against my nature. Hauing to this perswaded him, I likewise practised the discouragement of *Captaine Tower*son about his Wife, (you know not the danger, the trouble, the inconuenience of granting these liberties) to effect this, I perswaded, *Abraham* his Father in Law, here to hold fast: I wrote to them the gripings of this Court, the small hope or reliefe from his alliance, who expected great matters from him. Finally, I perswaded his returne quietly. To further this, I wrote to your chiefe Factor, that such things as hee had brought and were vendible, should be brought to your vse by Bill of exchange to such profit for him, as both might saue; and this inconuenience you bring on your selues by liberties vnreasonable. But to take tye of his trash to lye vpon your hands, vpon any condition I did prohibit.

His Wife.

Danger by  
bringing  
Wives.Publike losse  
by priuate  
Trade.The names are  
omitted.Inuentory of  
the goods in  
the men of  
Warre.Normahal a  
friend to the  
English.

I find by your Letter your strict command in priuate Trade, as well for your owne Seruants as others, whereby I collect, you meane not that he shall haue that libertie hee expects, for he is furnished for about one thousand pound sterling, first penny here, and *Steele* at least two hundred pound, which he presumes sending home his Wife, his credit and merit is so good towards you, that you will admit in this case to be rid of such cattell, I will not buy, but order that it be marked and consigned to you, that you may measure your owne hand. You discourage all your olde Seruants, some may doe all things for faire words, some nothing for good actions: I could instance some gone home two yeares since, that onely employed their owne stocke, did no other businesse, and liue now at home in pleasure, others that raise their fortune vpon your monies, from Port to Port, and returne rich and vnquestioned. Last yeare a Mariner had fixe and twentie Charles of Indico, others many Fardles, a third seuen thousand Mamudes, first pennie in Barroach, Bastaes, chosen apart, for hee inuested your Monies, and it is probable hee chose not the worst for himselfe: a fourth, about one hundred and fiftie pound first pennie. These I mention not for spight, but to moue you to equalitie, neither by their example these may escape, for they swallow you vp, but that an indifferent restraint be executed vpon all.

For the effecting of all these purposes, the sending home the woman and the prosecution of the Red Sea, I send backe *Richard Steele* with orders to *Surat*, hauing altered my purpose of the goods and Presents from the *Leskar*, it being declared that the King will for *Guzurat*, where I haue appointed *Richard Steele*, after hauing dispatched other matters, to meete with them and his *Ingeniers*. I also sent my aduice and directions to *Captaine Pring*, to take an Inuentorie of all the Monies and goods in the two men of Warre, to make it ouer to your stocke and land it, to sell or dispose of the ships, as his occasion shall require, the monies, if sold, to be put to stocke, to grant passage to some of the Chiefes, to entertaine the rest and to referre it to you at home, whom you will deal with the Owners that set them out. My opinion is peremptory, that their surprize is iust and iustificable, all their goods forfeited: if you will restore any thing, at your courtesie; but with the more rigour you deal with these, the better example you will leaue for such barbarous Piracies: for if this course be practised, take your leaue of all Trade about *Surat*, and the Red Sea, and let the Company of *Turkie* stand cleere of the *Grand Signors* reuenge, and we heere must expect cold Irons.

The sixth, I went to *Asaph Chans*, hauing receiued his Passe, vnto whom I shewed the Pearle according to promise, though the sorts fit not the Countrey iust as I was informed hereafter, yet their performance with him gaue him such content, that I am confident, I may vse *Pharaohs* words, *The Land is before you, dwell where you will, you and your Seruants*: for the price wee talked not, but he vowed such secrecie: and for my sake, who haue shewed this confidence in him, hee will giue more then their worth, and not returne one, and pay readie mony, of which hee professeth not to want, and to lend mee what I want: his Sister I haue promised to visit, whom hee hath made our protectresse, and briefly whatsoever contentment words can bring I receiue, and some good effects. When the Presents arriue, assure you I will not be liberall to your losse, little shall serue. *Asaph Chan* admonisheth mee himselfe, so they came with somewhat to induce them, as well accepted, bought as giuen: experience of others makes mee to approue of this doctrine.

Finishing these complements with him in his Bed-chamber, he rose to Dinner hauing invited me



me and my people : but he and friends dined without, appointing mee a messe with him apart, for they eate not willingly with vs : where I had good cheere and well attended ; the reuerſion for my ſeruants.

After dinner, I moued *Groos* debt, told him the delays. Hee answered, I ſhould not open my lips, he had vndertaken it, that *Groo* by his meanes was finiſhing accounts with a Jeweller; that hee had ordered, as money was paid, it ſhould reſt in the *Cutwalls* hand for vs; which I found true : and the *Cutwall* promiſed to finiſh it in three dayes, deſiring mee to ſend no more to *Aſaph Chan*.

I cannot omit a baſeneſſe or fauour, according as you will interpret it. The King when his Priſons are full of condemned men, ſome he commands to be executed, ſome he ſends to his *Vmracs* to redeeme at a price : this he eſteemes as a courteſie, to giue meanes to exerciſe charitie, but he takes the money, and ſo ſels the vertue.

About a moneth before our remoue he ſent to mee, to buy three *Abaffines* (for fortie Rupias a man) whom they ſuppoſe all *Chriſtians*. I answered, I could not buy men as Slaues, as others did, and ſo had profit for their money, but in charity I would giue twenty Rupias a piece to ſaue their liues, and giue them libertie. The King tooke my anſwere well, and bade them to be ſent me. They expected money, and I was not haſtie; hearing no more of it, I hoped it had beene forgotten : but his words are written Decrees. This night the Officers ſeeing I ſent not, deli-  
20 my returne I payed, and freed the Slaues.

Redeeming of  
Prisoners.

*Dixit & edi-  
tum eſt : ſatur  
& eſt ſatum.*

The tenth, I viſited *Aſaph Chan*, hauing receiued aduiſe from *Surat* of a new *Firman*, come downe to diſarmine all the *English*, and ſome other reſtrictions of their libertie: vpon a complaint made to the Prince, that we intended to build a Fort at *Swally*, and that our ſhippes were laden with Bricke and Lime for that end : which ſuſpition aroſe only by bringing a few on ſhoare to ſound the ſhips bell : yet the Alarum came to Court ſo hot, that I was called to anſwere; which when I made it appeare how abſurd the feare was, how diſhonorable for the King, how vnfit the place for vs, without water or harbourage : yet the iealouſie was ſo ſtrongly imprinted, becauſe formerly I had demanded a Riuer by *Goya* for that end, that I could hardly perſwade the Prince we intended not ſome ſurpriſe. By this you may iudge, how eaſie it were to get a Port for our ſelues, if you affected it, which I can, neither ſo profitable for you, nor a place tenable. Notwith-  
30 ſtanding all remonſtrances, this furnace muſt be demolished, and a Hadley of horſe ſent downe to ſee it effected. The diſarming of our men, being all that our peopled ſtomacked, though it was on-ly to leaue their weapons in the Cuſtome-houſe, and that only of the ſhips company, though it were quieter for vs, except they were often more ciuill : yet I told *Aſaph Chan* wee would not endure the ſlauey, nor I ſtay in the Countrey; that one day the Prince ſent a *Firman* for our good vſage and grant of Priuiledges, the next day countermanded it; that there was no faith nor ho-  
40 nour in ſuch proceedings, neither could I anſwere my reſidence longer. He replied, at night hee would moue the King, before the Prince, and giue me anſwere.

Cauſeleſſe ieal-  
louſies tou-  
ching a Fort.

The thirteenth, I reuiſited *Aſaph Chan* : he told me wondrous matters of the Kings affection to my Soueraine, to my Nation, and to mee; that hee had ventured the Princes diſfauour for our ſakes, and had full promiſe for a new reformation : but becauſe he feared the Princes dealing, he gaue me this aſſurance, that he would take the *Prigany* of *Surat*, which the Prince muſt leaue, being made Gouvernour of *Amadauas*, *Cambaya*, and that Territorie : and to giue me ſatisfaction that he had not diſſembled with me, he deſired me to come at night to Court, and bring the King my Maſters Letter and the tranſlation, the oportunitie was faire to deliuer it : vpon the occaſi-  
40 on of which, he bade me perſiſt in my complaints, and offer to take leaue; I ſhould then ſee what he would ſay for vs, and ſo I ſhould beleue my ſelfe. At euening I went to the King, it being a very full Court, and preſented my Letter, which (the King ſitting on the ground) was layd be-fore him; and he buſie, tooke no great notice. *Aſaph Chan* whiſpered his Father in the eare, de-ſiring him to reade the Letter, and to aſſeſt vs, for that he might better begin that then himſelfe.

*Etimon Dowlet* tooke vp both Letters, gaue the *English* to the King, and read the tranſlated; to  
50 which when the King had answered many words of complaint, to that point of procuring our quiet Trade, by his authoritie among the *Portugals*, he demanded if he would make peace. I an-ſwered, his Maieſtie knew long ſince, I offered to be governed by him, and referred it to his wiſ-  
60 dome, and had expected his pleaſure : he replied, hee would vndertake abſolutely to accord vs, and to make agreement in his Seas, which he would by anſwere to my Maſters Letters ſignifie, and therein giue him content in all other his friendly deſires. Notwithſtanding, I demanded leaue to goe before to *Amadauas* to meet the Kings Preſents and to prepare for my returne. Vp-  
on which motion, the queſtion grew betweene the King and the Prince, who complained that he had no profit by vs, and that he was content to be rid of vs. *Aſaph Chan* tooke the turne, and  
very roundly told the King, that we lroughe both profit to the Port, to the Kingdome, and ſe-  
curitie; that we were vſed very rudely by the Princes ſeruants, and that it was not poſſible for  
vs to reſide without amends; it were more honourable for his Maieſtie to licence vs, then to in-  
treat vs ſo diſcounteouſly, for it would be the en. The Prince replied very cholerickly, that he

*Etimon Dowlet  
for the English.*



had neuer done vs wrong, and had lately giuen mee a *Firman* at his entreatie. He replyes, It is true, you gaue a *Firman* to his content, and in ten dayes sent another, in effect, to contradict it, that he stood surety between both, had vndertaken from the Princes mouth our redresse, but now he had the shame and dishonor of it: that he ought me nothing, nor I him; he spake for no ends, but for the Kings Honor and Iustice, in that which he said that he did vs no wrong, he must appeale to me, who complayned that our goods were taken by force, that two yeeres past *Rulph* had begun it, would neuer pay vs, and his Officers continued euery shipping; that if the Prince were weary of vs, he might turne vs out, but then he must expect we would doe our owne Iustice vpon the Seas. He demanded if the King or Prince gaue mee meanes to eate, or who did? That I was an Ambassadour and a stranger, that liued and followed the King at great charge; that if our goods were forced, and after we could get neither goods nor money, how should I liue and maintayne my selfe. 10

This deliuered with some heate, the King caught the word, Force, Force, redoubling it to his sonne, and gaue him sharpe reprehension: the Prince promised to see me paid all; that he had taken nothing, but only caused the Presents to be sealed, because his Officers had no Custome, and desired to haue them opened before him, I absolutely refused it: also I told the King, I would only doe my dutie to my Master, in deliuering his Presents free, after I would giue the Prince all content.

*Etimon Dowlet*, who is alway indifferent, and now by his sonne made our friend, whispered with the King, and read a clause or two in my Masters Letter; at which the King made his son rise and stand aside. *Asaph Chan* ioyned in this priuate conference (which they told me was for my good) and in conclusion the Prince was called, commanded to suffer all the goods to come to my hands quietly, to giue me such priuiledges as were fit, which *Asaph Chan* should propound. The Prince would not yeeld the Presents, except *Asaph Chan* would stand surety that he should haue a share, which he did; and then we all agreed vpon that point. The King giuing mee many good words, and two pieces of his Pawne out of his dish, to eate of the same he was eating. Then I tooke leaue to goe to *Amadanas*, to meet the Presents, and so we parted. At night I set on my iourney, leaving my Tents, supposing the next day to reach the Citie, but I rode two nights, a day and a halfe with one baite vpon straw, and the fifteenth at noone arriued at *Amadanas*.

Ianuarie 8.  
Words betwixt  
the Prince and  
the Ambassa-  
dour about  
Presents.

The eight of Ianuarie, there was some question about Presents, the Prince asking for them; I answered, they were readie, if hee pleased to receiue his. Then hee demanded, why I brake his seales? I told him, it was dishonorable for me to bring a Kings gifts in bonds, and great discourte- 30  
sie to set seales vpon them: I expected and attended his licence twentie daies, but seeing no hope, I was enforced to doe it. Some heate began: at which appeared a Gentleman of the Kings, who was sent to obserue the passage, and to stickle, and told vs both, the King commanded wee should come before him at a Garden, where he sate, a Courte out of Towne, vpon the Riuer. So the Prince tooke his Palanke, and I a Coach, well attended by seruants both of father and son. When I came to the gates the Women were entring, and then no man can but the Prince; who made within a bitter complaint against mee, that I had dared to cut his seales, and to take out what I list. *Asaph Chan* was called for, who was my suretie, and the Prince laid it on him: he, 40  
as the custome is, denyed it, excused himselfe, yet I had not accused him, but tooke it vpon me, as knowing my selfe better able to beare it, and that he would denie it. Then I was sent for to the water-side, where the King sate priuately, where I entered, with mee the Presents; but the King was within amongst his Women. *Asaph Chan* chafed at mee, for breaking his word, told mee, the Prince had shamed him: I replied by *Iaddow*, You know I had your consent, this man is witnesse; he denyed it to vs both: I replied, Though I would not cast it vpon him, it was true, for I had witnesse; *Iaddow* would not returne the answer, but told me he might not tell him he lyed to his face: and this is vsuall, if any command come from the King that he for- gets, he that brought the message will disauow it. I bore vp as high as I could; the great men told me it was a great affront, no man durst doe such a thing; others smiled: I answered, Not so 50  
great as the Prince had done me often. Thus we spent the day, and the King appeared not, but priuately stole away, leaving vs all sitting in expectance.

Custome to  
disauow the  
Kings word, if  
he will not ac-  
knowledge it,  
Ay, no; Negat,  
nego.

At night word came the King was gone, and I offered to goe home, but was so well attended, I could not but by force: in the way new messengers came to seeke mee, and I arriued backe at the Kings Court, not hauing eaten or drunke; but the King was not come in, nor could I get loofe of my attendants, but they vsed me very respectfully, we sate an houre. Suddenly newes came to put out all lights, the King was come, who entred on an open Waggon, with his *Norma- ball*, drawne by Bullocks, himselfe Carter, and no man neare. When hee and his Women were housed, the Prince came in a horse-backe, and entring in, called for me: I found them alone with two or three \* Capons, and about mid-night the King set on it an angrie countenance, told mee 60  
I had broken my word, that he would trust me no more, (the Prince had desired him to doe so:) I answered as roundly, I held it fit to giue freely, I had done nothing of offence in my owne iudgement; if their customes were other, it was ignorance, and I must bee pardoned; wee had many disputes: at last, the Prince interposed, offered his friendship, and wee were all reconciled fully.

The Kings  
Chariot drawn  
by Bullocks.  
\* Eunuchs.



fully, and promises too large. Then I opened the Chests, gaue the King his Presents, the Prince his, and sent in that for *Normahall*: we were about two houres in viewing them. The Arras he tooke well, but said it was course, desired to haue a Sute of such, as the sweet Bagge: and wee concluded that in the morning I should come to the Prince, that he should be my Protector and Procurator, the goods except. Three things more then Presents were there returned mee: for those three the Prince told me he would pay, seeing his father tooke them.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, was receiued with all fauour, had order for a *Firman* for the man murdered, a declaration of his reconcilment in publike, command to all his Officers to take knowledge, and to his chiefe *Rasa* to be my Procurator, and to draw what *Firmans* so euet I desired. I presented Captaine *Tower*son and some *English*, whom hee vsed with grace, and for a signe of this peace, gaue me a Colth of siluer cloak, and promised to be the Protector of our Nation in all things. I told him of Master *Steele* and his Work-men: hee desired me to bring a small Present to his father at night, hee would present them, which I did. Hee kept his word, and spake for vs to him, who was willing enough. I presented Captaine *Tower*son to the King, who called for him vp, and after a few questions rose. At the *Gushel Choes*, I presented Master *Steele* and his Work-men: the King sate in a Hat I gaue him all night, called for Master *Paynter*, and after much Discourse, gaue him ten pounds, and promised to entertayne the rest.

The thirteenth, the *Dutch* came to Court with a great Present of *China* ware, Sanders, Parrats and Cloaues; but were not suffered to come neere the third degree: at last the Prince asked me who they were: I replied, The *Hollanders*, resident in *Surat*. Hee demanded if they were our friends: I replied, they were a Nation depending on the King of *England*, but not welcome in all places; their businesse I knew not. He said, for being our friends, I should call them vp, and so I was enforced to send for them to deliuer their Present: they were placed by our Merchants, without any speech or further conference. Finally, I had all granted I desired, I attend the performance and money: and thus I conclude, that without this contestation I had neuer gotten any thing; for I told the Princes Messenger in the presence of all the *English*, that if he vsed force to me or my goods, he might doe his pleasure, but it should cost blood: that I would set my Chop vpon his Masters ship, and send her for *England*.

Present of the  
Dutch.

The eighteenth, I receiued from *Surat* of the imprisonment of *Spragge* and *Howard*, at *Bram-* *Spragge and Ho-*  
*poore*, their house and goods seized, their liues in question, for drinking with the *Cutwall* in their ward accused,  
house, that one of the *Cutwalls* men dyed that night; vpon which they stand accused of Poyson: and the *Cutwall* to free himselfe of comming into the house, pretended that he came to fetch a mans wife away from *Thomas Spragge*. What the truth is I know not: Information is come to the King against them: and I went to the Prince, who vndertooke all my causes: but could not speake with him: with the same came complaint of a force vsed to the *Cassila* vpon the way, notwithstanding the *Firman* sent by the *Rasa* of the Countrey, in both which to night I will make petition to the King. My toyle with barbarous vniust people is beyond patience: at the Princes I found the *Firman* promised, drawne, but halfe the conditions agreed on left out, vpon which I refused it, and desired nothing but leaue to depart to treat with these in the Sea.

The one and twentieth, a command to free the *English*, and their goods, and that if the *Moore* came into their house to drinke, if they killed him with a Dagger, hee had his iust reward. The second to *Rasa Partapsham*, to repay vs all exactions whatsoever, not to take hereafter any dutie vpon the way towards his Port; and in case of failing, that he would deliuer his sonne into my hands; he further ordered the deliury of the *Firman* for *Surat*, the Articles by mee demanded, and to pay vs all our debts of *Surat*, and to cut it off vpon his *Mancipdaries*, that had taken that, without delay, he called to account his old Customers, charged the new to vse vs as his friends, shewed as much fauour publikely as I could require. I moued expedition; he replied, To morrow by nine in the morning all should be deliuered into my hands.

The two and twentieth, I went my selfe to receiue them; and carryed the Merchants, with some Pearle, that the Prince had bin instant to see, pretended to be Master *Tower*sons: but he had receiued some vncertaine iufornation of Pearles, to the value of twentie or thirtie thousand pound, which he hoped to draw from vs. When his Secretarie saw the small sorts, hee replied, the Prince had Mands of these: if we brought no better commoditie, wee might be gone, he cared not for our custome: how basely false, and couetous are those of Iewels, you may iudge. I vndertooke reply, that I had procured those from a Gentle woman to satisfie them; if they liked them not, they could not be made better, it was inciuility to be angry with Merchants for their good will, but told him I came for my *Firmans*, and expected them: I was answered, wee had deceiued their hopes, and the Prince would deceiue ours; *Firman* I should haue none, I had asked leaue to depart, I might come and take leaue when I pleased. I answered, nothing contented mee more, but that I would visit their vniustice in an indifferent place; that I would speake with the King, and depend no more on them, for I saw all was couetoulnesse and vnworthinesse: so I rose and parted; but he recalled me to come to the King and Prince together the next day, I should haue content.




And now Reader, we are at a stand : some more idle , or more busie spirits , willing either to take their rest, or to exchange their labour ; and some perhaps wishing they had the whole Iournall, and not thus contracted into Extracts of those things out of it, which I conceived more fit for the publike. And for the whole, my selfe could haue wished it, but neither with the Honourable Company, nor else-where could learne of it : the worthy Knight himselfe being now employed in like Honourable Embassage from his Maiestie to the Great *Turke*. Yet to supply the defect of the Iournall, I haue giuen thee the Chorography of the Countrey. Certaine Letters of his, written thence to his Honourable Lords and friends in *England*, out of all which well wrought on by an vnderstanding spirit, may bee hewed and framed a delightfull Commentary of the *Mogoll* and his Subiects. Take them therefore Reader, and vse them as a Prospective Glasse, by which thou maist take easie and neere view of those remote Regions, People, Rites, Religions.

And first here followes a description of the Countrey both by Map and Writing , and after them the Letters passing mutually betwixt his Maiestie and the *Mogoll*, and lastly, those of Sir *Thomas Roe* afore-said.

¶ X.

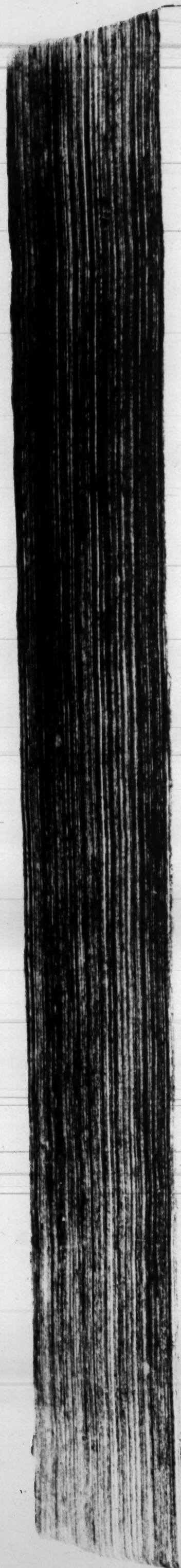
The seuerall Kingdomes and Prouinces subiect to the Great Mogoll *SHAH SELIM GEHANGIER*, with the Principall Cities and Riuer, the scituation and borders, and extent in length and breadth, as neere as by description I could gather them. The names I tooke out of the Kings Register : I begin at the North-west.

1.  *Andahar*, the chiefe Citie so called , lyes from the heart of all his Territorie North-west, confines with the *Shabas*, and was a Prouince of *Persia*.
2. *Tata*, the chiefe Citie so called, is diuided by the Riuer *Indus*, which falls into the Sea at *Sindu*, and lyes from *Candahar* South, from the middle of which, I suppose *Agra* West, some-what Southerly.
3. *Buckar*, the chiefe Citie so called, *Buckar Suckar*, lyes vpon the Riuer *Sindu* or *Indus*, to the North-ward, some-what Easterly of *Tata*, and West Confines vpon the *Baloaches*, a kinde of rude Warlike people.
4. *Multan*, the chiefe Citie so called lying also vpon *Indus*, East from *Candahar*, North from *Buckar*.
5. *Haugickan*, the Kingdome of the *Baloaches*, to the West of *Tata* and *Bachar*, and confines West vpon the Kingdome of *Lar*, subiect to the *Shabas*. *Indus* windeth it selfe into the Easter-side of it, it hath no renowned Citie.
6. *Cabull*, the Citie so called, a great Kingdome , the Northermost of this Emperours Dominions, and confineth with *Tartaria*.
7. *Kysmier*, the chiefe Citie is called *Sirinaker*, the Riuer of *Bhat* passeth through it, and findeth the Sea by *Ganges*, or some say of it selfe in the North part of the Bay of *Bengala*, it bordereth *Cabul* to the East Southerly, it is all Mountaines.
8. *Bankish*, the chiefe Citie is called *Beishar*.
9. *Atack*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth on one side the Riuer *Nilab*, which runneth the North-west into the Riuer *Indus*.
10. The Kingdome of the *Kataries*, lyes at the foot of the Mountaines : it hath principall Cities, *Dankely* and *Purbola*, it bordereth North-east on *Kishimer*.
11. *Pen-lab*, which signifieth five waters, for that it is seated within five Riuer. The chiefe Citie is called *Labor*, it is a great Kingdome and most fruitfull, the Citie is the Mart of *India* for Traffique, it borders North-east on *Multan*.
12. *Ianba*, the chiefe Citie so called : it lyeth East on *Pen-lab*, it is very mountaynous.
13. *Peitan*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth East of *Ianba*, and from the North-west *Bengala* it is full of Mountaines.
14. *Nakarkut*, the chiefe Citie so called, the North Eastermost confine of *Mogor*, it lyes to the North-east of the head of the Bay of *Bengala*, it is very mountaynous.
15. *Siba*, the chiefe Citie so called, it borders with *Nakarkut* Southerly , it is all Mountaynous.
16. *Iesuall*, the chiefe Citie so called *Ragepar*, it bordereth with *Bengala* South-east North, and with *Siba* and *Nakarkat*, it is full of Mountaines.
17. *Delly*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth on the North-west side of the Riuer *Iemnie*, which









*[Faint, illegible handwriting and markings on the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.]*



which falleth into *Ganges*, and runneth through *Agra*: it is an ancient Citie, and the seat of the *Mogols* Ancestors, it is ruined: some affirme it to haue beene the seat of *Porus* conquered by *Alexander*, and that there stands a Pillar with a *Greeke* Inscription.

18. *Menat*, the chiefe Citie called *Narnol*, it lyeth on the East of *Ganges*.

19. *Sanball*, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth between *Ganges* and *Jemui* to the North-west of their meeting.

20. *Bakar*, the chiefe Citie is called *Bikaneer*, it bordereth North-west on *Ganges*.

21. *Agra*, a principall and great Kingdome, the Citie so called, the heart of the *Mogolls* Territorie, in North latitude about twentie eight degrees and an halfe: it lyeth most on the South-west-side of *Jemui*, the Citie vpon the Riuer, where one of the Emperours Treasuries are kept. From *Agra* to *Labor*, being three hundred and twentie Course, which is not lesse then seuen hundred miles, it is all a plaine, and the high-way planted on both sides with trees like a delicate walke: it is one of the great workes and wonders of the World.

22. *Jennupar*, the Citie so called, vpon the Riuer of *Kaul*, which I suppose to bee one of the five Riuers inclosing *Labor*, and the Countrey lyeth betweene it and *Agra*, North-west from one, South-east from the other.

23. *Banda*, the chiefe Citie so called, it confineth *Agra* to the West.

24. *Patna*, the chiefe Citie so called, it is inclosed by foure great Riuers; *Ganges*, *Jemna*, *Serseli*, and *Kanda*, so that it lyeth from *Agra* South-east towards the Bay of *Bengala*, where all these pay Tribute.

25. *Gor*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth toward the head of *Ganges*.

26. *Bengala*, A mightie Kingdome inclosing the West-side of the Bay on the North, and win-deth South-westerly, it bordereth on *Cormandell*, and the chiefe Cities are *Ragmehhell* and *Dekaka*, there are many hauens, as *Port Grand*, *Port Pequina*, traded by the *Portugals*, *Philipatan*, *Satigam*, it contayneth diuers Prouinces, as that of *Purp* and *Patan*.

27. *Roch*, It hath no Citie of note, and bordereth on the South-west, East of *Bengala* and the Bay.

28. *Udeza*, the chiefe Citie *Ikanat*, it is the vtmost East of the *Mogols* Territorie beyond the Bay, and confined with the Kingdome of *Maug*, a sauage people lying betweene *Udeza* and

30 *Pegu*.

29. *Canduana*, the chiefe Citie is called *Kerbakatenkah*, it lyeth South-west of the South of *Bengala*.

30. *Kualiar*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth to the South-east of *Kanduana*, and bordereth on *Burhampur*.

31. *Chandes*, the chiefe Citie called *Burhampur*, a great Kingdome, one of the ancient seats of *Decan*, and conquered from them, it lyth East on *Guzerat*, South of *Chitor*, West of *Decan*, and it is watered with the Riuer *Tabeti*, which falleth West into the Bay of *Cambaya*, it is now the seat of the *Decan*.

32. *Malua*, the chiefe Cities called *Vgen*, *Narr*, and *Sering*, it lyeth West of *Chandes*, betweene that and the Countrey of *Ranna*, on the East of the Riuer *Sapra*, which falls into the Bay of *Cambaya*, not farre from *Surat*.

33. *Berar*, the chiefe Citie is called *Shahpur*, it bordereth on *Guzerat*, and the hils of *Ranna*.

34. *Guzerat*, A goodly Kingdome inclosing the Bay of *Cambaya*, the chiefe Citie is *Amadamar*, it contains the Citie and Gouvernment of *Cambaya*, the beautie of *India*, the Territorie and Citie of *Surat*, and *Baroach*: it is watred with many goodly Riuers, as that of *Cambaya* falsly supposed to be *Indus*, the Riuer of *Narbadab*, falling into the Sea at *Baroach*, that of *Surat*, and diuers others, it trades to the Red Sea, to *Achin*, and many places.

35. *Soret*, the chiefe Citie called *Ganagar*, it lyeth to the North-west of *Guzerat*.

36. *Naruar*, the chiefe Citie called *Ghehud*, lyeth South-west from *Chitor*.

37. *Chitor*, an ancient great Kingdome, the Citie so called on a mightie hill, walled about ten English miles. There stands yet aboue an hundred Churches, the Palace of the King, many braue Pillers of carued stone. There is but one ascent cut out of the Rocke, passing foure magnificent gates, there remayne the ruines of an hundred thousand houses of stone: It is vn-habited, it was doubtlesse one of the seats of *Porus*, and was wonne from *Ranna*, his issue by *Echarshaw* the last *Mogoll*. *Ranna* flying into the strength of his Kingdome among the Mountaines, seated himselfe at *Odepoore*, who was brought to acknowledge the *Mogol* for his Superiour Lord, by *Sultan Caronne*, third sonne of the present Emperour, in the yeare 1614. This Kingdome lyeth North-west from *Chandes*, and North-east from the North-west of *Guzerat*, in the way betweene *Agra* and *Surat*: *Ranna* himselfe keeps the hils to the West, neere *Amadamar*.

The length is North-west to South-east. From *Chandahar* to *Labor*, three hundred and fiftie Courses, about eight hundred miles.

From *Labor* to *Agra*, three hundred and twentie Courses, about seuen hundred fiftie two miles.

\* Let not the diuersitie of names trouble any in so remote tongues and differing pronuntiati- ons: if any other difficulties happen in comparing this discourse with the Map or Relations I confesse, I would haue sought better to satisfie my selfe, if Sir T. Roe had bin at home. As for Courses they are diuersly taken (as Southerne and Northerne miles with vs) in some places longer, in others shorter, which causeth scruple in the computation.



From *Agra* to *Hbagipurpatua* three hundred Courses, about sixe hundred and eightie miles.  
From *Hbagipurpatua* to *Kirasunder*, three hundred Courses, about sixe hundred and seuentie miles.

In all, Courses one thousand two hundred and seuentie. Miles, about two thousand, eight hundred seuentie two.

The breadth in all is North-east to South-west from *Harduar* to *Duarsa*, sixe hundred and fittie Courses, about fiftene hundred miles.

The Kings Letters sent to *Selim Shagh* the Great *Mogor*, in the  
yeare 1614. by Sir *Thomas Roe*.

10

**I**AMES, by the Grace of Almighty God, the Creator of Heauen and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, &c.

To the high and mightie Monarch the Great *Mogor*, King of the Orientall Indies, of *Chandahar*, of *Chifmer* and *Corazon*, &c. Greeting.

We hauing notice of your great fauour toward Vs and Our Subiects, by Your Great Firma to all Your Capitaines of Riuers, and Officers of Your Customes, for the entertaynement of Our louing Subiects the English Nation with all kind respect, at what time soeuer they shall arrive at any of the Ports within Your Dominions, and that they may haue quiet Trade and Commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c. As by the Articles concluded by *Suc Suff* Governour of the *Guzerats*, in Your Name, with Our louing Subiect Captaine *Thomas Best* appeareth: Haue thought it meete to send unto You Our Ambassadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treat of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence, which is so lately begonne betweene Vs: and which will without doubt redound to the honour and utilitie of both Nations. In which consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable Commerce, Wee haue made choice of Sir *Thomas Roe* Knight, one of the principall Gentlemen of Our Court, to whom Wee haue giuen Commission vnder Our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions further to treat of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the utilitie and profit of each others Subiects: to whom We pray You to giue fauour and credit in whatsoeuer Hee shall mooue or pro- pound toward the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of our good inclination, and wel-wishing toward You, We pray You to accept in good part the Present, which our said Ambassadour will deliuer unto You, And so doe commit You to the mercifull protection of Almighty God.

A Copie of the Grand *Moghor* his Letter to the King.

**V**Nto a King rightly descended from his Ancestors, bred in Military Affaires, and clothed with Honour and Iustice,

A Commander worthy of all command, strong and constant in Religion, which the great Prophet Christ did teach, King *IAMES*, whose loue hath bred such impression in my thoughts, as shall neuer be forgotten, but as the smell of Amber, or as a Garden of fragrant flowers whose beautie and odour is still increasing so be assured my loue shall grow and increase with yours.

**Y**Our Letter which you sent me in the behalfe of your Merchants, I haue receiued, whereby I rest satisfied in Your tender loue towards me; and desire You not to take it ill, for not hauing writ unto You heretofore: for this my present Letter, I send to renew Our loues, & herewith do certifie You, that I haue sent forth my Firmawnds thorow all my Countreies to this effect, that if any English Ships or Merchants shall arrive in any of my Ports, my people shall permit and suffer them to doe what they will freely in their Merchandizing causes, aiding and assisting them in all occasions of iniuries that shall bee offered them, and that the least cause of discourtesie be not done vnto them, as also that they bee as free and freer then my owne people. And as now and formerly I haue receiued from You diuers Tokens of Your loue: so I desire your mindfulness of me by some Nouelties from Your Countrey, as an Argument of friendship betweene Vs: for such is the custome of Princes heere.

As for your Merchants, I haue giuen expresse order through all my Countrey, to suffer them to sell, buy, transport, and carry away at their pleasures, without the let or hinderance of any person whatsoeuer, all such Goods and Merchandize, or other things, as they shall desire to buy, and let this my Letter as fully satisfie You in the desired peace and loue, as if my owne sonne had beene the Messenger to ratifie the same. And if any in my Countrey not fearing God, nor obeying their King, or any other void of Religion, should indeuour, or be an Instrument to breake this league of friendship; I would send my sonne Sultan *Coronne*, a Souldier approued in the Warres, to cut him off, that no Obstacle may hinder the continuance, and increasing of Our affections.

My



**M**Y Lord, only for promise, which is an honest debt, I send your Lordship a Journall till my arrivall at Brampore, a Citie of houses made of mudde, where one of the Kings sonnes keepeth his Court. He is called Perueys. I had need to write an Apologie for it, there being nothing of worth, nothing memorable; and yet not my fault: but I had rather trust your Noblenesse, then trouble you with excuses, and so descend to a more universall description of the state and customes of the Land.

They have no written Law. The King by his owne word ruleth, and his Gouvernours of Prouinces by that authoritie.

Once a weeke he sitteth in iudgement patiently, and giueth sentence for crimes Capitall and Ciuill. He is euerie mans heire when he dyeth, which maketh him rich, and the Countrey so euill builded. The great  
 10 man about him are not borne Noble, but Favourite raised: to whom hee giueth (if it be true) wonderfull meanes. They are reckoned by Horses: that is to say, Coronels of twelue thousand Horses; which is the greatest, whereof are foure, besides his sonnes and wife: so descending to twentie Horses; not that any of these are bound to keepe, or raise any at all. But the King assigneth them so much land, as is bound to  
 20 maintaine so many Horses as a rent, each horse at five and twentie pounds sterling by the yeere, which is an incredible Reuenue giuen away: so many, (that is, almost all, but the Ploughmen, Artificers, and Tradesmen in Townes) liuing upon it. But as they die, and must needs gather, so it returneth to the King like  
 Rivers to the sea, both of those he gaue to, and of those that haue gained by their owne industry. But for the most part he leaueth the widowes and children their horses, stuffe, and some other stocke; and then putteth them into a Signiory (if the fathers were of sixe or seven thousand horses) perhaps of a thousand or  
 30 five hundred: and so setteth them to begin the world anew, and aduanceth them as they deserue of him. They all rise by presenting him, which they strue to doe both richly and rarely: some giuing a hundred thousand pounds in iewels at a time.

He hath one beloued wife among foure, that wholly gouerneth him. He receiued lately a Present from the King of Bilampore, to obtaine peace, (whose Ambassadour knocked his head three times against the ground) of six and thirtie Elephants, of two whereof the chaines and all tackles were of beaten Gold, to the weight of foure hundred pounds; two of silver, of the same fashion; the rest of Copper: fiftie Horses richly furnished, and ten Leckes of Rupias in iewels, great Pearles, and Balasse Rubies. Euerie Lecke is an hundred thousand Rupias; euerie Rupia two shillings sixe pence sterling; so tenne Leckes is a Million of  
 Rupias.

30 His Territorie is farre greater then the Persians, and almost equall, if not as great as the Turkes. His meanes of money, by reuenue, custome of Presents, and inheriting all mens goods, aboue both. His Countrey lyeth West to Sinde, and so stretcheth to Candahar, and to the Mountaines of Taurus North. To the East as farre as the utmost parts of Bengala, and the borders of Ganges: and South to Decan, it is two thousand miles square at the least, but hath many pettie Kings within, that are Tributaries.

The true descended heire of Porus, that was overcome by Alexander, called Ranna, is lately conquered, more by composition then force: the King hauing rather bought him then wonne him, and hereby no way augmented his Reuenue, but giuen a great Pension to him. His Countrey I crossed, betwene this Towne of Asmere and Brampore. Ceter hauing bene anciently the chiefe Towne, and surely standing on an hill, steepe as a Rocke. some fiftene miles about, that is all walled: the Citie within, but with one  
 40 ascent, and fine admirable gates in the ascent, all ruined and no person dwelling. But there stand an hundred Muschees, many Lanternes, and such reuerend and braue Reliques of Imagerie and carued workes, that few or hardly any where can be equalled. In generall, all the old Cities are beaten downe; by what policie I vnderstand not: but the King seeketh the ruine of any thing not begunne by his Ancestors: so that all the Land hath not an house fit for a Cottager, but in such Cities as hee fauoureth. Surat is best builded of any: and in old time they in these parts made mightie workes, which euerie day decay. At Surat there is a Tanke for water of free-stone, in a polygon forme, of aboue an hundred sides, euerie side eight and twenty yards: it hath staires on euerie side for men to descend, and many stopes for horses. It is a wonderous worke, both for the hugeness, and for the braue building.

I haue now on the Court to touch, and mine entertainment. The King neuer used any Ambassadour  
 50 with so much respect: without any dispute giuing mee leaue to vse mine owne customes; not requiring that of me, which he vsed of the Persian. He presented me with a welcome before I spake; and said the King and he were brothers, with many other courteous words. I hauing bin sicke, he offered me Physitians. He tooke the Presents in good part, and was so fond of the Coach, that at night in his Court he got into it, and made two or three of my men draw him a little in it. He is very affable, and of a cheerefull countenance, without pride. Three times a day hee sitteth out in three places: Once to see his Elephants and  
 60 beasts fight, about noone: After, from foure to five or sixe, to entertaine all that visit him. At night from nine till mid-night, with all his great men, but none else, where he is below with them, in all familiaritie. I visited him in the second of these, where I found him in a Court, set aboue like a King in a Play, and all his Nobles and my selfe below on a stage couered with carpets; a iust Theater: with no great state, but the Canopies ouer his head, and two standing on the heads of two wooden Elephants, to beat away flies. They weare nothing but Calicoes, but are euer attendant.

The great men ride in Traines, some two hundred, some five hundred Foot-men following them, The Grander, and foure or five Banners carried before them; and an hundred or two hundred Horses after them. This is all their pride. They keepe their Horses most delicately, fed with Butter and Sugar: and though they

This Letter I found amongst Master Hak. his Papers, as the two former: the rest are transcribed from Sir T. Roes owne Booke. No law but the Kings word. See of these things Captaine Hawkins larger relations.

Presents of an hundred thousand pounds.

Some say two shillings, some two shillings three pence. The Mogolls greatnesse.

Heire of Porus.

Ceter a great ruined Citie.

An hundred Muschees, or Mahumetan Temples.

His entertainment at Court.

The Kings sitting three times a day.



Falshood of  
Maps.

Indus, chiefe  
mouth at Sinde

Asmere.

No correspon-  
dence with  
China.

Newes of  
Persia,  
Vsbec, Tartars.

they be not very great, yet they are of delicate shape, both of Persia, Arabs, and of this Land.

I haue one Observation more to make of the falsenesse of our Maps, both of Mercator, and all others, and their ignorance in this Countrey. First, the famous Riuer Indus doth not emptie himselfe into the Sea at Cambaya, as his chiefe mouth, but at Sinde. My reason is, Lahor stands vpon Indus: from whence to Sinde it is nauigable; to Cambaya not so. Lahor in the Maps is also falsely set downe, it lying North from Surat aboue a thousand miles: the Citie where the Kings ordinarie residence is, Agra, not described at all; but it standeth North North-east from Surat on a Riuer, that fals into Ganges. But the King now resideth in a base old Citie, wherein is no house but of mudde, not so great as a Cottage on Hownlo-  
heath: only himselfe hath one of stone. His Lords liue in Tents: and I haue suddenly built to my mudde  
wals, vpon canes, a doozen thatched roomes. This Towne is short of Agra ten daies iourney, two hundred  
miles, which standeth from hence North North-east. This place is from Bramport North foure hundred  
and fiftie miles. Bramport from Surat East aboue two hundred miles. The latitude neere sine and  
twentie degrees. 10

Thus, my Lord, I haue said some-what, but to little purpose, I forget not some Bookes for you: but Load-stones heere are none: They are in the farre East Countreies: neither is there any correspondence with China. To Persia, and so to Aleppo there goe Carauans: to Cathaya none.

Heere is no newes but of Persia. The King hath taken away water and reliefe from Ormus, and banished the Portugals his Territories. He hath lately ouer-runne the poore Georgians with fire and sword: and being of an unquiet nature intendeth the conquest of the Vsbiqes, a Nation betweene Samarchand and him, which he aymes at. He lately stricke off his sonnes head with his owne hand. Hee is fauoured  
and feared of the Mogoll, as being Lord of the more warlike Nation: for these are more then halfe Bra-  
manes, whose Religion is not to kill a Louse byting them: and the Mogolls are an effeminate people. So  
that the Turke the last yeere sending on Ambassage, to entreate him not to assist the Persian, hee gaue  
him very harsh entertainment, made him Salem to the ground, and as soone as he was dismissed, sent the  
Persian ten Leckes of Rupias. 20

I shall be glad to doe your Lordship seruice in England; for this is the dullest, basest place, that euer I saw, and maketh me weary of speaking of it. Therefore if you be also weary of reading, I am glad. I shall desire your Lordship to let Master Hackwell reade the Iournall: for I promised him one, but I had not leasure to write it.

And so with all respect, and little Ceremonie, I hope to returne to doe you better seruices: in the  
meane time to liue a miserable life, though with abundance and state enough, yet I want the conuersation  
and presence of those friends I loue and honour: in which number your Lordship hath made me presume to  
esteeme you, and to account my selfe 30

Your Lordships humble friend, to doe you seruice,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the Court of the Mogoll,  
Iannary 17. 1615.

40

#### A Letter of Sir THOMAS ROE, to &c.

My it please your ( ) places farre remote, hauing some-what of wonder in the distance, cause much expectation in themselves of strange matters among the Vulgar, such as I, supposing they should haue subiect of worthy and large discourse. But these are unlike the Starres, that seeme lesse the further off: heere the remotenesse is the greatnesse, and to maintayne the ancient priuiledge of Travel-  
lers, they haue beene so farre Alchymists as multiplication; some ground, some spirit, to quicken the bodie  
of their monstrous Relations. 50

Where I shall begin, what I shall say worthy one of your ( ) vacancies from great Affaires, I know not: to undertake a Cosmographicall description were a labour not unworthy of time, but not propor-  
tionall to a Letter; Ortelius, Mercator, Atlas, nor any understanding any truth herein. Yet for the  
maynesse of the error, I will obserue, that the famous Riuer Indus doth not powre himselfe into the Sea, by  
the Bay of Cambaya, but farre Westward at Sinde. For from Lahor standing a thousand mile North, in-  
the Maine vpon Indus, it is nauigable to Sinde, to Cambaya not, but certaine by-streames begotten by  
the seasons of Raine make mightie inundations, which haue cherished the error: all the rest is as false both  
in bearing, distance, longitude and latitude, as that, but the correction heere incomprehensible; the true la-  
titude of this place sine and twentie degrees and a halfe.

A description of the Land, customes and manners, which are incidents, are fitter for winter-nights; 60  
they are either ordinarie, or mingled with much Barbarisme.

Lawes they haue none written: the Kings iudgement binds, who sits and giues audience with much pa-  
tience, once weekly, both in capitall and criminall causes, where sometimes he sees the execution done by his  
Elephants, with too much delight in blood.

Hic

Indus falsely  
described by  
our Geogra-  
phers,

Lawes.  
Execution.



His Gouverneurs of Prouinces rule by his Firmans, which is a brieft Letter authorizing them. They Gouverneurs take life and goods at pleasure.

Many religious, and in them many Sects; Moores or Mahometans adhering to Ally, such is the Religions and King; Banians or Pythagorians, for the transmiration (and therefore will not kill the Vermin that Sect. bites them) who often buy many dayes respite in charitie from killing any flesh at all, in such a Prouince or Citie. Gentiles of sundry Idolatries, their Wines adorning the Pile, and entering the Funerall fires with great ioy and honour.

The extent of his Territorie is West to Sinde, North-west to Chandahor, North almost to Taurus, Extent. East to the borders of Ganges, and South-east all Bengala, the Land bordering the Gulph South to Decan, much greater then the Persian, almost equall (if not fully) to the Turke, if his Land were crish together into a square, as this. Agra, the ordinary residence of the King, is a thousand miles from any border, farther from some. The right issue of Porus, is heere a King in the midst of the Mogols King- domes, neuer subdued till last yeere: and to say true, he is rather bought then conquered, wonne by gifts, Porus his issue, not by Armes, to acknowledge a Superior Lord.

The Pillar erected by Alexander, is yet standing at Dely, the ancient seat of the Ancestors of Ranna the issue of Porus. Alexanders Pillar.

The buildings are all base, of mudde, one story high, except in Surat, where are some stone houses, but Buildings pub- I know not by what policie, the King seeks the ruine of all the ancient Cities which were brauely built, and like and pri- now lye desolate and ruined. His owne houses are of stone, both in good forme and faire, but his great uare. men build not for want of inheritance, but as farre as I haue yet scene, line in Tents, or houses worse then a Cottager; yet where the King affects, as at Agra, because it is a City erected by him, the buildings are (as is reported) faire and of carued stone.

In Reueneue, doubtlesse, he exceeds either Turke or Persian, or any Easterne Prince: the summes I dare Reason of his not name, but the reason; all the Land is his, no man hath a foot. He maintaynes by rents giuen of Sig- great Reueneue and Wealth. nories, counted by Horses, all that are not Mechanique: and the Reuenuues giuen to some, are a Germane Princes estate. Secondly, all men rise to greater and greater Signiories as they rise in fauour, which is on- ly gotten by frequent Presents, both rich and rare. Lastly, he heires all mens goods that dye, as well those Inheritance, that gained by industry, as Merchants, as those that liued by him, and takes all their money; leaues the Widow and Daughters what he pleaseth; giues the sonnes some little Signiorie, and puts them anew to the World, whose Fathers die worth two or three Millions.

But I am fallen by my purpose, not to interrupt your ( ) with these, presuming of your pardon; I will only say a little of the Court, and so passe to that is more necessarie.

The King sits out in three severall places, thrice every day, except some occasion preuent him: an houre Court Cu- at noone to see his Elephants fight; at foure till siue to entertayne all commers, to be scene and worshipped; stomes. nine till mid-night, with his principall men in more familiaritie, being below among them.

I went to present my selfe at the second of these: I came into a Court full of base people, and at a raile which shut them out right against the King, I was stayed in his sight to demand audience (onely a cere- monie) so he sent his principall Officers to bring me up: he sate in a place like a Theatre above, where the King sits in a Play, and I was conducted foure steps up, inst vnder him, like a stage, all on Carpets; my selfe and all his great men were Actors, the common-people below gazing on. Hee preuented mee with speech, calling the King his Brother, and that I must consequently be welcome: for the barbarous custome of kneeling and knocking the ground with the head (which he neuer pardoned, neither the Turkes nor Persian Ambassadors) he required not, but at my first motion granted me all libertie of mine owne man- ner, and as all say, he neuer vsed such respect to a living man.

All the policy of his state is to keepe the greatest about him, or to pay them as farre off liberally. No Policie and Counsell, but euery Officer answereth to the King apart, his dutie. Politic.

He is of countenance cheerefull, and not proud in nature, but by habite and custome; for at night he is very affable, and full of gentle conuersation. Disposition.

I beleue your ( ) is weary of him, and would passe into Persia, from whence wee receiue for Persian newes, truth, that the Sophie hath distressed Ormus, by taking away the water and prouisions of the Maime. At Ormus they are in great necessitie, so that if the Sophie had any helpe of shipping to take it, hee might be perswaded to put it into our hands, to turne his sikkes from the passage of his enemy the Turke; a matter of infinite consequence. For if I were to open these Trades, I would shew important differences for the Kingdome of England, but it would require large Discourse. He hath made lately a Road with fire and sword vpon the poore Georgian Christians, and subdued them, and being of a spirit naturally vnpeace- full, he prepares for the conquest of Samercand, as his end, but pretends the punishing of a valiant Race of Tartars, called Vsbiques, betweene him and his desire. Hee smote off his eldest sonnes head with his owne hands, returning from Georgia, and hath by sharpe Edict binished all Portugalls all his Domini- ons. Neuer were such oportunities to discharge the Portugall from all these Coasts. Our Trade heere, Portugalls, and the Dutch Plantation below Goa, hath so shortned their returnes, that halfe their Gallions come not; those that doe come bring new supplies for the Garrisons, but returne so empty, that the charge is but de- fraud. We haue now twice beaten a great Armado with few ships, an Armado that was appointed por- calligar los hereticos Ingleses (the words of one Father to another) and after to punish the Mogoll for 1640 entertayning vs, so that he hath lost more in reputation (which was his strength) then in substance. But if his



Hinders.

his Maestie would condescend that we should assault them, as they doe vs, it would utterly breake them, it being both the nobler and safer part of a Warre, to which we are subiect at their pleasures, then to defend alwayes: besides, they make this vse in reports of vs, that the King of England is so affraid of the King of Portugall, that he dares not warrant an assault, but only to defend: what they say of the King and our Nation is so slanderous, that perit sua mole.

Further East, the Dutch hath taken many Townes, and playes the Mole better then he, and hath beaten him in many Sea-conflicts; he is declining on all sides, and a little weight on his head now laid, would sinke him. It is a matter of great consequence for future times; and though I haue no hope, I propound it to your ( ) to make what vse seemes best to your wisdoms. I haue reward enough, if I haue pardon for my talkatiuenesse, but it is obedience to your ( ) and not presumption, whose wisdoms and sinceritie I did euer honour, to whom I shall be happy to be tyed

10

In all humble seruices,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the seuen and twentieth  
of Ianuary 1615.

Another Letter to the same Lord, dated the thirtieth of  
October, 1616.

20

My it please your ( ) &c. The frailtie of passage betweene this place and England, especially of my last Letter that wandred ouer Land, and rather went vpon discouery then businesse, aduise me to send your ( ) transcripts of them: not that there is contained any matter worthy your Honours leasure, but seeing you commanded mee to write, the relation of one to another, will somewhat cleare the whole discourse. For broken and vndependant pieces and fragments, haue little light in them, lesse pleasure and no profit: so that he that would doe any thing in this matter should write a history, and take it somewhat high, to shew the beginning and growth of this Empire, what fortunes and what impediments it hath overcome, what friendship it hath needed and effected, the ambitions and diuisions in the present state, that like impostumes lye now hid, but threaten to break out into the rending and ruine of the whole, by bloody war. The practises, subtilties and cariages of factions and Court-secrets, falsely called wisdoms, wherein I assure your ( ) they are pregnant, and excell in all that arte which the Diuell can teach them, and are behind none in wicked Craft, some passages whereof were not unworthy nor unpleasant to relate.

30

Craft.

Iesuiticall  
beasts.Prouerb of  
English and  
Portugal.

Their Religions suffered by the King, and practised without enuie or contention on any part; how the Portugals haue crept into this Kingdome, and by what corners they got in; the entrance of the Iesuits, their intertainment, priuiledges, practises, ends, and the growth of their Church, whereof they sing in Europe so loud praises and glorious successes. Lastly, the arrivall of our Nation on this Coast, their fortunate or blessed victories ouer their enemies, that not only sought how to possesse these quarters by themselves, and to forbid all others that which Nature had left free, as if God had created the world for them onely, but also to abuse this people, as if they alone were the sonnes of warre; they only triumph, and that all other Europeans stricke saile to their fortune and valour, which now is brought so low in value, that it is growne into a prouerbe (one Portugall to three Moores, one Englishman to three Portugalls) so that the best foundation of their greatnesse is absolutely mined and blowne up. And our reception here stands on the same ground from which we haue cast them downe, which is Feare, an honorable, but vncertaine Base of so great a charge. For if either the enemy once preuaile, or other misfortune happen to vs, our welcome shall turne round with it, the profit and fitnesse of this trade for England, while it may stand, not only respecting the Company now intressed, but the state, whether the Common-wealth in generall lose or winne. For often in trafique private men prosper by detriment of the Republike, as in all trades that maintaine vanitie and sinne.

40

50

This worke or method were worthy some paines, and as would require a good iudgement and much time, both which are wanting to me; so it would not be unprofitable to reade, nor without some pleasure to view and meditate the diuers operations and workes of God, the variable constitutions and dispositions of men, and all things vnder their gouernment: but seeing nature and conueniencie haue denyed me ability and leasure, to set vpon so great a labour, I haue chosen one branch only to treat of to your ( ) without other method, then by way of bare relation, which is the estate of the Church heere, as well Christians, as of all other diffused sects of Infidels.

But to continue, as in a Parenthesis, the aduice I gaue your Honour in my last, of our constitution heere, and the newes of Persia: Briefely I stand on very sickle termes; though in extraordinary grace with the King, who is gentle, soft, and good of disposition, yet on points and disputes with an insolent and proud sonne of his, into whose hands he hath remitted all power, which hee is neither worthy nor able to manage. He is Lord of the Port, and by his folly gines me much trauell, so sordidly ambitious, that he

would

The Princes  
ambition.



would not haue me acknowledge his father King, nor make any addressees, nor deliuer any Presents nor complements of honour, but to himselfe; which I will neuer yeeld to, and so I maintaine my credit by confidence on the priuiledges of my quality, and the Kings goodnesse. Yet an Ambassadour in this Court that knowes himselfe, and will not wrong his Master, shall oftner winne enemies then friends. Their pride endures no termes of equality, especially where there is no other honour nor title, but what is measured by expence: so that to maintaine one that shall in his equipage and life hold proportion with his quality, in this Court, will cost much more then the profit of the Trade can spare; and he that liues under it wrongs his degree, and slides into contempt. I doe my utmost to hold up with little poore meanes, but my opinion is, a meaner instrument would better effect businesse of traffique that might creepe, and shew, and suffer some affronts, which my ranke may not endure: And I find the King of Spaine would neuer send any Ambassadour hither out of Greatnesse, knowing they are not receiued with proportionable honour and with my small experience I could doe the Company better seruice by my returne, in aduise how to gouerne the whole.

Concerning Persia, the Turke hath only yet made a Brauado, and performed little, the passages are stoppt, and the King drawing his armies into his Borders to defend himselfe, and finding no great worke, tooke occasion to take in by force a revolted Nation to the East of Babylon. The people are called Coords. How by the Ancients or the true Geographical situation of their Countrey, I am yet ignorant in.

Sir Robert Sherley by an ill passage to Goa, lost the opportunitie of the Fleete for Lisbon, and is stayed there another yeare, so that negotiation will not be so speedily aduanced, as I feared; we shall haue breath to worke upon it, according as it shall be requisite in the iudgement of your Honours in England, or at least of the Merchants whom it first regardeth.

Heere is arrived a Persian Ambassadour with little newes, it being nine moneths since his departure from Spahan. He brought many rich Presents, and did such obeysance, prostrating himselfe and knocking the ground with his head, that I beleene his Master will not accept of it, except (as is supposed) hee bee commanded to use a l'obsequiousnesse, and to flatter this Mon. of greatnesse, his errand being to procure money for ayde against the Turke: in which kind he findes often liberall supplies and succours, which is not felt from this sea of treasure; although to mediate a peace for the Kings of Decan be the pretence, whose protection the Persian takes to heart, iealous of the encrease of this Empire: yet I doubt not he will be satisfied with siluer, and suffer his Allyes to be overcome: he is not allowed so good ranke nor presence in Court as I, which got it by dispute, and haue kept it by contention to the displeasure of some; neither did the King do so much honour in reception of his Masters Letter, nor vouchsafing once to giue the Persian any title of Maiesty, as of my Soueraigne Lords, which not a little contented me. Other aduantages he hath of language, neighbour-hood and acquaintance, which are defects, but no faults of mine. The King is now ready to march towards Decan, whose Armie is commanded by his sonne, and wee with much toyle shall hang in the skirts.

Our Fleet arriuing this yeere 1616. in the way met the Admirall Carrick of Lisbon, bound for Goa, about Molalia, an Iland in twelue degrees North latitude, and haling her after the courtesie of the Sea, was requited with disgracefull languages, and sine great shot: which occasion apprehended, shee was fought with three dayes, at last put ashore and fired her selfe: shee was of burthen fiftene hundred tunnes, and by pregnant circumstances, the expected Vice-Roy sent for Goa, perished in her: which is one of the greatest disgraces and losses that euer happened to the Portugals in these parts: The reward of their owne insolencie in this fight. The chiefe Commander of the English was slaine, and the new declared maimed, little other losse. Thus your ( ) hath some touch of our affaires, and I will fall upon my purpose of the Church with your fauour and patience.

Before the inundation of Tamerlane the great, the ninth Ancestor of this King, these Countries were gouerned by diuers petty Gentile Princes not knowing any Religion, but worshipped according to their seuerall idolatries, all sorts of creatures. The Descendants of him brought in the knowledge of Mahomet, but imposed it upon none, by the Law of Conquest leauing consciences at libertie. So that these Naturals from the Circumcision (which came in with the Moores) called them Mogols or chiefe of the Circumcised. Among the Moores there are many strict Mahometants that follow Ally his Sonne-in-law, and other new risen Prophets which haue their Xeriffes, Mulas and Priests, their Mosques, Religious Votaries, Washings, Prayings, and Ceremonies infinite; and for Penetentiaries, no Heresie in the World can shew so strange Examples, nor bragge of such voluntarie pouerties, punishments, sufferings and chastisements as these; all which are esteemed holy men, but of a mingled Religion, not vpright with their great Prophet. The Gentiles are of more sorts, some valiant, good Souldiers, drinking Wine, eating Hog-flesh, but worshipping the figure of a Beast: some that will not touch that flesh which is not holy by imputation: others that will not eate any thing wherein euer there was any bloud, nor kill the Vermine that assaulteth them, nor drinke in the Cup with those that doe; Superstitious in Washing, and most earnest in their Profession, but all of them ascribe a kind of Diuinitie to the Riuer of Ganges, at which at one Season of the yeare foure or sine hundred thousand meete, and cast in Gold and Siluer for Oblation.

In like manner, to a Pigs head in a Church neere this Citie, and to all liuing Cowes, and to some other beasts and kinds. These haue their Synagogues, and Holy Men, Prophets, Witches, Sooth-sayers, and all others the Demits Impositions. The Molacs of Mahomet know some-what in Philosophy, and the Mathematickes are great Astrologers, and can talke of Aristotle, Euclide, Auerroes, and other Authors. The Learned Tongue is Arab.

Persian and  
Turkish warres.

Sir Robert Sher-  
ley.

Tamerlane.

Religions,  
Mogols, why so  
called.

In



Ecbarsha.

In this Confusion they continued untill the time of Ecbarsha Father of this King, without any noyse of Christian profession, who being a Prince by nature iust and good, inquisitive after Nouelties, curious of new Opinions, and that excelled in many vertues, especially in pietie and reuerence towards his Parents, called in three Iesuites from Goa, whose chiefe was Ieronimo Xavier a Nauarrois. After their arrivall he heard them reason and dispute with much content on his, and hope on their parts, and caused Xavier to write a Booke in defence of his owne profession against both Moores and Gentiles: which finished he read over nightly, causing some part to be discussed, and finally, granted them his Letters Patents, to build, to preach, teach, conuert, and to vse all their Rites and Ceremonies, as freely and amply as in Rome, bestowing on them meanes to erect their Churches and places of Denotion: So that in some few Cities they haue gotten rather Templum, then Ecclesiam. In this Grant he gave grant to all sorts of people to become Christians that would, euen to his Court or owne bloud, professing that it should be no cause of disfaour from him. Heere was a faire beginning to a forward Spring of a leane and barren Haruest.

Templum sine Ecclesia.

Ecbarsha himselfe continued a Mahometan, yet he beganne to make a breach into the Law, considering that Mahomet was but a man, a King as he was, and therefore reuerenced; hee thought hee might proue as good a Prophet himselfe. This defection of the King spread not farre, a certaine outward reuerence detayned him, and so he dyed in the formall profession of his Sect.

\* Vnderstand it in generall sense, for one not settled in any Religion, of all, and there ore of none.

Ghehangier-sha, his sonne, the present King, being the issue of this new fancie, and neuer circumcised, bred up without any Religion at all, continues so to this houre, and is an Atheist: sometimes he will make profession of Moore, but alwayes obserue the Holy-dayes, and doe all Ceremonies with the Gentiles too. He is content with all Religion, only he loues none that changeth: But falling into his Fathers conceit, hath dared to enter farther therein, and to professe himselfe for the maine of his religion, to be a greater Prophet then Mahomet, and hath formed to himselfe a new Law, mingled of all: which many haue accepted with such superstition, that they will not eate till they haue saluted him in the morning; for which purpose he comes at the Sunnes rising to a window open to a great plaine before his house, where multitudes attend him: and when the Moores about him speake of Mahomet, hee will sooth them, but is glad when any one will breake out against him. Of Christ he neuer utters any word unreuerently, nor any of those sects, which is a wonderfull secret working of Gods truth and worthy obseruation. Concerning the new planted Christian Church he confirmed, and enlarged all their priuiledges, euery night for one yeare spending two houres in hearing disputation, often casting out doubtfull words of his conuersion, but to wicked purpose.

Of this see before in the Journalls of Mister Hawkins and Finch.

And the rather to giue some hope, he deliuered many Youthes into the hands of Francisco Corrie, now resident heere, to teach them to reade and write Portugall, and to instruct them in humane learning, and in the Law of Christ; and to that end he kept a Schoole some yeares, to which the King sent two Princes, his brothers sonnes, who being brought up in the knowledge of God and his sonne our blessed Sauour, were solemnly Baptised in the Church of Agra with great pompe, being carryed first up and downe all the Citie on Elephants in triumph, and this by the Kings expresse order, who often would examine them in their progression, and seemed much contented in them: this made many bend towards the same way, doubting his Maiesties intention. Others that knew him better, supposed he suffered this in policie, to reduce these children into hate among the Moores for their conuersion, of whom consisted the strength of his estate, but all men failing of his purpose which was thus discovered. When these and some other children were settled, as was thought, in Christian Religion, and had learned some principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with Infidels, the King sets the boyes to demand some Portugalls wines of the Iesuits, who thinking it only an idle motion of their owne braines, chid them, and suspected no more. But that being the end of their conuersion, to get a woman for the King and no care taken: the two Princes came to the Iesuits, and surrendered up their crosses and all other rights, professing that they would be no longer Christians, because the King of Portugall sent them no Presents nor wines, according as they expected. The Padre seeing this, began to doubt there was more in that then the boyes reuealed, especially seeing their confidence that had cast off the awe of Pupils, and examining the matter, had it confessed, the King commanded them. They refused to accept the crosses, answering they had been giuen by his Maiesties order, and they would not take notice from boyes of any such surrender, but bade them desire the King to send some of those, who by a kind of order are to deliuer all his Maiesties Commands, whose mouthes are by priuiledges sufficient authority, and then they would accept them; hoping, and knowing the Kings nature, that he would not discover himselfe to any of his Officers in this poore plot. The boyes returned with this message, which enraged the King; but hee being desirous to dissolue the Schoole, and to withdraw the youthes without noyse, he bade them call the Iesuits to the womens doore, where by a Ladie he receiued the order, and without taking any notice since of any thing, his kinsmen recalled, who are now absolute Moores, without any taste of their first faith, and so the fruit of all these hopes are vanished. And I cannot find by good search that there is one Christian really and orderly conuerted, nor makes the profession, except some few that haue been baptised for money, and are maintained by the Iesuits; of which sort there would be more, but that they find the deceit, and cannot endure the burthen. This is the truth of all their bragge and labour, and the full growth of their Church heere.

Conuerts how poore:

But that your ( ) may a little more vnderstand the fashion of the King and the Iesuits proceedings, I will make you one or two merry and late relations, and either say he is the most impossible man in the world to to be conuerted, or the most easie; for he loues to beare and hath so little religion, yet, that he can well abide to haue any decided.



Not many daies since the Iesuits house and Church being burned, the Crucifix remained safe, which under-hand was giuen out for a miracle, and much talked of. that would be content any use might be made of an accident to enlarge the name of Christ, held my peace: but the Iesuit suspecting I would not agree to the miracle, disanowed it to me, and made it a matter of reason, why it was not burned; insinuating that the Moores had caught up this opinion of miracle without his consent, or suggestion, though he confessed he was glad of the occasion.

Miracle.

But the King who neuer let slippe any opportunity of new talke or novelty, calls the Iesuit, and questioneth with him of it, he answereth ambiguously; whereupon his Maiesty demanded, if he did not desire to conuert him, and receiuing full answer, replied: You speake of your great miracles, and of many done by you, in the name of your Prophet: if yee will cast the Crucifix and Picture of Christ into a fire before me, if it burne not, I will become a Christian: The Iesuit refused the triall as vniust, answering, that God was not tyed to the call of men, that it was a sinne to tempt him, that he wrought miracles according to his owne Councell, but offered to enter the fire himselfe for prooffe of his faith, which the King refused. Heere arose a great dispute, begonne by the Prince, a most stiffe Mahometan, and haer of all Christians, that it was reasonable to trie our Religion by this offer, but withall, if the Crucifix did burne, then that the Iesuit should be obliged to render Moore: he urged examples of miracles professed to be done for lesse purposes then the conuersion of so mighty a King, and in case of refusall of the triall, spake scornfully of Christ Iesus. The King undertooke the argument, and defended our Sauour to be a Prophet, by comparison of his workes with those of their absurd Saints, instancing the raising of the dead, which neuer any of theirs did. The Prince replied, To giue sight to one naturally blind, was as great a miracle. This question being pressed hotly on both sides, a third man to end the controuersie, interposed that both the father and the sonne had reason for their opinions: for that to raise a dead body to life, must needs be confessed to be the greatest miracle euer done, but that to giue sight to an eye naturally blind, was the same worke, for that a blind eye was dead, sight being the life thereof: therefore he that gaue sight to a blind eye, did as it were raise it up from death.

Disputes of religion and miracles.

Thus this discourse ended, and so in wisdom should I: But I cannot leaue out an apish miracle which was acted before this King, which the Iesuites will not acknowledge, nor owne as their practise; onely of the truth de facto, there is no doubt. A Ingler of Bengula (of which craft there are many and rare) brought to the King a great Ape, that could, as he professed, diuine and prophesie: and to this beast by some sects is much diuinitie ascribed: The King tooke from his finger a Ring, and caused it to be hid under the girdle of one among a dozen other boyes, and bade the Ape diuine, who went to the right child, and tooke it out. But his Maiesty (somewhat more curious) caused in twelue severall papers in Persian letters, to be rewritten the names of twelue Lawgiuers, as Moles, Christ, Mahomet, Ally, and others: and shuffling them in a bagge, bad the beast diuine which was the true law: who putting in his foot tooke out the inscribed of Christ. This amazed the King, who suspecting that the Apes master could reade Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in Court Characters\*, and presented them the second time: the Ape was constant, found the right and kissed it. Whereat a principall Officer grew angry, telling the King it was some imposture, desiring he might haue leaue to make the lots anew, and offered himselfe to punishment if the Ape could beguile him; he wrote the names putting only eleuen into the bagge, and kept the other in his hand. The beast searched, but refused all; the King commanded to bring one, the beast tore them in fury, and made signes the true Law-giuers name was not among them. The King demanded where it was, and he ran to the Noble-man and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inscribed with the name of Christ Iesus. The King was troubled, and keepes the Ape yet. This was acted in publike before thousands: But where the abuse was, or whether there were any, I iudge not; only one of the Iesuits schollers ran to him with open mouth, professing the King had an Ape a good Christian. Of this accident the Iesuits make great account: to me they slight it, except the truth of the fact, which is not vnlike one of their owne games.

A strange story of an Ape.

\* Court characters are such as he only and his nearer Ministers vied in Mysteries of State, unknowne to all others.

Your ( ) will pardon me all this folly, to interrupt you with so much and so vselfe tattle; I should be glad to remoue where I might learne and practise better matter: but I cannot repent my iourney: it hath made me learne and know my God and my selfe better then euer I should haue learned either among the pleasures of England; he hath wonderfully shewed me his mercy, and taught me his iudgement: his goodnesse be glorified and magnified for euer. I humbly desire your ( ) to present my name (I dare not say my seruice) before his Maiestie my Lord and Master: it is enough for me if I be not forgotten; I shall neuer merit nor aspire the employments of his fauour, but I will pay my vower, and pray for his Maiesty that he may liue a happie and glorious long life to the comfort of his Church, and enioy the Crowne of Crownes, prepared by the King of Kings for those that loue him; wherein I haue failed to your Honour, or by mine owne weaknesse, your ( ) will measure by this rule, Exigit & postulat amicitia non quod cuique dabitur, sed quod quisque efficere potest, and you will pardon the assuming so high a word as friendship, with this interpretation, Seruus est humilis amicus, which as I am bold to professe, I will be ready to demonstrate by obedience to your command,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the thirtieth of October, 1616.

Cccc



## A Letter of Sir THOMAS ROE, to another Right Honorable Councillor.

**I**F my last sent your Honour, by the way of Aleppo, be miscaried, this present discourse will be undependant and obscure, which causeth me to send a transcript that you may command from Sir Thomas Smith, how farre that designe of bringing in the Spaniard by Sherley had proceeded, and my poore opinion, that will informe with the present estate of the warres there in preparation: what hath succeeded, your Honour shall receive, that Sherley was stayed at Goa, by falling short eight dayes of his passage this last yeare, where he was entertained with honours and maintenance, which makes mee iudge his offers and negotiation is gracious. The Shabas yet so depends on that hope, that he continues the prohibition of exportation of Silkes thorow Turkie. 10

Some few dayes since I receiued aduise from Spahan, that Sherley hath written to the King, that with much ioy and ready embracement he hath so farre proceeded with the Vice-Roy of Goa, in a conclusion of the league, as his commission hath power, that he is ready to embarke for Spaine to accomplish it fully. If it proceed and take effect, I can make it euident, that it will renewe and strengthen all the ruines and decayes of the Portugals in the Indies, and make all other wauering Princes accept them; only I will not presse the consequence where it will be so fully understood.

\* The Persians  
Armi. is  
18000 strong,  
the Turkes double.

The \* Shabas is in the field at Salmas, a Village indifferent to the wayes to Tauris or Gordgeston, attending the Turkes Generall, who with a monstrous armie (if it be not encreased by fame) is incamped at Argerom, irresolute which of these two attempts he shall begin, being not above five dayes from the one, and ten from the other. But these great armies will dissolue of themselves, and I am of opinion there will be no great effect of them, the winter approaching: and that they will treat a peace, which the Turke will neuer embrace, but with the opening of the trade, & liberty of ancient commerce: which though the Persian yeeld vnto, yet if the Spaniard accepts his offers, the liberty given the Turke will be vuselesse, for that the Silkes shall come downe to Ormus; but I hope your Honour will prevent it, God hath provided you leasure. 20

The King of Persia lately enquired anew after the English, for he is indifferent what Christian hath the trade, so that the Grand-Signior lose it: for his first offer to the Spaniard, will take his truce, and after we may haue the leauings.

We haue sent to Ialques a ship from our Port of Surat, with Cloath and English goods, to make the first offer of a residence, and to get a kind of a possession: For where it was free to refuse or accept vs, it will be now an iniury to turne vs out, being come upon assurance of his Letter receiued by me. But though I did not consent to the going of this ship, because I knew both the Port unfit, the goods vnuendible, and preiudiciall to the great expectation and promises, which makes me feare the Shabas will despise vs, and iudge vs by this beginning, and so with the more roundnesse either conclude with the Spaniard, or make peace with the Turke (for his designe is either wholly to diuert the trade or nothing) yet I will mend it as well as I can, by the helpe of an Ambassador lately arriued at this Court; who, as I suppose, is come to get ayde of monoy, in which kind he often findeth liberall relieves, and this King of India may better spare then any Monarch of the East. 30

I haue sent  
the Copies.

The aduantage to bee made of it in England, is (if I may giue my opinion) that when Sir Robert Sherley shall arriue in Spaine and negotiate his imployment, the Ambassadour of his Maiestie resident may craue audience, and produce the Letters granted to vs, and vrgue our possession of the Port; and therefore require in the name of his Maiesty, that in this new contract either the English may be comprehended, or at least that nothing passe on the part of the King of Spaine, preiudiciall to the subiects of his Maiestie, nor contrary to the amity of the two Nations: which if the Spaniard shall enterprise, to the expulsion of vs, it is in my opinion (the trade being in a free Kingdome granted vs) a iust cause of such a breach, as may produce Letters of Mart and reprisall in all the Easterne parts to right our selues. I will in the meane time amaze the Persian with as many doubts as I can infuse into him of the ( ) and hopes of vs. 40

In this Court which is now in the field towards the conquest of Decan (with an effeminate armie fitter to be a spoile, then a terror to enemies) I shall so farre effect my imployment, as to confirme our trade and people on equall conditions to the inhabitants and borne subiects, who suffer themselves, abuses of Gouernours which can neuer be remedied, but by an whole change of the regiment and forme of dominion. For the constancy I will no farther giue my word, then our owne prosperitie, and the others feare, and the Portugals feeblenesse shall confirme to vs. 50

The trade is profitable and fit for England, but no way understood by the Company how to effect it at best aduantage, and yet we haue done little but discover errors. I haue no power to meddle in that, but if I were at home ten dayes, I would doe them better seruice then heere in ten yeares. To prooue and demonstrate euery particular and circumstance, were rather the subiect of a Booke then of a Letter, but I will doe my part euery way, according to my ability, & iudgment faithfully and honestly. Besides (though they may think I speak for mine own ends) I assure your honor it is not fit to keep an Ambassador in this Court. I haue shuffled better out, and escaped and auoyded affronts and slauish customes clearer then euery did. I am allowed ranke above the Persian, but he out-strips me in rewards: his Master iues peere vs, but his Ma- 60



iestie commanded me to doe nothing unworthy the honour of a Christian King, and no reward can humble me to any basenesse. I see what the Perian does and suffers. I know one that would creepe and sue, might effect more businesse then I, for euery little matter cannot trouble the King; and his great men are more proud, and expect that from me I cannot giue them. The King of Spaine could neuer be drawne to send any, and their experience hath taught them, that besides he should not be receiued in honour correspondent to his quality, they knew an easier way to effect their ends. I shall not returne a rich man, and then many will condemne me for want of prouidence or wit to get it, but they know not the Indies, it growes heere in as rough wayes as in Europe. I will trust to the Company, and to my merit. I could write your Honour many remarkable accidents in this gouernment and Kingdome: all the policy and wicked craft of the Dinell is not practises alone in Europe, heere is enough to be learned or to be dispised, but you haue not leasure to entertaine so forraigne discourses; that part which may be worth knowing: as the proceeding of the Iesuits, the growth of their Church, and the commixture of this Kingdome with Europe by trade, and the allyes it embraces, if I find not leasure to put them into method, I will weary your Honour with them by a fire-side in broken pieces.

The Portugall pursues vs heere with virulent hatred, but God doth chastise him, and his pride sees it not. The Admirall Gallion bound for Goa, a vessell of fiftene hundred, armed with sixe hundred men falling among our Fleet, a small ship hailed her after the custome of the Sea, which shee requited with silence, except of her Ordnance: the Commander of our Fleet, Benjamin Ioseph, came up with her, and demanded reason, but was returned scorne, so that he began a fight, in which he lost his life. A new commission being opened, Humfrey Pepwell succeeded him, to his place and resolution, with the losse of his eye and other hurts, fought untill the Gallion hauing her Masts shot, ran ashore on Comara, an Iland inhabited by Moores, in the latitude of eleuen degrees, one and fiftie minutes, where the Generall Don Emanuel de Meneses, with three hundred escaped, but fired the ship, shee was very rich, and the succour of India this yeere: her companions were lost at sea, and on the fourteenth of Octob. there was no newes of any of them which were three ships, this is the greatest disaster and disgrace euer befell them, for they neuer mist their Fleet in September, nor lost any Vessell as this, which was reported inuincible, and without supplies they perish viterly. The Ilanders rifled the Generall and all his followers, and they are since arriued at Goa, naked and bare in the Gallion of Mosambiques, which had likewise beene dangered by a Hollander, but the neerenesse of the Port saued her. All these considered, me thinkes, the Heauens conspire the fall of the Portugall in this quarter, if his Maiestie would be pleased to bend onely his Royall countenance. But I shall (I hope) returne and not expect to see it effected in my time. I will intreate your Honour to preserue my name in the Kings memorie, not for any worthinesse, but an humble desire to serue him: and that you will be pleased to accept of my endenours, and esteeme me such as I am, one that loues and honours you; and that will pray to God as the best expression of my affection, to increase you in all worthy honour, and to blesse you with his holy spirit.

Your Honours humble, faithfull Seruant,

THOMAS ROE.

I humbly desire your Honor to do me the fauour to thanke Sir Thomas Smith, in my behalfe, that hee may find my gratitude to my Friends.

From the Campe of the Great Mogoll, Emperour of India,

Nouember 30. 1616.

Part of a Letter to the Companie of the East-India; Dated the three and twentieth of Nouember, 1616.

MY Honourable Friends, I receiued your Letter on the twelfth of October, 1616. from the Charles, safely arriued with foure ships at the barre of Surat, the six and twentieth of the former moneth, of what past at Sea. I doubt not you will receiue ample Relation, onely a little difference in the report of our Fleet, and the Portugals I will mention, that we began the fight, and that no Vice-Roy being sent this yeere, an ancient Souldier, Don Emanuell de Meneses, that had twice beene Generall of their Forces, was in the Admirall, who being beaten ranne herselfe ashore at Mosambique, and are now arriued at Goa. This Tale hangs very ill together, for that I know they first made fine shot, and that it is impossible they could passe from Aguzesia to Mosambique in a Canoa, or that the Inhabitants hauing robbed them, durst carrie them into their strength, or that all this could be effected, and newes of their arriuall came from Goa in so little time. So that my iudgement is, they make their Relation as neere ours as they can, and are loth to confesse truth, that either all perished, or the Vice-Roy, which were the greatest losse and dishonour euer happened to them in India.

I shall not need to write you any long Discourse of your Affaires, nor my opinion, for that in a continued

Cccc 2

Iournall



Iournall I have set downe all passages, and send you the Copie of my Letters to your Factories, wherein many points are disputed and opened, from both which you may make best your owne collection and iudgement: for in them casually all your businesse is handled and discussed at full, and it may bee collected into such a method as you may sit at home, and see it at once.

But because some points in my last Letters, I followed at my first comming at others reports, which since I find vaine and frivolous, and others perhaps are unresolved in my generall Discourse, I will runne over the materiall points with brevity: for I extremely desire that you once understood the constitution of this Trade, how to governe and settle it, that by varietie of fond opinions you bee not counselled to unnecessary charge, nor fall into grosse errors and damage.

\* Understand this, so long as they by force and armes oppose the English proceedings and seek to supplant them; as hitherto.

Concerning the aiding the Mogoll or coasting his subjects into the Red Sea, it is now uselesse, yet I made offer of your affections: but when they need not a courtesie, they regard it as a Dogge doth dry bread when his belly is full. The King hath peace with the Portugals, and will neuer make a constant warre, except first we displant them. Then his greatnesse will step in for a share of the benefit, that does not partake of the perill: when they have peace, they scorne our assistance, and speake as loud as our Cannon: if Warre oppresse them, they dare not put out under any protection, nor will pay for it. You must remove from you all thought of any other then a Trade at their Port, wherein if you can defend your selves leave them to their fortune; you can neuer oblige them by any benefit, and they will sooner feare you then love you. Your residence you need not doubt so long as you tame the Portugall; therefore awayde all other charge as unnecessary, that resists not him; he onely can preiudice you. For a Fort at my first arrivall, I received it as very necessary, but experience teacheth me, we are refused it to our advantage, if he would offer me ten. I would not accept one; first where the River is commodious, the Country is barren and untraded, the passages to parts better planted so full of Theeves, that the Kings authoritie availes not, and the strength of the hills assures them in that life, if it had bene fit for Trade, the Naturals would have chosen it; for they feele the incommoditie of a barren Haven: and it is argument enough of some secret inconvenience, that they make not use of it but if it were safe without the walls, yet is it not an easie worke to divert Trades, and to draw the resort of Merchants from their accustomed Marts, especially for our commoditie which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called staple. Secondly, the charge is greater then the Trade can leane, for to maintayne a Garrison will eat the profit; it is not an hundred men can keepe it. For the Portugall if he once see you undertake that course, will set his rest upon it to supplant you. Warre and Traffique are incompatible, by my consent, you shall no way ingage your selves but at Sea, where you are like to gaine as often as to lose: it is the begging of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich Residences and Territories, that hee keepe Souldiers that spend it; yet his Garrisons are meane. He neuer profited by the Indies, since he defended them. Observe this well.

It hath bene also the error of the Dutch, who seeke Plantation heere by the Sword, they turne a wonderfull stocke, they prowle in all places, they possesse some of the best, yet their dead payes consume all the gaine. Let this be received as a Rule, that if you will profit, seeke it at Sea, and in quiet Trade: for without Controuersie it is an error to affect Garrisons and Land Warres in India. If you made it ouely against the Naturall, I would agree: to make it for them they are not worth it, and you should be very wary how to ingage your reputation in it. You cannot so easily make a faire retrait as an on-set; one disaster would either discredit you, or interresse you in a Warre of extreme charge and doubtfull event. Besides, an action so subject to chance as Warre, is most vnfitly undertaken, and with most hazard, when the remotenesse of place for supply, succours and counsels, subject it to irrecoverable losse, for that where is most uncertaintie, remedies should be so much the neerer to occurre to all occasions. At Sea you may take and leane, your Designes are not published; the Road of Swally, and the Port of Surat, are fittest for you in all the Mogols Territorie, I have weighed it well and deliuer you that shall neuer bee disproved, you need no more, it is not number of Ports, Factories and Residences that will profit you, they will increase charge but not recompence it; the inconvenience of one respectively to your sales, and to the commoditie of Inuestants, and the well employment of your Seruants is all needfull, a Port to secure your ships, and a fit place to unlade will not be found together. The Road at Swally, during the season, is as safe as a Pond; Surat, Cambaya, Baroach, and Amadaur, are better traded then all India, and seated commodiously. The inconveniences are, the Portugals at Sea, and the landing of goods, to meet with which first you must bring to passe, that your lading bee readie by the end of September at your Port; which may be effected by a stocke before-hand, or by taking up money for three monethes, and so you may discharge and lade in one, and depart for excellent season for England, and the Enemy shall not haue time with force to offend you, nor will be newly arrived; and if the preparation be ancienter we shall know it. For the second, to land goods without danger of Frigats, and to saue the carriage ouer land, you must send a Pinnasse of threescore twine, with ten Peece that drawes but seuen or eight foot water, to passe up the River betwene Swally and Surat, and so your goods will be safe, and in your owne command to the Custome-house-Key; and it will a little awe the Towne; shee may proceed after according to your appointment.

The Commodities you sell passe least in that quarter, the goods you seeke being principally Indico and Cloth, no one place is so fit for both, and the lesse inconveniences are to bee chosen, of this you shall gather more at large my opinion and reasons, in my Iournall and Discourses to your Factors, perhaps some of them will contradict it: but I am not deceived, nor haue private ends, to keepe Factories to employ and ad-



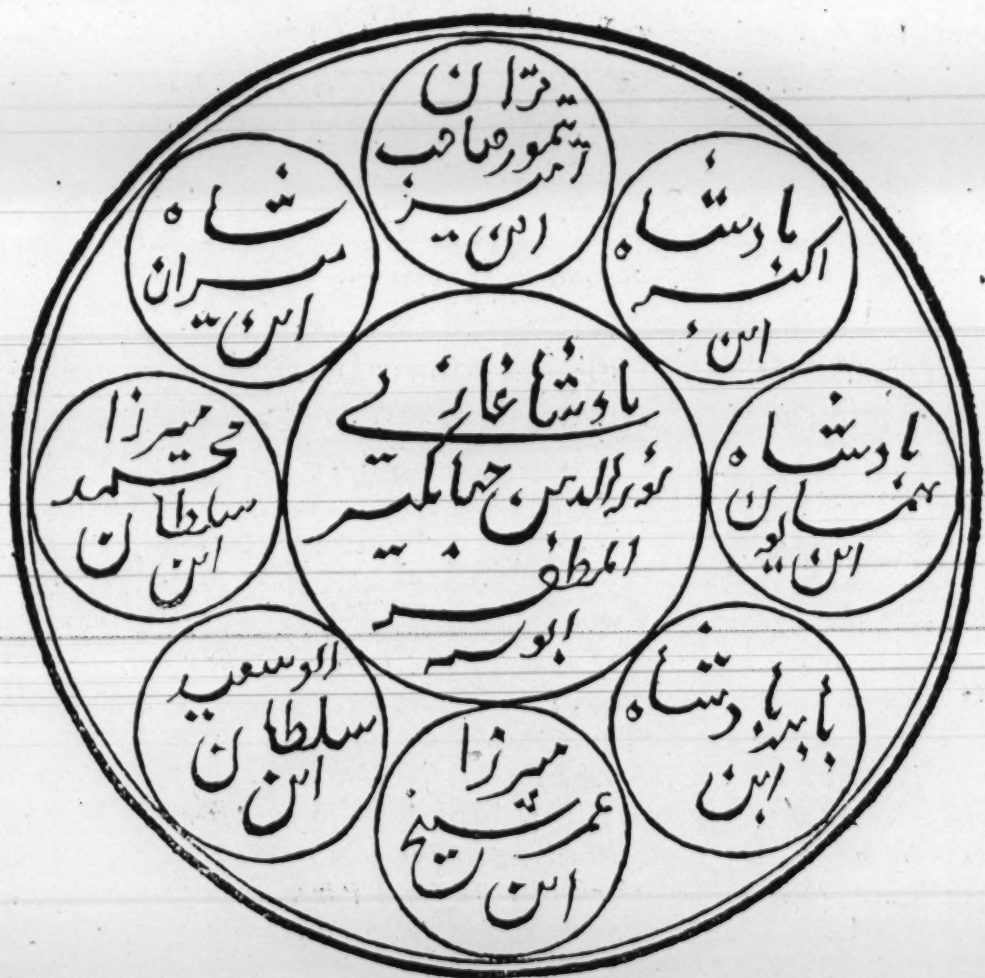
uance friends, the places and number of seruants I haue deliuered my indgement in, and could manifest the past errors, but not mend them. Sindu is possessed by the Portugals, or if it were free, were no fitter then Surat, nor safer: as it is, it will be more subiect to perill. Your Factors sent me foure or fise clauses out of your Commission, that concerned Persia, a Fort, a Plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not of use: with no other purpose, proposition or resolution, they will acquaint me. They cannot abide I should understand or direct them, if they resolve of any thing in their opinion for your profit, and send to me, I will effect the Court part, but you will find in my Letters and Iournall how they use mee, which doubtlesse at first was sowed by some iealousie of yours which will cost you dearely.

For the settling your Traffique heere, I doubt not to effect any reasonable desire, my credit is sufficient with the King and your force will alway bind him to constancie; it will not need so much helpe at Court, as you suppose, a little countenance with the discretion of your Factors will with easie charge returne you most profit, but you must alier your stocke, let not your seruants deceive you, Cloth, Lead, Teeth, Quick-silver, are dead Commodities, and will neuer drin: this Trade, you must succour it by change, and you will find my opinion discussed in Letters. I haue this yeere past many difficulties by the perversesse of Sultan Caronne, Lord of Surat, but by Gods direction, I haue overcome them; Articles of treatie on equall termes I cannot effect, want of Presents disgraced me: but yet by Peees I haue gotten as much as I desired at once. I haue recovered all Bribes, Extortions, Debts made and taken before my time till this day, or at least at honorable composition. But when I deliuer the next gifts to the Mogoll, in the Princess absence, I will set on a new for a formall \* contract, &c.

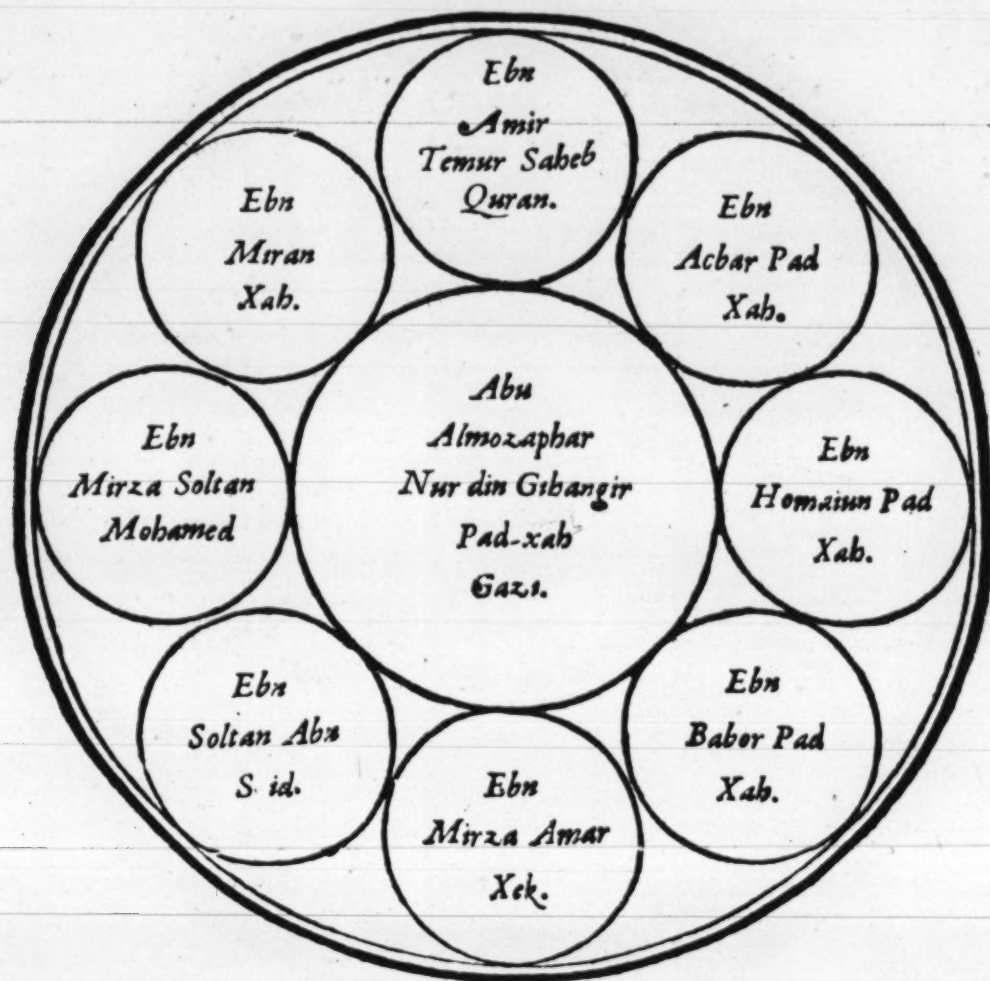
\* That which followes, as other Letters also, I haue willingly omitted, as not so fit for vulgar Readers, being Mysteries of Commerce.

I Haue heard that Sir Thomas Roe at his Returne, desiring the Great Mogor or Mogoll, his Letters of Commendation to His Maiestie, easily obtayned that request, but found him very scrupulous where to set his seale; lest, if vnder, hee should disparage himselfe; if ouer, it might cause distast to the King; his resolution and preuention therefore was this, to send the Letter vnsealed, and the great Seale it selfe, that so His Maiestie might according to his owne pleasure affixe it. The Seale is Siluer; the type and forme whereof, contayning only the Mogols Genealogie from Tamerlane, in seuerall Circles, with the English Translation, I haue heere added.

The Description of the Great Mogols Seale.







## CHAP. XVII.

A Letter of M<sup>r</sup>. THOMAS CORYAT, which traualled by Land from Ierusalem to the Court of the Great Mogol, written to M<sup>r</sup>. L. WHITAKER. To which are added pieces of two other, to entertayne you with a little Indian-Odcombian mirth.

Most deare and beloved Friend, Master L. W.  
*Anima dimidium mee.*

From the Court of the most mightie Monarch, called the Great Mogol,  
resident in the Towne of *Asmere*, in the Orientall  
INDIA. Anno 1615.



Ordinall salutations in the Authour of saluation, IESVS CHRIST. Where I writ unto you last, I remember well; euen from Zobah, as the Prophet SAMUEL calleth it (2. Booke, Chap. 3. vers. 3.) that is, Aleppo, the principall Emporium of all Syria, or rather of the Orient World; but when, in truth I haue forgotten, for I keepe not Copies of my Letters, as I see most of my Country-men doe, in whatsoeuer place of the World I finde them. Howbeit, if my coniecture doe not much faile mee, I may affirme that it was about fifteene moneths since, about a moneth after, I returned unto Aleppo from Ierusalem, after which time, I remayned there three moneths longer, and then departed thence in a Carauan into Persia, passing the noble Riuer Euphrates (the chiefeft of all the irrigated Paradise, where-hence, as from their originall, the three other Riuers were deriued) about foure dayes iourney beyond Aleppo: on the further side of which, I entered Mesopotamia, alias Chaldea, for the Euphrates in that place determinateh Syria and Mesopotamia. There-hence I had two dayes iourney to Vr of the Chaldeans, where Abraham was borne, a very delicate and pleasant Citie. There I remayned foure dayes,

Gen. 2. 10.

G. n. 11. 38.



dayes, but I could see no part of the ruines of the house, where that faithfull seruant of God was borne, though I much desired it. From thence, I had foure dayes iourney to the Riuer Tygris, which I passed also; but in the same place where I crossed it, I found it so shallow, that it reached no higher then the calfe of my legge: for I waded ouer it afoote. Now I well perceiue by my ocular experience, that Chal tea is named Melopotamia, for that it is inclosed with the foresaid Riuer. Traucto Tigride, I entred Armenia the greater: After that, Media the lower, and resided sixe dayes in the Metropolis thereof, heretofore called Ecbatana, the Summer seate of Cyrus his Court, a Citie est soone mentioned in the Scripture, now called Tauris, more wofull ruines of a Citie (sauiug that of Troy and Cyzicam in Natolia) neuer did mine eyes behold. When I seriously contemplated those  
10 *ipnata*, the dolefull testimonies of the Turkish deuastations, I called to minde Ouids Verse:

Ludit in humanis diuina potentia rebus.

And that of HESIOD,

Τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπων νόσφι δῖος ὕψις ἐφασμέντι.

From that, I had two dayes iourney to a Citie that in Strabos time was called Arfacia in Media the higher, now Casbin, once the Royall seate of the Tartarian Princes, foure dayes iourney from the Caspian Sea. From Casbin, I had three and twentie dayes to Spanan in Parthia, the place of  
20 residence of the Persian King. But at my being there, he was in the Countrey of Gurgistan, ransacking the poore Christians there with great hostilitie, with Fire and Sword. There I remayned two moneths, and so with a Carauan travelled into the Easterne India, passing foure moneths and odde dayes, in my tranell betwixt that (through part of the true Persia, and a large tract of the noble and renowned India) and the goodly Citie of Lahor in India, one of the largest Cities of the whole Vniuerse, for it containeth at the least sixteene miles in compasse, and exceedeth Constantinople it selfe in greatness. But a dozen dayes before I came to Lahor, I passed the famous Riuer Indus, which is as broad againe as our Thames at London, and hath his originall out of the Mountayne Caucasus, so much ennobled by the ancient both Poets and Historiographers, Greeke and Latine; which Plato for curiositie sake, in his tranells of these parts went to see. It lyeth not farre from that  
30 upon the Confinis of Scythia, now called Tartaria: My selfe also conceiuing some hope of seeing it before my finall farewell of India. I had almost forgotten one memorable matter to impart vnto you: About the middle of the way, betwixt Spanan and Lahor, iust about the Frontiers of Persia and India, I met Sir Robert Sherley and his Lady, travelling from the Court of the Mogol, (where they had benee very graciously receiued, and enriched with Presents of great value) to the King of Persia's Court; so gallantly furnished with all necessaries for their traualles, that it was a great comfort vnto me, to see them in such a flourishing estate. There did hee shew mee, to my singular contentment, both my Bookes neatly kept; and hath promised mee to shew them, especially mine Itinerarie, to the Persian King: and to interpret vnto him some of the principall matters in the Turkish Tongue, to the end I may haue the more gracious accessse vnto him, after my returne  
40 thither. For thorow Persia I haue determined (by Gods helpe) to returne to Aleppo. Besides other rarities that they carried with them out of India, they had two Elephants and eight Antlepes, which were the first that euer I saw: but afterwards, when I came to the Mogols Court, I saw great store of them. These they meant to present to the Persian King. Both hee and his Lady vsed mee with singular respect, especially his Lady, who bestowed fortie shillings vpon mee in Persian money, and they seemed to exult for ioy to see mee, hauing promised mee to bring mee in good grace with the Persian King, and that they will induce him to bestow some Princely benefite vpon mee: this I hope will bee partly occasioned by my Booke, for hee is such a iocund Prince, that hee will not bee meanly delighted with diuers of my facetious burroughpicks, if they are truly and genuinely expounded vnto him.

50 From the famous Citie of Lahor I had twentie dayes iourney to another goodly Citie called Agra, through such a delicate and euen Tract of ground, as I neuer saw before; and doubt whether the like be to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable World. Another thing also in this way, being no lesse memorable then the plainnesse of the ground: a row of Trees on each side of this way where people doe trauell, extending it selfe from the Townes-end of Lahor, to the Townes-end of Agra; the most incomparable shew of that kind, that euer my eyes surueyed. Likewise, whereas there is a Mountayne some ten dayes iourney betwixt Lahor and Agra, but very neare ten miles out of the way, on the left hand: the people that inhabite that Mountayne, obserue a custome very strange, that all the brothers of any Family, haue but one and the selfe-same wife so that one woman sometimes doth serue sixe or seuen men: the like whereof I remember I haue read in Strabo, concerning the Arabians that inhabited  
60 Arabia felix. Agra is a very great Citie, and the place where the Mogoll did alwayes (sauiug within these two yeares) keepe his Court but in euery respect much inferiour to Lahor.

From thence to the Mogols Court, I had ten dayes iourney, at a Towne called Asmere, where I found a Cape Merchant of our English-men, with nine more of my Country-men, resident there vpon termes  
of



of Negotiations, for the right Worshipfull Company of Merchants in London, that trade for East-India.

I spent in my iourney betwixt Ierusalem and this Mogols Court, fiftene monethes and odde dayes: all which way I trauesed afoote, but with diuers paires of shooes, hauing beene such a Propateticke, (I will not call my selfe Peripateticke, because you know it signifieth one that maketh a perambulation about a place, *περιπατειν*, signifying to walke about) that is a walker forward on foot, as I doubt whether you euer heard of the like in your life: for the totall way betwixt Ierusalem and the Mogols Court, containeth two thousand and seuen hundred English miles. My whole perambulation of this Asia the greater, is like to be a Passage of almost six thousand miles, by that time that in my returne backe thorow Persia, afterward also by Babylon and Niniue, I shall come to Cairo in Egypt, and from that downe the Nilus to Alexandria, there to be one day (by Gods helpe) imbarqued for Christendome; a very immense dimension of ground. 10

Now I am at the Mogols Court, I thinke you would bee glad to receiue some narration thereof from me, though succinctly handled: for I meane to be very compendious, lest I should otherwise preoccupate that pleasure, which you may hereafter this reape by my personall relation thereof. This present Trince is a very worthy person, by name Selim, of which name I neuer read or heard of any more then one Mahometan King, which was Sultan Selim of Constantinople, that liued about eightie yeeres since, the same that conquered Ierusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, &c. adding the same to the Turkish Empire. He is fiftie and three yeeres of age, his natiuitie day hauing bin celebrated with wonderfull pompe since my arriuall heere: for that day he weighed himselfe in a paire of golden Scales, which by great chance I saw the same day (a custome that he obserues most inuicably euery yeere) laying so much Gold in the other Scale as counteruaileth the weight of his bodie, and the same he afterward distributed to the poore. He is of complexion neither white nor blacke, but of a middle betwixt them: I know not how to expresse it with a more expresse and significant Epitheton then Olive: an Olive colour his face presenteth: hee is of a seemely composition of bodie, of a stature little vnequall (as I guesse not without grounds of probability) to mine, but much more corpulent then my selfe. The extent of his Dominion is very spacious, being in circuit little lesse then foure thousand English miles, which very neere answereth the compasse of the Turkes Territories: or if any thing be wanting in Geometricall dimension of ground, it is with a great pleonasmie supplied by the fertilitie of his soile: and in these two things he exceedeth the Turkes, in the fatnesse (as I haue said) of his Land, no part of the World yeelding a more fruitfull veine of ground, then all that which lyeth in his Empire, sauing that part of Babylonia, where the terrestriall Paradise once stood: whereas a great part of the Turkes Land is extreame barren and sterile, as I haue obserued in my peregrination thereof, especially in Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia; many large portions thereof being so wonderfull fruitlesse, that it beareth no good thing at all, or if any thing, there Infelix Iolium & Iteriles dominantur aenae. 30

Of his Reuenues and of all other things of this State, reade Captain Hawkins his Relations, who had better meanes and iudgement to know them. The Vnicornes are no other but the Rhinoceros.

Secondly, in the coniunction and vniou of all his Territories, together in one and the same goodly Continent of India, no Prince hauing a foot of Land within him. But many parcels of the Turkes Countries are by a large distance of Seas, and otherwise, diuided asunder. Again, in his Reuenue he exceedeth the Turke and the Persian his Neighbour by iust halfe: for his Reuenues are forty Millions of Crownes of six shillings value, by the yeere: but the Turkes are no more then fiftene Millions, as I was certainly informed in Constantinople; and the Persians sine Millions, plus minus, as I heard in Spahan. It is said that he is uncircumcised, wherein hee differeth from all the Mahometan Princes that euer were in the World. 40

He speaketh very reuerently of our Saniour, calling him in the Indian Tongue, Ifazaret Eesa, that is, the great Prophet, Iesus: and all Christians, especially vs English, he vseth so benenolently, as no Mahometan Prince the like. He keepeth abundance of wilde Beasts, and that of diuers sorts, as Lyons, Elephants, Leopards, Beares, Antlops, Unicornes; whereof two I haue scene at his Court, the strangest beasts of the World: they were brought hither out of the Countrey of Bengala, which is a Kingdome of most singular fertilitie within the compasse of his Dominion, about foure Moneths iourney from this, the midland parts thereof being watered by diuers Channels of the famous Ganges, which I haue not as yet scene, but (God willing) I meane to visit it before my departure out of this Countrey, the neere part of it being not aboue twelue dayes iourney from this Court. The King presenteth himselfe thrice euery day without faile to his Nobles, at the rising of the Sunne, which he adoreth by the eleuation of his hands; at noone, and at sine of the clocke in the euening: but he standeth in a roome aloft, alone by himselfe, and looketh vpon them from a window that hath an embroydred sumptuous couerture, supported with two siluer Pillasters to yeeld shadowe vnto him. Twice euery weeke, Elephants fight before him, the brauest spectacle in the World: many of them are thirteene foot and a halfe high; and they seeme to iustle together like two little Mountaines, and were they not parted in the midst of their fighting by certaine fire-workes, they would exceedingly gore and cruentate one another by their murdering teeth. Of Elephants the King keepeth thirtie thousand in his whole Kingdome at an unmeasurable charge; in feeding of whom and his Lions, and other Beasts, he spendeth an incredible masse of Money, at the least tenne thousand pounds sterling a day. I haue rid vpon an Elephant since I came to this Court, determining one day (by Gods leaue) to haue my Picture expressed in my next Booke, sitting vpon an Elephant. The King keepeth a thousand Women for his owne body, whereof the chiefe (which is his Queene) is called Normal. You may remember to relate this vnto your Friends, that I will now mention as a matter very 60



very memorable; I spent in my tenne Monethes travell betwixt Aleppo and the Mogolls Court, but three pounds sterling, yet fared reasonable well every day; victuals being so cheape in some Countries where I travelled, that I oftentimes lived competently for a penny sterling a day: yet of that three pound I was coozened of no lesse then tenne shillings sterling, by certaine lewd Christians of the Armenian Nation: so that indeed I spent but fiftie shillings in my tenne Monethes Trauailes. I haue bin in a Citie in this Countrey, called Detee, where Alexander the Great ioyned Battell with Porus King of India, and conquered him; and in token of his victorie, erected a Brasse Pillar, which remayneth there to this day. At this time I haue many Irons in the fire; for I learne the Persian, Turkish, and Arabian Tongues, hauing already gotten the Italian (I thanke God) I haue beene at the Mogolls Court three Monethes already, and am to tarrie heere (by Gods holy permission) five Monethes longer, till I haue gotten the foresaid three Tongues, and then depart here-hence to the Ganges, and after that, directly to the Persian Court.

Your assured louing Friend till death,

THOMAS CORYATE.

From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of Asmere in the Easterne India, on Michaelmas day.  
Anno 1615.

I Doe enioy at this time as pancraticall and athleticall a health, as euer I did in my life: and so haue done euer since I came out of England, sauing for three dayes in Constantinople, where I had an Ague, which with a little letting bloud was cleane banished, the Lord bee humbly thanked for his gracious blessing of health that he hath giuen unto mee. I was robbed of my money, both gold and siluer (but not all, by reason of certaine clandestine corners where it was placed) in a Citie called Diarbeck in Mesopotamia, the Turkes Countrey, by a Spabe, as they call him, that is, one of the Horse-men of the Great Turke; but the occasion and circumstance of that misfortune, would bee too tedious to relate. Notwithstanding that losse, I am not destitute of money I thanke God. Since my arrivall heere, there was sent unto this King one of the richest Presents that I haue heard to bee sent to any Prince in all my life time: it consisted of diuers parcels; one being Elphants, whereof there were one and thirtie, and of those, two so gloriously adorned, as I neuer saw the like, nor shall see the like againe while I live. For they wore foure chaines about their bodies all of beaten gold: two chaines about their legges of the same; Furniture for their buttockes of pure gold: two Lions upon their heads of the like gold: the ornaments of each, amounting to the value of almost eight thousand pound sterling: and the whole Present was worth ten of their Leakes, as they call them; a Leake being ten thousand pound sterling: the whole, a hundred thousand pounds sterling.

To the High Seneschall of the Right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sireniacall Gentlemen, that meete the first Friday of euery moneth, at the signe of the Mermaid in Bread-street in London, giue these: From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of Asmere, in the Easterne-India.

Right Generous, Ioniall, and Mercuriall Sirenaickes; I haue often read this Greeke Prouerbe, *ἑλπίς ἑλπίς*, that is, one hand washeth another, and the Latine, *Mulus Mulum scabit*, one Mule scratcheth another; by which the Ancients signified, that courtesies done unto Friends, ought to bee requited with reciprocall offices of friendship. The serious consideration hereof, doth make me to call to minde that incomparable elegant safe-conduct, which a little before my departure from England, your Fraternitie with a generall suffrage gaue me for the securitie of my future Peregrination, conuinnated by the pleasant wit of that inimitable Artizan of sweet Elegancie, the moytie of my heart, and the quondam Seneschall of the Noblest Societie, Master L. W.

Therefore since it is requisite that I should repay some-what for the same, according to the Lawes of humanitie: Such a poore retribution as I sent unto you from Aleppo, the Meirpolitan Citie of Syria, by one Master Henry Allare of Kent, my Fellow-pilgrime there-hence to Ierusalem; I meane a plaine Epistle, which I hope long since came unto your hands: I haue sent unto you by a man no lesse deare unto mee then the former, one Master Peter Rogers, a Kentish man also, from the most famigerated Region of

This Letter by M. Rogers was delivered to my selfe.



of all the East, the ample and large India: assuring my selfe, that because I am not able to requite your lone with any essentiall gratulations, other then verball and scriptall, you will as lovingly entertaine my poore Letters, being the certaine manifestation of an ingenuous minde, as if I should send unto you the minerall riches or Drugges of the Noble Countrey.

Thinke it no wonder I pray you, that I haue made no vse in all this space since I left my native Countrey, of the superexcellent Commeate; for I haue spent all my time hitherto in the Mahometan Countries, and am like to spend three yeeres more in these Musselman (as they call them) Regions of Asia, after of Europe, before I shall arrive in Christendome. For this cause I left it in Aleppo, with my Countermen, there to receive it from them againe, after that I shall haue ended my Indian and Persian perambulation: and there-hence to carrie it once more to Constantinople, and that by the way at Iconium, Nicæa, Nicomedia, and in the Countrey of Natolia, a iourney of fortie dayes. From that finally thorow the heart of Greece, by the Cities of Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Lacedæmon, Thessalonica, and to the Citie of Ragouze, heretofore Epidaurus, so sacred for the Image of Esculapius in the Countrey of Sclauonia, once called Illyricum; from thence I haue three dayes iourney to the inestimable Diamond set in the Ring of the Adriatique Gulfe, (as once I said in the first Harangue that euer I made to Prince Henrie of blessed memorie, translated since my departure from London, from the Terrestriall Tabernacles, to the Cœlestiall Habitations) venerous Venice, the Soueraigne Queene of the Mare superum: if the great Iehouah shall be so propitious unto me, as to grant me a prosperous arrivall in that Noble Citie, I will there beginne to shew your safe conduct, and to decantate, yea and to blazon your prayes for the same: and after in every other place of note, untill I shall arrive in glorious London, communicate it to the most polite, with that the Cities will yeeld, thorough which my laborious fecte shall carrie me, it would bee supernuacaneou to commemorate unto you the almost incredible extent of Land, I trauesed from Ierusalem to the Court of the Great Mogoll in India, where I now reside; with the variable Regions and Prouinces inter-iacent betwixt them, and the manifold occurrences and obseruations of speciall worke in this vaste Tract; for it would bee such a fastidious Discourse, that it could not be well comprehended in a large sheete of Paper: but Master Whitaker, I hope, I will not faile to import unto you in a few compendious Relations, which I haue acquainted him with, in a particular Letter to himselfe: of which, if I should haue written againe to you, it would haue proued Crambe bis cocta.

The Gentleman that bringeth this Letter unto you, was Pracher to the English Merchants, conuersant at the Court of the aforesaid mightie Monarch, in the Towne of Asinere in this Easterne-India: and in diuers louing offices hath bene so kind unto me, that I intreat your Generosities to entertaine him friendly for my sake, to exhilarate him with the purest quintessence of the Spanish, French and Rhenish Grape, which the Mermaid yeeldeth; and either one in the name of you all, or else the totall vniuersalitie of the one after another, to thanke him heartily, according to the qualitie of his merits. Farewell, Noble Sirenaickes.

Your Generosities most obliged Country-man, euer to be commanded by you, the Hierosolymitan-Syrian-Mesopotamian-Armenian-Median-Parthian-Persian-Indian Legge-stretcher of Odcomb in Somerset,

THOMAS CORYATE.

Pray remember the recommendations of my dutifull respect; to all those whose names I haue beere expressed, being the louers of Vertue, and Literature; and so consequently the wel-willers (I hope) of a prosperous issue of my designements, in my laborious pedestriall perambulations of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Written with mine owne hand, at the Court of the Great Mogoll, Shaugh Selim, resident in the Towne of Asmere, in the umblicke of the Orientall India, the eight day of Nouember, being Wednesday, Anno Dom. 1615.

Inprimis, to the two Ladies Varney, the Mother and the Daughter, at Boswell House without Temple-barre,

2 Item, to that famous Antiquarie, Sir Robert Cotten, at his House in the Black-Friers. Pray tell him that I haue a very curious white Marble head of an ancient Heros or Gyant-like Champion, found out very casually by my diligent peruestigation amongst the ruines of the once renowned Citie of Cyzicum, mentioned by Cicero in his second Oration (if my memory doth not faile me) against Verres, situate in an Peninsula of Bythinia, in the goodly Countrey of Natolia, neere the Sea Propontis: to this head will his best Antiquities what soeuer veile bonnet.

3 Item,



- 3 Item, to that churteous, sweet, and elegant-natured and nurtured Gentleman, Master William Ford, Preacher to our Nation at Constantinople, if you happen to meet him in any part of England; one that deserueth better of me, then any man in all this Catalogue: for of him haue I learned whatsoeuer superficial skill I haue gotten in the Italian Tongue: pray reduplicate my commendations vnto him.
- 4 Item, to Master George Speake, my generous and ingenuous Countrey-man, the Sonne and heire apparant of Sir George Speake, in Somerset-shire; him you are like to find in any Terme, either at the Middle-Temple, or in some Barbers house neere the Temple.
- 5 Item, to Master Iohn Donne, the Author of two most elegant Latine Bookes, Pseudo-martyr, and Ignatij Conclaue: of his abode either in the Strand, or else-where in London, I thinke you shall be easily informed by the meanes of my friend, Master L. W.
- 6 Item, to Master Richard Martin, Counseller, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple, but in the Terme-time, scarce else.
- 7 Item, to Master Christopher Brooke of the Citie of Yorke, Counseller, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne, or neere it.
- 8 Item, to Master Iohn Hoskins, alias Equinoctiall Pasticraft, of the Citie of Hereford, Counseller, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple.
- 9 Item, to Master George Garrat; of whose beeing you shall understand by Master Donne aforesaid.
- 10 Item, to Master William Hackwell, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne.
- 11 Item, to Master Benjamin Iohnson the Poet, at his Chamber at the Black-Friers,
- 12 Item, to Master Iohn Bond my Countrey-man, chiefe Secretarie vnto my Lord Chancellor.
- 13 Item, to Master Doctor Mocket, resident perhaps in my Lord of Canterburies house at Lambeth, where I left him.
- 14 Item, to Master Samuel Purchas, the great Collector of the Lucubrations of sundry Classicall Authors, for description of Asia, Africa, and America. Pray commend me vnto him and his wifes Master Cooke, by the same token, that he gaue me a description of Constantinople, and the Thracius Bosporus, written in Latine by a French-man, called Petrus Gillius: which Booke, when I carried once in an after-noon under mine arme, in walking betwixt our English Ambassadors House in Pera, on the opposite side to Constantinople, and the Flemish Ambassadors house, I lost it very unfortunately to my great grieve, and neuer found it againe, &c.

There is another and later Letter of his to his Mother, written the last of October 1616. part of which for the Odecombian stile and Coryaticall straine, I haue hither transcribed. Great pitie it is that his voluminous Obseruations of his foot Pilgrimage, longer then perhaps of any man euer hath bin in that kind, are either lost, or at least not come to some discreet hand, which might, no doubt, distill good instructions thence for the publike, as sweet fresh water out of the huge salt Ocean.

Some written Notes of his, it pleased Sir Thomas Roe to giue me, whence (omitting such things as before you haue had in Sir Thomas Roes owne Obseruations) I haue inserted a few, following this Letter.

From Agra, the Capitall Citie of the Dominion of the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, the last of October 1616.

Most deare and wel-beloued Mother, though I haue superscribed my Letter from Asmere, the Court of the greatest Monarch of the East, called the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, which I did to this end, that those that haue the charge of conueyance thereof, perceiuing such a title, may bee the more carefull and diligent to conuey it safe to your hands: yet in truth the place from which I wrote this Letter, is Agra, a Citie in the said Easterne India, which is the Metropolitan of the whole Dominion of the fore-said King Mogoll, and ten dayes iourney from his Court at the said Asmere. From the same Asmere I departed the twelfth day of September An. 1616. after my abode there twelue moneths and sixtie dayes; which though I confesse it were a too long time to remaine in one and the selfe-same place, yet for two principall causes it was very requisite for me to remaine there some reasonable time: first, to learne the Languages of those Countries, through which I am to passe betwixt the bounds of the Territories of this Prince and Christendome, namely these three, the Persian, Turkish, and Arab: which I haue in some competent measure attained vnto by my labour and industry at the said Kings Court, matters as amiable vnto me as money in my Purse, as being the chiefest, or rather only meane to get me money, if I should happen to be destitute, a matter very incidentall to a poore Foot-man Pilgrim, as my selfe, in these Arabian and Mountain Countries, thorow which I trauell. Secondly, that by the helpe of one of those Languages, I might both procure vnto my selfe accessse vnto the King, and be able to expresse



expresse my mind unto him about the matter for the which I should haue occasion to discourse with him. These were the reasons that moued me so long to tarry at the Mogols Court, during which time, I abode in the house of the English Merchants, my deare Countrymen, not spending one little piece of money either for dyet, washing, lodging, or any other thing. And as for the Persian tongue, which I studied very earnestly, I attayned to that reasonable skill, and that in a few moneths, that I made an Oration unto the King before many of his Nobles, in that language, and after I had ended the same, discoursed with his Maiestie also in that tongue very readily and familiarly; the Copy of which speech, though the tongue it selfe will seeme to an English-man very strange and vnconth, as hauing no kind of affinitie with any of our Christian languages, I haue for newelie sake written out in this Letter, together with the translation thereof in English, that you may shew it to some of my learned friends of the Clergie, and also of the Temporaltie, in Euill, and elsewhere, who belike, will take some pleasure in reading so rare and vnusuall a tongue as this is. The Persian is this that followeth.

*The Copie of an Oration that I made in the Persian tongue to the Great Mogol, before diners of his Nobles.*

**H**Azaret Aallum pennah salamet, fooker Daruces ve telaungeshta hassam kemia emadam az wellagets door, ganne az mulk Inglizan : kekeslanaion petheen mufhacas cardand ke wellagets, mazcoor der akers magrub bood, ke mader hamma nezzaerts dunmast. Sabebbe amadane mari mia boosti char cheez ayt auval be dedane mobarreckdeedars. Hazaret ke seete caramat ba hamma Trankestan reeseedast ooba tamam mulk Musulmanan der sheenedan awfasse. Hazaret daueeda amadam be deedane astawne akdas musharaf geshtam duum bray deedane feelhay Hazaret, kin chunm ianoor der heech mulk ne dedam seu in bray deedane namwer daryace shumma Gauga, ke Serdare hamma Maryaha dumieft. Chaharum een ayt, keyee fermawne alishaion amayet fermoyand, ke betwanam der wellayetts Vzbeck raftan ba shahre San arcand, bray Zeerat cardan cabbie mobarreche Saheb crawncah awfasse tang oo mosachere oo der tamam aallum meshoor ayt belk der wellagette Vz bec eencader meshoor neeft chunan che der mulc Inglisan ayt digr, bishare eshteec daram be deedane mobarrec mesare Saheb crawnca bray een sateb, che awne saman che focheer de shabr Stambol boodam, ye aiaeb cohua amarat deedam dermean yecush bawg nasdec shaht mascoor coia che padshaw Eezawiawn che namesh Manuel bood che Saheb crawnca cush mehmannec aseem carda bood, baad as griftane Sulten Batasetra as iange aseem che shuda bood nas dec shahre Bursa, coima che Saheb crawn Sultan Baiasetra de Zenicera tellaio bestand, oo der cafes nahadond een char chees meera as mulche man ium baneed ta mia, as mulc. Room oo Arrac peeada geshta, as door der een mulc reseedam, che char hafar pharfang raw darad, beshare derd oo mohuet casheedam che heech ches der een dunnia een cader mohuet ne casheedast bray deedune mobarrec declare Haferet awn roos che be taette shaugh ne shaughee mulharaf fermoodand.

*The English of it is this.*

\* This is the  
ordinarie title  
that is given  
him by all  
strangers.

**L**ord \* Protector of the World, all haile to you : I am a poore Traueller and World-seer, which am come hither from a farre countrey, namely England, which ancient Historians thought to haue beene situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the Queene of all the Islands in the World. The cause of my comming hither is for foure respects. First, to see the blessed face of your Maiestie, whose wonderfull fame hath resounded ouer all Europe, and the Mahometan Countreies. When I heard of the fame of your Maiestie, I hastened hither with speed, and trauelled very cheerfully to see your glorious Court. Secondly, to see your Maiesties Elephants, which kind of beasts I haue not seene in any other Countrey. Thirdly, to see your famous Riuer Ganges, which is the Captayne of all the Rivers of the World. The fourth is this, to entreate your Maiestie that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious Passe, that I may trauell into the Countrey of Tartaria to the Citie of Samarcand, to visit the blessed Sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners (this is a title that is given to Tamberlaine in this Countrey, in that Persian language : and whereas they call him the Lord of the Corners, by that they meane, that he was Lord of the corners of the World, that is, the highest and supreme Monarch of the Vniuerse : ) whose fame, by reason of his Warres and Victories, is published ouer the whole World : perhaps hee is not altogether so famous in his owne countrey of Tartaria, as in England. Moreover, I haue a great desire to see the blessed Tombe of the Lord of the Corners for this cause ; for that when I was at Constantinople, I saw a notable old building in a pleasant Garden neare the said Citie, where the Christian Emperour that was called Emanuel, made a sumptuous great Banquet to the Lord of the Corners, after he had taken Sultan Bajazet, in a great battell that was fought neere the Citie of Brusia, where the Lord of the Corners bound Sultan Bajazet in fetters of gold, and put him in a Cage of yron. These foure causes moued me to come out of my native Countrey thus farre, hauing trauelled afoote, thorow Turkie and Persia, so farre haue I traced the World into this Countrey, that my Pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand miles, wherein I haue sustayned much labour and toyle, the like whereof no mortall man in this World did euer performe, to see the blessed face of your Maiestie, since the first day that you were inaugurated in your glorious Monarchall Throne. After



After I had ended my Speech, I had some short discourse with him in the Persian Tongue, who amongst other things told me, that concerning my travell to the Citie of Samarcand, he was not able to doe me any good, because there was no great amity betwixt the Tartarian Princes and himselfe, so that his commendatory Letters would doe me no good. Also he added, that the Tartars did so deadly hate all Christians, that they would certainly kill them when they came into their Countrey. So that he earnestly dissuaded me from the iourney, if I loved my life and well fare; at last, he concluded his discourse with me, by a summe of money, that he threw downe from a window, thorow which he looked out into a sheet tied up by the foure corners, and hanging very neere the ground, an hundred pieces of siluer, each worth two shillings sterling, which counteruailed ten pounds of our English Money: this businesse I carried so secretly by the helpe of my Persian, that neither our English Ambassadour, nor any other of my Countymen (saving one speciall, private, and intrinsicall friend) had the least inckling of it, till I had thoroughly accomplished my designe: for I well knew that our Ambassador would haue stopped and barracadoed all my proceeding therein, if he might haue had any notice thereof, as indeed hee signified vnto me, after I had effected my project, alleaging this, forsooth, for his reason, why hee would haue hindered me, because it would redound somewhat to the dishonour of our Nation, that one of our Countrey should present himselfe in that beggerly and poore fashion to the King, out of an insinuating humour, to craue Money of him: But I answered, our Ambassadour in that stout and resolute manner, after I had ended my businesse, that he was contented to cease nibbling at me, neuer had I more need of Money in all my life, then at that time: for in truth I had but twentie shillings sterling left in my Purse, by reason of a mischance I had in one of the Turkes Cities called Emert, in the Countrey of Mesopotamia, where a Mischance Turke stripped me of almost all my Monies, according as I wrote vnto you in a very large Letter the last yeare, which I sent from the Court of this mightie Monarch, by one of my Countymen that went home by Sea in an English ship, laden with the Commodities of this India, which Letter, I hope, came to your hands long since. After I had bene with the King, I went to a certaine Noble and Generous Christian of the Armenian Race, two dayes iourney from the Mogolls Court, to the end to obserue certaine remarkeable matters in the same place, to whom, by meanes of my Persian Tongue, I was so welcome, that he entertayned me with very ciuill and courteous complement; and at my departure gaue mee very bountifully twenty pieces of such kind of Money as the King had done before, counteruailing fortie shillings sterling. About tenne dayes after that, I departed from Asmere, the Court of the Mogoll Prince, to the end to begin my Pilgrimage, after my long rest of fourtene Moneths, backe againe into Persia, at what time our Ambassadour gaue mee a piece of Gold of this Kings Coyne worth foure and twentie shillings, which I will saue (if it bee possible) till my arrivall in England: so that I haue receiued for beneuolences, since I came into this Countrey, twentie markes sterling, saving two shillings eight pence, and by the way, upon the confines of Persia, a little before I came into this Countrey, three and thirtie shillings foure pence in Persian Money, of my Ladie Sherley: at this present I haue in the Citie of Agra, where-hence I wrote this Letter, about twelue pounds sterling, which according to my manner of liuing upon the way, at two pence sterling a day, (for with that proportion I can live pretty well, such is the cheapnesse of all eatable things in Asia, drinkable things costing nothing, for seldome doe I drinke in my Pilgrimage any other liquour then pure water) will maintaine me very competently three yeeres in my travell, with meate, drinke and cloathes. In this Citie of Agra, where I am now, I am to remaine about sixe weekes longer, to the end to expect an excellent opportunity, which then will offer it selfe vnto me, to go to the famous Riuer Ganges, about five dayes iourney from this, to see a memorable meeting of the gentle people of this Countrey, called Banians, whereof about foure hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shauie themselves in the Riuer, and to sacrifice a world of Gold to the same Riuer, partly in stamped Money, and partly in massie great lumpes and wedges, throwing it into the Riuer as a Sacrifice, and doing other strange Ceremonies most worthy the obseruation. Such a notable spectacle it is, that no part of all Asia, neither this which is called the great Asia, nor the lesser, which is now called Natolia, the like is to be seene; this shew doe they make once euery yeare, comming thither from places almost a thousand miles off, and honour their Riuer as their God, Creator and Saviour; Superstition and Impietie most abominable in the highest degree of these brutish Ethnicks, that are aliens from Christ and the Common-wealth of Israel. After I haue seene this shew, I will with all expedition repaire to the Citie of Lehor, twentie dayes iourney from this, and so into Persia, by the helpe of my blessed Christ, &c.

Your dutifull, louing and obedient Sonne, now  
a desolate Pilgrime in the World,

THOMAS CORYATE.

Dddd

Certaine



## Certaine Observations written by THOMAS CORYAT.

Iesuiticall Ma-  
rianitic.

**W**Hereas the Beggars begge in this Countrey of a *Christian* in the name of *Bibee Maria*, and not of *Hazanet Eesa*, thereby we may gather that the *Iesuits* haue preached *Mary* more then *Iesus*.

Notable ex-  
ample of A-  
theisme.

A great *Raja* a *Gentile*, a notorious Atheist, and contemner of all Deitie, glorying to professe he knew no other God then the King, nor beleeuing nor fearing none: sitting dallying with his women, one of them plucked a haire from his brest, which being fast rooted, plucked off a little of the skinne, that blood appeared; this small skarre festered and gangrened incurably, so that in few dayes he despaired of life, and beeing accompanied with all his friends and diuers Courtiers, he brake out into these excellent words: Which of you would not haue thought that I being a man of Warre, should haue dyed by the stroke of a Sword, Speare or Bow? but now I am inforced to confesse the power of that great God, whom I haue so long despised, that hee needs no other Lance then a little haire to kill so blasphemous a wretch, and contemner of his Maiestie, as I haue beene.

Echar iugling!

*Echar Shagh* had learned all kind of Sorcery, who beeing once in a strange humour to shew a spectacle to his Nobles, brought forth his chiefeest Queene, with a Sword cut off her head, and after the same perceiuing the heauinesse and sorrow of them, for the death of her (as they thought) caused the head, by vertue of his Exorcismes and Coniunctions, to be set on againe, no signe appearing of any stroke with his Sword.

Wiuelly fidelity

*Sultan Cursaroo* hath but one Wife, for which one principall reason is, that during his imprisonment, the King intending to make a hunting Progresse of foure moneths, consulted how to keepe him safe in his absence; at last resolved to build a Towre, and immure him within it, without gate, doore or window, except some small holes to let in Ayre higher then he could come vnto; putting in all sorts of prouision whatsoeuer, both fire, clothes, &c. with some seruants to abide with him for that time. While this was building, his Wife came and fell at the Kings feete, and neuer would let goe till shee had obtayned leaue to bee shut vp with him: the King much perswading to enioy her libertie; she vtterly refused any other comfort, then to be the companion of her Husbands miseries; amongst which this was the greatest, that if any of those that were immured, beeing in number fiftie, should haue dyed in the Kings absence, there was no meanes to burie them, for that no man was admitted to come neere the Towre.

Right and  
Ries about  
finding a  
Fountaine.

The Fountaine found the first day by one of my Lords people, Master *Herbert*, brother to Sir *Edward Herbert*, which if he had not done, he must haue sent ten Courie euery day for water, to a Riuer called *Narbode*, that falleth into the Bay of *Cambaya* at *Buroch*; the custome being such, that whatsoeuer Fountaine or Tanke is found by any great man in time of drought hee shall keepe it proper and peculiar to himselfe, without the interruption of any man whatsoeuer. The day after one of the Kings *Haddys* finding the same, and struing for it, was taken by my Lords people, and bound all, &c. a great controuersie being about it, &c.

Charitie of  
Moors.

Remember the Charitie of two great men, that in the time of this great drought, were at the charge of sending ten Camels with twentie persons euery day to the said Riuer for water, and did distribute the water to the poore, which was so deare, that they sold a little skinne for, eight Pise.

Echar pietie.

*Echar Shagh*, a very fortunate Prince and pious to his Mother: his pietie appearing in this particular, that when his Mother was carried once in a Palankeen betwixt *Labor* and *Agra*, he traouelling with her, tooke the Palankeen vpon his owne shoulders, commanding his greatest Nobles to doe the like, and so carried her ouer the Riuer from one side to the other, and neuer denied her any thing, but this, that shee demanded of him, that our Bible might be hanged about an Alles necke, and beaten about the Towne of *Agra*, for that the *Portugals* hauing taken a ship of theirs at Sea, in which was found the *Alcoran* amongst the *Moors*, tyed it about the necke of a Dogge, and beat the same Dogge about the Towne of *Ormuz*: but hee denied her request, saying, That if it were ill in the *Portugals* to doe so to the *Alcoran*, being it became not a King to requite ill with ill, for that the contempt of any Religion, was the contempt of God, and he would not be reuenged vpon an innocent Booke: the morall being, that God would not suffer the sacred Booke of his Truth to be contemned amongst the Infidels.

Notable sen-  
tence.

Profligate lust:

One day in the yeere, for the solace of the Kings Women, all the Trades-mens Wiues enter the *Mohal* with some-what to sell, in manner of a Faire, where the King is Broker for his Women, and with his gaines that night makes his supper, no man present, (obserue that whatsoeuer is brought in of virill shape, as instance in Reddishes, so great is the iealousie, and so frequent the wickednesse of this people, that they are cut and iagged for feare of conuerting the same to some vnnaturall abuse) by this meanes hee attaines to the sight of all the prettie Wenches of the Towne: at such a kind of Faire he got his beloued *Normahal*.

After



After *Shaoof Freed* had wonne the Battle of *Labor* by a stratagem, the Captaines being taken by the King, and hanged vpon *Flesh-hooks* and *Stakes*, made an entrance for the King to *Labor*, his sonne *Cusuroo* being then taken Prisoner, and riding bare-footed vpon an Elephant; his Father demanded him how hee liked that Spectacle of his valiant and faithfull Captaines hanging in that manner, to the number of two thousand: hee answered him, that hee was sorrie to see so much Crueltie and Iniustice in his Father, in executing them that had done nothing but their dutie; for that they liued vpon his Bread and Salt: but hee should haue done right if hee had saved them, and punished him which was their Master, and the Authour of the Rebellion.

10 For more cleere declaration of this excellent vertue vpbraiding the coldnesse of our Charitie, you shall vnderstand a custome of this King, who sleeping in his *Gusle-can*, often when hee awakes in the night, his great men (except those that watch) being retired, calls for certaine poore and old men, making them sit by him, with many questions and familiar speeches passing the time, and at their departure cloathes them, and giues them bountifull Almes often, whatsoever they demand, telling the money into their hands.

The Kings external charity. Hee had added heere of the Kings respect to two-fold *Daruses* which you haue before in Sir T. Roe.

For a close of this Discourse, I cannot forget that memorable Pietie, when at *Asmere* hee went afoot to the Tombe of the Prophet *Hod. Mundin* there buried, and kindling a fire with his owne hands, and his *Normahal*, vnder that immense and *Heidelbergian-aquipollent* Brasse-pot, and made Kitcherie for five thousand poore, taking out the first Platter with his owne hands, and 20 seruing one; *Normahal* the second, and so his Ladies all the rest. Cracke mee this Nut, all the Papall Charitie vaunters.

An *Armenian* desirous to turne *Moore*, procured a Noble-man to bring him to the King, whom the King asked why hee turned *Moore*, whether for preferment? hee answered, No. Some few Monethes after crauing some courtesie of the King, hee denyed it him, saying, That hee had done him the greatest fauour that could bee, to let him saue his soule, but for his bodie hee himselfe should prouide as well as he could.

The King likes not shifters of Religion.

The King likes not those that change their Religion, hee himselfe beeing of none but of his owne making, and therefore suffers all Religions in his Kingdome. Which by this notable example I can make manifest: The King had a Seruant that was an *Armenian*, by name *Scander*; to whom vpon occasion of speech of Religion, the King asked if hee thought either hee or the *Padres* had conuerted one *Moore* to bee a true *Christian*, and that was so for conscience sake, and not for money: who answered with great confidence, That hee had one which was a perfect *Christian*, and for no worldly respect would bee other, whom the King caused presently to bee sent for: and bidding his Master depart, demanded why hee was become a *Christian*, who rendred certaine feeble, implicate, Iesuiticall Reasons, and auowed that hee would neuer be other: whereupon the King practised by faire speeches and large promises, to withdraw him to the folly of *Mahomet*, offering him Pensions, meanes, and command of Horse, telling him hee had now but foure Rupias a Moneth Wages, which was a poore Reward for quitting his, *prapuced* faith; but if hee would recant, hee would heape vpon him 40 many Dignities: the Fellow answering, it was not for so small Wages hee became *Christian*, for hee had limbes, and could earne so much of any *Mahometan*, but that hee was a *Christian* in his heart, and would not alter it. This way not taking effect, the King turned to threatnings, and menacings of Tortures and Whippings; but the Profelyte manfully resolving to suffer any thing, answered, hee was readie to endure the Kings pleasure. Vpon this resolution, when all men expected present and seuerer castigation, the King changed his tune, highly commending his constancie and honestie, bidding him goe and returne to his Master, and to serue him faithfully and truly, giuing him a Rupia a day Pension for his Integrity. About two Monethes after, the King hauing beene a hunting of wilde Hogges, a beast odious to all 50 *Moores*, and accustomed to distribute that sort of Venison among *Christians* and *Razbootes*, sent for this *Armenian*, Master of this conuerted *Catechumen* or *Mahometan*, to come and fetch part of his Quarrie. The *Armenian* not beeing at home, this his principall Seruant came to know the Kings pleasure, who commanded him to take vp a Hogge for his Master, which no *Moore* will touch; which hee did, and being gone out of the Court-gate, was so hooted at by the *Mahometans*, that hee threw downe his Present in a Ditch, and went home, concealing from his Master what had passed. About foure dayes after the *Armenian* comming to his watch, the King demanded of him whether the Hogge he sent him were good meat or no; who replied, hee neyther heard of, nor see any Hogge: whereat the King remembring to whom this Hogge was deliuered, caused the fellow to be sent for, and examining the matter, had it confessed how he threw away the Hogge, and neuer carryed it home: the King pressing to know the reason, the poore fellow answered how he was mocked for touching it, and it being a thing odious to the *Moores*, for shame he threw it away: at which he replied, By your law there is no difference of meats, and are you ashamed of your lawes? or to flatter the *Mahometans*, doe you in outward things forsake it? now I see, thou art neither good *Christian*, nor good *Mahometan*, but a dis- 60



sembling knave with both, while I found thee sincere, I gaue thee a pension, which now I take from thee, and for thy dissimulation doe command thee to haue a hundred stripes, which were presently giuen him in stead of his money, and bade all men by his example take heed, that seeing hee gaue libertie to all Religions, that which they choose and professe, they may sticke vnto.

I had thought at first to haue finished all these *Indian Voyages* in this fourth Booke: but perceiving it to grow into such greatnesse, and withall such great alterations as the *Turkish Trade* at *Moha*, and especially the *Persian* at *Iasques*, haue caused in the *English Trade*, with the contrary Attempts of the *Portugals*, and chiefly the *Dutch*, (before no good Friends, and there the worst of Enemies) to the *English-Indian Trade*; I thought fit to make thereof a fifth Booke.

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NA.

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NAVIGATIONS, VOY-  
AGES, TRAFFIQVES, DISCO-  
VERIES, OF THE ENGLISH NA-  
TION IN THE EASTERNE PARTS  
OF THE WORLD:

Continuing the *English-Indian* Occurrents, and contay-  
ning the *English* Affaires with the Great SAMORINE, in the  
*Persian* and *Arabian* Gulfes, and in other places of the  
*Continent*, and *Ilands* of and beyond the *Indies*: the *Portugall*  
Attempts, and *Dutch* Disasters, diuers Sea-fights with  
both; and many other remarkable  
RELATIONS.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Memorialls taken out of the Iournall of ROGER HAWES, touching the pro-  
ceedings of the Factory at Cranganor under the  
Great Samorine.



He Generall of this Fleet was Captaine William Keeling in the  
*Dragon*; Robert Boner Master: Captaine Christopher Harris in  
the *Peppercorne*: Captaine Walter Payton \* in the *Expedition*. \* You haue his  
The fourth of March 1615. we chased a *Portugall* Frigat, Iournall be-  
which ranne into a creeke and escaped vs: and we making our fore,  
way on towards Cape Comorine, there came a *Tony* aboard vs  
with Messengers from the *Samorine* to the Generall.

The next day the Gouvernour sent a Present, and entreated  
the Generall to go to *Cranganor*, which the day after we did,  
and the chiefe men sent from the *Samorine*: the Generall was  
desired to come ashore to speake with him, but in the going,  
certaine Frigats came and anchored neare the shoare, and cau-

sed him to goe aboard the *Expedition*. Some shots passed, but little hurt.

On the eight, the Generall went ashore with Master Barkley, Cape Merchant, and others,  
where they receiued kind vsage, and concluded to settle a Factory. The Articles agreed on,  
were these:

60 VNderecon Cheete, the Great Samorine, &c. To IAMES by the Grace of God, King of Great  
Britaine, &c. Whereas your Seruant and Subiect William Keeling Esquire, arrived in my  
Kingdome in the moneth of March, Anno 1615. with three English ships at the Port of Cranga-  
nor, in latitude ten degrees fiftene minutes, and at my earnest solicitation came ashore to see me: there  
was concluded by me for my part, and by him for the English Nation, as followeth.

Dddd 3

As



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Dddd 3

At



March 4. 1615.  
Cranganor Cas-  
tle and Island  
promised to  
the English.

Cochin promi-  
sed, and coue-  
nanted to be  
given to the  
English.

Stamford a  
drunken foole,  
or a faile  
knaue.

Perfidious  
people.

July 3.

Nassapore.

August 17.

*As I haue beene euer an enemy to the Portugals, so doe I purpose to continue for euer: I doe hereby faithfully promise to be and continue a friend to the English, and my Successors after mee: to endeavour the taking in of the Fort of Cranganor, and to possesse the English thereof, as their owne, with the Island thereof, which is in length on the Sea-coast nine miles, and in breadth three.*

*Provided, that I purpose to build therein a house for some of my owne people, to the number of one hundred persons.*

*I will also endeavour, with the ayde of the English, hereafter to take in the Fort and Towne of Cochinchin, belonging formerly to my Crowne and Kingdome, and then to deliuer it into the possession of the English, as their owne proper lands and possessions: Provided, that the charge of the surprize be equally borne, the one halfe by my selfe, the other by the English Nation: and the benefit of the spoyle thereof, in whatsoeuer qualitie, the one halfe to belong to me, the other halfe to the English Nation.*

*The Samorine to haue no right, title or interest in the aforesaid Towne, Precincts, or appurtenances of Cochinchin at all.*

*And the Samorine doth also covenant for himselfe, his Heires and Successors, that the whole Trade of the English, in whatsoeuer commodities brought in, or carryed out, shall pay, yeeld or allow no manner of custome, imposition, taxe, toll, or any other duty of whatsoeuer qualitie.*

*And to these Covenants, which the shortnesse of time did not permit to amplifie: I the Samorine haue religiously sworn by the great God I serue, to performe accordingly, and that not only for my selfe, but for my Successors after me: and in witnesse hereof, haue laid my hand upon this writing.*

*And the said William Keeling doth promise to acquaint the Kings Maiestie with the premisses, and to endeavour his Maiesties undertaking thereof accordingly.*

A Stocke was made, as the State present permitted, and three Factors appointed, George Woolman chiefe, Peter Needham, one of the Generalls seruants, second; my selfe (Roger Hawes) third, Edward Peake, a Youth attendant, and to learne the language; and John Stamford a Gunner, to assist the Samorine, if need required in his warres. On the tenth, the ships departed, leauing vs in a shrambe at the waters side, with our goods and a Present for the Samorine, where wee continued till the thirteenth, at which time the last of our goods were carryed to the Samorines Castle: whom thus possessed of our goods, we much suspected.

On the twentieth, hee would needs see Master Woolmans Trunke, supposing wee had store of money (Needham had told him wee had five hundred Ryalls of eight) and finding little aboute fiftie Ryalls, he would needs borrow fifty, which wee could not deny him, and offered a pawne not worth halfe, which we refused to take, hoping after this money lent: hee would permit vs to depart for Calicut, but found delayes. He also vrged vs to giue his brother a Present.

On the eight and twentieth, he came vp into the Chamber where we were, and gaue Master Woolman two Gold-rings, and to euery of the rest one: and the next day called vs to the sight of his tumbling sports. The same night Stamford went out with his sword in his hand, telling the Boy hee would come againe presently, and the next newes we heard of him, was that hee was met with by the King of Cockins Nayros, hauing lost himselfe (being drunke) they demanded whither he would go, he said to the Samorines, whither they vnderooke to bring him, and hee knew not himselfe betrayed till he came at Cochinchin. This put vs in great feare, but the Samorine gaue vs good words, saying, he had rather now find him a knaue, then when hee should haue put trust in him.

In Aprill, we got liberty to depart with our goods for Calicut, where the two and twentieth we arriued, and were kindly entertained: but were faine to stay in the Custome-house, till wee might get a more conuenient house, which was made ready for vs the sixt of May, with promise of a better after the Raines. Faine would we, according to the Generall his order, haue sent a messenger with his and our Letters to Surat, to acquaint our Countreimen with our being heere: but the Gouvernour would not content till wee had sold our goods, for their better encouragement.

On the eighteenth, one was sent. Part of the goods were sold by the Gouvernours procurement, to the Merchants at Calicut, soone after on the six and twentieth, and faire promises of part of payment shortly; but it is not the custome of best or worst in this countrey, to be as good as their word, being certaine only in dissembling. Master Woolman was desirous to go to Nassapore to make sale, but the Gouvernour put him off with diuers shifts from time to time.

The third of Iuly, the messenger sent for Surat returned with reports, that being well onward on his way, hee was set vpon, beaten, his money and Letters taken from him: amongst which was a letter of Generall Keeling to the next Generall, which grieved vs, suspecting yet he was robbed with his owne consent, and of his honesty only. A Broker of Nassapore told Master Needham that they were sold to the Portugals; the Gouvernour hearing of it, and hanging downe his head, as guilty therein. We sold goods heere to Merchants of Nassapore.

The seventeenth of August, Master Woolman dyed. Our promised money we could not get, and our Broker told vs, that some one of the debtors would goe to the Gouvernour, and with a bribe procure redress, the rest refusing till they paid all.

On the foure and twentieth, the Samorines sister sent vs word, shee would both cause them to pay,



pay, and lend vs any money we needed: but we found her as the rest. The Queene Mother also made vs faire shewes. Diuers likewise promised to conuey letters to *Surat* for vs, but with words as diuers from the euent, and aduerse to all truth.

10 Master *Needham* thus wronged, further wronged himselfe by indiscretion, threatening hee would be gone to the King of *Cochin*, in presence of a *Nayro* appointed to attend vs, who discovered the same; and he added yet further, to put him in feare with making shew of violent reuenge, as he did also to a *Scrivano* (which is as a Iustice with vs) taking him by the throate, and making as though he would haue striken him with his sword, for detaining money he had receiued for vs. Our Broker also told him, it was not Merchant-like to go vp and downe the Towne with a sword and buckler: his carriage and habite resembling those, which here we call Roaring-  
 10 boyes, rather then Merchants, notwithstanding, my admonition, which was requited with ill language to my selfe, and accompanied with abuses of his owne selfe and the Companys affaires.

The three and twentieth of September, a *Holland* ship, which had traded at *Mecca*, came to this Port, with purpose of settling a Factory, which were by the Gouvernour appointed to go to the King, and promised to carry vs a letter, but went without it. And heere dallying and delay-  
 ing continued. Whereupon the fourth of Nouember, Master *Needham* went to the *Samorine*, and returned the five and twentieth, hauing had a Gold-chaine bestowed on him, a Jewell and a Gold-ring to weare on his arme, with orders also from the King to effect our delignes. But the performance halted.

September 23.  
 Hollanders at  
 Calicut.

20 The twentieth of December, a *Malabar* Captaine had taken prize of the *Portugalls*, and would haue traded with vs, but we could not get in our monies due long before. We heard also the same day of foure *English* ships at *Surat*. But the Gouvernour and people continuing their wonted perfidiousnesse, the one more carefull of taking, the other of giuing, bribes, then paying our debts: we vsed a strange policie to get some of them: for when wee came to demand them at their  
 houses, if they would pay vs none, we would threaten not to depart till they paid vs. And we had heard it reported that their custome is, neither to eat nor wash, whiles we are in their houses. By this meanes we sometimes got fiftie Fanos of one, one hundred of another; by no meanes would they endure vs to lie at their houses, except one, where we waited three daies and nights, with three or foure *Nayros*: they had for their watch of them, but we could get nothing. The  
 30 *Nayro*, whom the King had appointed to get in our debts, came to demand a gratuitie of vs, yet got in nothing: yea, he would go to the debtors houses, and take three or foure Fanos of each, and then depart without the money.

December 20.

Strange poli-  
 cie, strong su-  
 spition.

The ninth of Ianuary, Master *Needham* going to demand a debt, a *Nayro*, as he said, would not suffer him to passe, and being put by with his hand strake him; whereupon he gaue the *Nayro* a dangerous wound in the head, which it was thought he would not recouer; other *Moores* being hurt in taking his part. And word was presently brought to vs, to shut vp our doores, lest the *Nayros* should assemble to doe vs some mischief (feuds or kindred-quarrels and murders being rife amongst them, without other law to right themselues.) Our *Nayro* with his kindred did  
 40 guard him home, to the number of thirty, with pikes, and swords, and bucklers, in his defence, whom he could not but gratifie. Our house was guarded three or foure nights and daies, none of vs daring to go into the Towne for money or other businesse (which before we did very safely) for a weeke: and then our Broker willed vs not to goe without a *Nayro*, for that they had sworne the death of one of vs, in reuenge of him that was killed.

Ianuary 9.  
 A dangerous  
 fray.

The twentieth, the *Portugall* Armada of foure and thirty saile passed by from the South, whereof fourteene ships, the rest Frigats: they put into the Harbour, where three Frigates lay at anchor; a hot fight followed, but the *Portugalls* went away with disgrace, hauing onely cut one of the Frigats halfe, which droue ashore and broke in pieces, belonging to the Gouvernour, who was well serued, keeping in the countrey, and keeping foure or five great peeces, which were at his disposing, in the Towne, locked vp, all saue one: neither had they powder and shot  
 50 for about two shot. Before the fight was ended, some foure thousand *Nayros* were come downe; diuers were slaine on both sides. Nine or ten *Portugalls* were driuen ashore, and two or three of the chiefe presently hanged by the heeles two dayes, and then being taken downe, the night following were deuoured by wilde beasts.

Fight with the  
 Portugalls and  
 Nayros.

The eight and twentieth, a *Pattemar* told that the Gouvernour was friend to vs only in shew, wishing the *Portugalls* in our roome; for we did no good in the Countrey, but brought wares which they were forced to buy, whereas they caused good by trading.

The eight of February, we receiued Letters from *Surat*. The fourth of March, wee receiued Letters from the King, wishing vs, if our ships came, to come with them to *Pancan*, and for our moneyes not to trouble our selues, for he would pay vs, though he sold his Rings.



## CHAP. II.

Notes taken out of the Iournall of ALEXANDER CHILDE, from England to Surat, and thence to Iasques in Persia, and of the fight by the way with the Portugals, in which Generall I O S E P H was slaine.

June 13, 14, 15, 1616.



He thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of June 1616. after our arriual at Soldania, we made merry one with another, glad of our meeting there with Captaine Newport, homewards bound. We found heere good watering, but little refreshing else, save fresh-fish for our sicke men: the *Blacks* brought vs nothing.

August 1.

The first of August, we fell with the maine, the place called *Boobam* in sixteen degrees, five and thirty minutes South latitude: variation thirteene degrees, twelue minutes.

Fight with the Portugals Carricke.

The sixt, we descried a saile, the Admirall of the Carricks that went this yeere from *Lisbone*. The *Globe* sailing better then the rest of the Fleet, first came vp to her, and the Carrick presently gaue her a whole broad side, shot diuers shoots thorow the ship, and hurt a man or two, which caused her to fall asterne, and stand in with the Generall and the rest of the Fleet, shewing vs of the Portugals discourtesie. When our Generall came vp with the Carrick, he sent his Shallop aboard her to know of the Captaine, why hee shot at his friend, and to entreate him to come aboard to make satisfaction for the wrong done. But he sent the Boatswaine aboard the Generall, who told him directly that he would not come aboard, nor giue satisfaction: who thereupon hauing sent his man aboard, began the fight, which continued an houre and halfe. But within lesse then an houre, an vnluckie shot came from the Carrick, and slew our worthy Generall. Then did the Admirall presently fall off, and put abroad a flagge of Councell, where comming aboard, wee found to our grieffe his body mangled with a Culuerine shot, and himselfe suddenly departed.

Captaine Benjamin Ioseph slaine.

Captaine Pepwell succeeds in place and fight.

We kept company with the Carricke till sixe the next morning, and it proued vnder the Island *Moyella*, calme, that we were forced to anchor by meanes of a pretie strong current setting to the South, and passed the whole day in making our ships ready for fight. I tooke out my long Boat and Pinnasse out of my shippe, and mounted the rest of my Ordnance, and kept the Carricke company all the next night.

The eight, about seuen in the morning, our Generall, Captaine *Pepwell*, seeing hee could not fetch her vp so soone as he desired, called to me, whose ship went better, and gaue mee leaue to haue the first onset. I came vp and gaue him three or foure broad-sides: and in the meane time the Generall came vp, and I gaue place; the Vice-Admirall also and the *Globe* one after another; and thus we fought all day. Betweene three and foure in the afternoone, his maine mast fell ouer-board, and presently his Foretop-mast followed: at five we gaue him ouer within lesse then a league of the shoare, being a Lee-shoare, and a great sea. The Islands name is *Comora*, very steepe to an hundred fathome, within lesse then a Cables length of the Rockes, and no ground: so we stood off and on all that night. The Generall was sorely wounded on the face with splinters from a great shot in his halfe decke, and *Richard Hounsell* the Master, was hurt in his arme, another had his head shot away, and diuers others were hurt: I lost two men. The Generall in the euening sent Master *Connock*, Cape Merchant, to the Captaine of the Carricke, that if hee would yeeld, he should haue good quarter, and be sent to *Goa* in safetie: his answer was, he neither would nor could: but if we could winne him with the sword, hee must be contented, and hoped to find honorable warres with vs, if wee tooke him. At twelue in the night shee was aground betweene two rockes very steepe, and set on fire, whether accidentally or wilfully wee cannot tell.

Comora.

Captaine Pepwell, and others wounded, diuers slaine.

The Carricke fired, reade more hereof in Sir Thomas Roe.

The ninth, in the morning I sent Master *Anthony Fugars*, my mate, ashore in my long Boat to see if any men were saued, and to take in some of them, to know how shee came on fire: but the Carricke was still burning, and not a Man of hers to bee seene. There were many *Blacks* of the Island on the land against the Carrick, and they put out a flagge of truce for my men to come ashore, but there was no landing in that place, nor within three leagues to the East or West, the rockes being steepe, and as high as our mayne Top-mast.

Refreshing at Comora.

September 14. Thomas Keridge, he is now this Iune 1623. returned home:

The tenth, we bare about the South-west part of the Island, and anchored in two and twenty fathome water with one, and another I laid out in fourteene, against a Towne called *Matrona*, the people promising Beeuies and all that the Island did afford; but we were frustrate of our hopes, till at last with much adoe we bought nine Beeuies, some Goats, Hennes, Lemons, Plantans and Coco-nuts: and I perswade my selfe they are very treacherous.

The foure and twentieth of September, wee plyed vp to *Swally Road*, there anchored, and brought the Merchants aboard the Generall, the principall Factours name was *Thomas Keridge*.

The



*The Voyage to Iasques.*

**T**He fifth of November, I went over the Barre of *Swally*, bound for *Iasques* in *Persia*. The November 5.  
tenth, the Island of *Diu* did beare North from vs three leagues distant. The eleventh, latitude  
twentie degr. twelue min. I sent my long Boat and Pinnasse, thinking to haue spoken with a  
Fisher-man, and they found him a man of warre, and seuen or eight in the Pinnasse were hurt  
with their arrowes, the long Boat not able to succour them.

The two and twentieth, wee were in latitude foure and twenty degrees, ten minutes, varia- Goudel.  
tion eightene degrees from North to West. This day wee saw the Land of *Goudel* North and  
East, nine or ten leagues distant. When you are within five leagues of the shoare, you shall see the  
Cliffes whitish, like the Forland in most places.

The five and twentieth, in foure and twentie degrees, seuen and forty minutes, we were off  
a ragged mouldy Land, called by the *Portugals* *Sete Serbeayes*, by vs the seuen Cities, shewing  
like seuen Castles, standing a league from each other, the highest like a walled City, and lyeth  
West North-west from Cape *Goudel* sixe and twentie leagues, you may see it fourteene or fif-  
teene leagues off, like Islands, and may runne within a league of the shoare, in ten or twentie fa-  
thome, within a mile soft Ozie ground without danger: Variation eightene degrees, I found  
no Current out or in.

On the seuen and twentieth, latitude five and twenty degrees, two minutes, variation  
eightene degrees, thirty minutes land, as before.

The first of December, we stood off with the *Persian* shoare, hauing been put over on the Coast December 1.  
of *Arabia*, with a North-west and North North-west wind, we had much raine diuers dayes:  
and on the second at night, we anchored five or sixe leagues to the West of *Iasques*, in two and  
twenty fathome Ozie ground.

The next I rode still, and sent the Pinnasse to see if they could speake with any people, but  
they could see no mention of any. At three of the clocke I set saile, and stood toward the Cape  
about a league, and anchored in eleuen fathome Ozie ground. Cape of Ias-  
ques.

The fourth, I sent my chiefe Mate with the Frigate and Pinnasse, to see if hee could discover  
the Road of *Iasques*; but before he came ashore, the Gouverneur of the place, seeing vs lye off  
and in with the shoare, sent a Fisher-boat to them, and they returned aboard with her. After  
some conference, wee sent Master *Bell* ashore to the Gouverneur, with his man and a *Guzer-  
rat*, to his Castle, a little mile from the waters side, with a Present, to sound what welcome: I  
kept two of their men for a pawne.

The fift, I weighed and went two leagues neerer the shoare, and anchored within a league  
of it, in five fathome at low water, tough Ozie ground, and a faire Bay. There runs no streame,  
but it flowes a fathome in the spring, and three or foure foot otherwise: a South-east and by  
East Moone makes high water. The Eastermost low point hath a *Pagod* or *Meskite* on it, and  
the Fisher-towne did beare North-east, in latitude five and twentie degrees, five and thirtie mi-  
40 nutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Diu* ten degrees, fortie minutes West, and the Varia-  
tion nineteene degrees, twen y minutes, from North to West, M. *Bell* returned with two of the  
Gouvernours Souldiers, commending his entertaynment, and promised welcome to vs.

The eight, M. *Conock* our Cape Merchant went ashore, with M. *Barker*, and two other Fa-  
ctors, and returned at night with like newes.

The seuenth, the Purser bought vs foure Beeues and Goates, not fat at that time of the yeere,  
but such as gaue vs content.

The tenth, our Merchants went ashore with their baggage, for their iourney to *Mogustan*, *Mogustan*.  
and on the twelfth tooke their way thither.

The thirteenth, I sent the Boat and Pinnasse to fetch water: the country-people that brought  
it downe, had after foure shillings *English*-money the tunne: it was raine-water (for they haue  
50 no other) it raines but little in December, but in January it will raine sixe or seuen dayes toge-  
ther, that it fills all their Cisternes and places of prouision for the whole yeere following. I take  
it not wholesome being full of small wormes, that we were faine to straine our beuerage. Raine scarce.

The sixteenth, I sent my Mate about Ballast, wherein they found them vnreasonable. I sent  
the Pinnasse to the Eastermost low point, for stones for Ballast. It is the worthiest place for fish  
in all the *Indies*. They laded eightene or twentie tunne of Ballast. Fish & Ballast.

On the nineteenth, we received a Letter from M. *Conock* by his way to  
*Mogustan*, of their peaceable trauell.

The first of January I receiued a Letter from M. *Conock* by his way to January 1.  
vs glad. On the fifth, M. *Conock* would haue sailed for *Ormus*, within seuen leagues over against *Ormus*, where  
60 yeere. The next day they talked of Piloring. The merchants reported that they hoped it would be done  
in *India*. The Pilot confessed it was dangerous.



## CHAP. II.

Notes taken out of the Iournall of ALEXANDER CHILDE, from England to Surat, and thence to Iasques in Persia, and of the fight by the way with the Portugals, in which Generall IOSEPH was slaine.

June 13, 14, 15.  
1616.



He thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of June 1616. after our arriual at Soldania, we made merry one with another, glad of our meeting there with Captaine Newport, homewards bound. We found heere good watering, but little refreshing else, saue fresh-fish for our sicke men: the *Blackes* brought vs nothing.

August 1.

The first of August, we fell with the maine, the place called *Boobam* in sixteen degrees, five and thirty minutes South latitude: variation thirteene degrees, twelue minutes.

Fight with the Portugals Carricke.

The sixt, we descried a saile, the Admirall of the Carricks that went this yeere from *Lisbone*. The *Globe* sailing better then the rest of the Fleet, first came vp to her, and the Carrick presently gaue her a whole broad side, shot diuers shoots thorow the ship, and hurt a man or two, which caused her to fall alterne, and stand in with the Generall and the rest of the Fleet, shewing vs of the Portugals discourtesie. When our Generall came vp with the Carrick, he sent his Shallop aboard her to know of the Captaine, why hee shot at his friend, and to entreate him to come aboard to make satisfaction for the wrong done. But he sent the Boatswaine aboard the Generall, who told him directly that he would not come aboard, nor giue satisfaction: who thereupon hauing sent his man aboard, began the fight, which continued an houre and halfe. But within lesse then an houre, an vnluckie shot came from the Carrick, and slew our worthy Generall. Then did the Admirall presently fall off, and put abroad a flagge of Councell, where comming aboard, wee found to our grieve his body mangled with a Culuerine shot, and himselfe suddenly departed.

Captaine Benjamin Ioseph slaine.

Captaine Pepwell succeeds in place and fight.

We kept company with the Carricke till sixe the next morning, and it proued vnder the Island *Moyella*, calme, that we were forced to anchor by meanes of a pretie strong current setting to the South, and passed the whole day in making our ships ready for fight. I tooke out my long Boat and Pinnasse out of my shippe, and mounted the rest of my Ordnance, and kept the Carricke company all the next night.

Comora.

The eight, about seuen in the morning, our Generall, Captaine Pepwell, seeing hee could not fetch her vp so soone as he desired, called to me, whose ship went better, and gaue mee leaue to haue the first onfet. I came vp and gaue him three or foure broad-sides: and in the meane time the Generall came vp, and I gaue place; the Vice-Admirall also and the *Globe* one after another; and thus we fought all day. Betweene three and foure in the afternoone, his maine mast fell ouer-board, and presently his Foretop-mast followed: at five we gaue him ouer within lesse then a league of the shoare, being a Lee-shoare, and a great sea. The Islands name is *Comora*, very steepe to an hundred fathome, within lesse then a Cables length of the Rockes, and no ground: so we stood off and on all that night. The Generall was sorely wounded on the face with splinters from a great shot in his halfe decke, and *Richard Hounsell* the Master, was hurt in his arme, another had his head shot away, and diuers others were hurt: I lost two men. The Generall in the euening sent Master *Connock*, Cape Merchant, to the Captaine of the Carricke, that if hee would yeeld, he should haue good quarter, and be sent to *Goa* in safetie: his answer was, he neither would nor could: but if we could winne him with the sword, hee must be contented, and hoped to find honorable warres with vs, if wee tooke him. At twelue in the night shee was aground betweene two rockes very steepe, and set on fire, whether accidentally or wilfully wee cannot tell.

Captaine Pepwell, and others wounded, diuers slaine.

The Carricke fired, reade more hereof in Sir Thomas Roe.

The ninth, in the morning I sent Master *Anthony Fugars*, my mate, ashore in my long Boat to see if any men were saued, and to take in some of them, to know how shee came on fire: but the Carricke was still burning, and not a Man of hers to bee seene. There were many *Blackes* of the Island on the land against the Carrick, and they put out a flagge of truce for my men to come ashore, but there was no landing in that place, nor within three leagues to the East or West, the rockes being steepe, and as high as our mayne Top-mast.

Refreshing at Comora.

The tenth, we bare about the South-west part of the Island, and anchored in two and twenty fathome water with one, and another I laid out in fourteene, against a Towne called *Matrona*, the people promising Beeves and all that the Island did afford; but we were frustrate of our hopes, till at last with much adoe we bought nine Beeves, some Goats, Hennes, Lemons, Plantans and Coco-nuts; and I perswade my selfe they are very treacherous.

September 14. Thomas Kerridge, he is now this Iune 1623. returned home:

The foure and twentieth of September, wee plyed vp to *Smally Road*, there anchored, and brought the Merchants aboard the Generall, the principall Factours name was *Thomas Kerridge*.

The



*The Voyage to Iasques.*

**T**He fifth of November, I went over the Barre of *Swally*, bound for *Iasques* in *Persia*. The November 5.  
tenth, the Iland of *Diu* did beare North from vs three leagues distant. The eleventh, latitude  
twentie degr. twelue min. I sent my long Boat and Pinnasse, thinking to haue spoken with a  
Fisher-man, and they found him a man of warre, and seuen or eight in the Pinnasse were hurt  
with their arrowes, the long Boat not able to succour them.

The two and twentieth, wee were in latitude foure and twenty degrees, ten minutes, varia- Gondel.  
tion eightene degrees from North to West. This day wee saw the Land of *Gondel* North and  
East, nine or ten leagues distant. When you are within five leagues of the shoare, you shall see the  
Cliffes whitish, like the Forland in most places.

The five and twentieth, in foure and twentie degrees, seuen and forty minutes, we were off  
a ragged mouldy Land, called by the *Portugals* *Sete Serbeayes*, by vs the seuen Cities, shewing  
like seuen Castles, standing a league from each other, the highest like a walled City, and lyeth  
West North-west from Cape *Gondel* sixe and twentie leagues, you may see it fourteene or fif-  
teene leagues off, like Ilands, and may runne within a league of the shoare, in ten or twentie fa-  
thome, within a mile soft Ozie ground without danger: Variation eightene degrees, I found  
no Current out or in.

On the seuen and twentieth, latitude five and twenty degrees, two minutes, variation  
eightene degrees, thirty minutes land, as before.

The first of December, we stood off with the *Persian* shoare, hauing been put ouer on the Coast December 1.  
of *Arabia*, with a North-west and North North-west wind, we had much raine diuers dayes:  
and on the second at night, we anchored five or sixe leagues to the West of *Iasques*, in two and  
twenty fathome Ozie ground.

The next I rode still, and sent the Pinnasse to see if they could speake with any people, but  
they could see no mention of any. At three of the clocke I set saile, and stood toward the Cape Cape of Ias-  
about a league, and anchored in eleuen fathome Ozie ground. ques.

The fourth, I sent my chiefe Mate with the Frigat and Pinnasse, to see if hee could discouer  
the Road of *Iasques*; but before he came ashore, the Gouverneur of the place, seeing vs lye off  
and in with the shoare, sent a Fisher-boat to them, and they returned aboard with her. After  
some conference, wee sent Master *Bell* ashore to the Gouverneur, with his man and a *Guzer-  
rat*, to his Castle, a little mile from the waters side, with a Present, to sound what welcome: I  
kept two of their men for a pawne.

The fift, I weighed and went two leagues neerer the shoare, and anchored within a league  
of it, in five fathome at low water, tough Ozie ground, and a faire Bay. There runs no streame,  
but it flowes a fathome in the spring, and three or foure foot otherwise: a South-east and by  
East Moone makes high water. The Eastermost low point hath a *Pagod* or *Meskite* on it, and  
the Fisher-towne did beare North-east, in latitude five and twentie degrees, five and thirtie mi-  
40 nutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Diu* ten degrees, fortie minutes West, and the Varia-  
tion nineteene degrees, twen y minutes, from North to West, M. *Bell* returned with two of the  
Gouvernours Souldiers, commending his entertaynment, and promised welcome to vs.

The eight, M. *Conock* our Cape Merchant went ashore, with M. *Barker*, and two other Fa-  
ctors, and returned at night with like newes.

The seuenth, the Purser bought vs foure Beeues and Goates, not fat at that time of the yeere,  
but such as gaue vs content.

The tenth, our Merchants went ashore with their baggage, for their iourney to *Mogustan*, *Mogustan*.  
and on the twelfth tooke their way thicher.

The thirteenth, I sent the Boat and Pinnasse to fetch water: the country-people that brought  
it downe, had after foure shillings *English*-money the tunne: it was raine-water (for they haue  
no other) it raines but little in December, but in January it will raine sixe or seuen dayes toge- Raine scarce:  
ther, that it fills all their Cisternes and places of prouision for the whole yeere following. I take  
it not wholesome being full of small wormes, that we were faine to straine our beuerage.

The sixteenth, I sent my Mate about Ballast, wherein they found them vnreasonable. I sent  
the Pinnasse to the Eastermost low point, for stones for Ballast. It is the worthiest place for fish Fish & Ballast:  
in all the *Indies*. They laded eightene or twentie tunne of Ballast.

On the nineteenth, we receiued a Letter from M. *Connock*, halfe on-ward of his way to  
*Mogustan*, of their peaceable trauell.

The first of January I receiued a Letter from *Iasques*, which came from our Merchants, & made January 1.  
vs glad. On the fifth, M. *Connock* would haue had me gone with the ship to a place called *Costake* *Costake*.  
60 within seuen leagues ouer against *Ormuz*, whereto I was loath to yeeld, being out of season of the  
yeere. The next day they talked of Piloting the ship to *Sireck*; but I was the same man. The Mer-  
chants reported that they hoped it would be a good place of Trade, and in time, as good as any  
in *India*. The Pilot confessed it was dangerous then to carry the ship to *Sireck*, it was so foule,  
stormie,



stormie, and a lee shoare, the sea high, anchorage vnfore, and Master *Connock* seeing the storme we there abode, so extreme, altered his mind, and speeded to land the goods at *Iasques*.

The twentieth, I set saile from the Road of *Iasques*: and the eight of Februarie, at ten of the clocke, wee anchored in *Swally Road*.

### CHAP. III.

*A Letter of Master THOMAS SPURWAY Merchant, touching the wrongs done at Banda to the English by the Hollanders (the former unkind disquits and brabbling quarrels breaking now out into a furious, unexpected, iniurious warre) Written in a Letter to the Companie.*

10

Laus Deo in Bantam, the twentieth of Nouember, 1617.

*Honourable and right worshipfull, my humble dutie alwayes remembred, And may it please you to understand, &c.*

The beginning of this Letter was torne, and therefore as that, so this, a little imperfect: but what is here defective, hereafter you shall find supplied in Master Nathaniel Cortbops relation, with the continuation of these *Bandan* affairs, and *Dutch* insolencies, in him Master *Hais* and others. This I thought good to premise, as in time, so in cause preceding the fights in the ensuing Voyages mentioned.

The King of *Moccafior*, and all the Kings thereabouts mortall enemies to the *Flemmings*. Nouemb. 7. two *Hollanders* land at *Moccafior*.

The King of *Moccafior* leuieth two thousand men.

The *English* procure the life of the *Hollanders*.

The *Hollanders* attempted to land againe at *Moccafior*, whom the *Moccafiorians* intercepted, slew them all, being sixteene.



HE nineteenth of Nouember, 1616. wee arriued at *Moccafior*, the *Swan* and the *Defence*, where we stayed to take in one hundred quoynes of Rice. In the time 20 of our being there, and the fourth of December, we discried off at sea, a great ship; and comming at an anchor fve leagues off. The fift *dicto*, they sent their skiffe ashore, making directly to the *English* house, hauing eight men in her, which, as soone as wee perceiued, wee ran to the sea side, and before we could come to them, two of their men were landed; so wee acquainted them with the danger they were runne into; for that the King of *Moccafior*, and all the Kings thereabouts, were their mortall enemies, in regard of the many abuses their people the *Hollanders* had done vnto them, and that lately the *Hollanders* had carried away a principall *Sabander*, and others of *Moccafior* perforce, and therefore would be reuenged; also acquainted them, that if the King were not the more mercifull, they were all dead men: so they would presently haue gone into their skiffe. But the *Moccafors* flocking about vs, layed hands on them; I presently, the Factor, and other *English* rode post vnto the King, acquainting him what had happened, wee hauing a Guard of *English* neere the *Hollanders* for our better discharge, that the King might not conceiue amisse of vs, and that we were not accessarie to any treacherie that they might pretend. The King gaue vs thanks, and willed vs to take these two men which were come on land, into the *English* house, and to learne of them their intent in comming thither, which we did. They said they were of the Fleet lately from *Holland*, hauing lost the rest of their consorts, and fell with the backside of *Iana*: The one called *John Stanch* vnder-Merchant, as hee reported; The other an *English* man a Saylor: who perceiuing the great danger they were in, desired vs most earnestly, that wee would stand their friends, and get them free againe, bewayling their hard 40 happe; we promised to doe our best for their good, and so to be gone. Presently comes the King of *Moccafior*, the King of *Tallow*, and diuers others, to the number of two thousand men presently leuiued, and came by the sea side vpon the sands, and sate in counsell vpon these men: the King of *Tallow* would haue had them all killed, but wee vsed our best meanes for their freedom. At last command was giuen, they should into their boat and be gone, the King saying, they were too small a reuenge, he expecting a greater, so they departed into their ship. They had all beene presently killed, if wee had not beene.

The next day, wee perceiued another boat comming towards land from the same ship; the King hauing notice thereof by his people, presently commanded twentie *Prawes* and *Correcorries* to be manned, and to goe forth, which was on an instant effected, and made towards 50 the *Hollanders* boat, the *Hollanders* still rowing in for the shoare, and directly to the *English* house: the *Prawes* and the *Correcorries* still edging neere the boat, betweene the shoare and them. The *Hollanders* perceiuing their intent, turned their boat, and made toward their ship againe, being foure leagues off, but it was too late, for the *Moccafors* in short time had fecht them vp, and boarded their boat on each side, entred, and instantly killed euery man of the *Hollanders*, being in number sixteene, and brought away their boat: wee were that time commanded to keepe house. There were about that time neere fve thousand people on the sea side. This *Holland-ship* called the *Indrought*, imagining vs bound for the *Moluccas*, or *Banda*, stayed off at sea.

Wee set sayle out of *Moccafior Road* the eighth of December, 1616. The said *Holland-ship* 60 seeing vs vnder sayle, they also weighed and kept vs companie: wee would gladly haue gone from them, but could not, in regard of the *Defence* her bad sayling. They sent their boat aboard of vs, desiring two quoynes of Rice, foure tunnes of water and hennes, all which wee spared

them, being sixteene. The *English* courteous to the *Hollanders*, going towards *Banda*.

them,



them, paying onely fortie Rials of eight for two quoyues of Rice: the rest wee gaue vnto them. Wee demanded of them why they would attempt to come to land at *Moccafors*, they said that their first boat was not then returned vnto their ship, so they thought their factorie had still beene there: but I verily beleeeue, it was their obstinate boldnesse, and presuming that their first boat was denied onely vpon the instigation of vs the *English*, wherefore they would make triall againe, purposing to haue flattered the King, and to haue come there againe, and to haue settled a Factorie, and so to haue hindered the *English*: for it is a manifest token of such a proiect, both of their boats comming by our ships, and within Musket shot, yet would not come aboard to inquire what newes on shoare, as they went on shoareward, which if they had, wee could haue fore-warned them of that danger. So now their obstinacie and rash proceedings purchased them a iust reward, &c. They kept vs companie vntill wee came neere *Ambina*, and so stood in for that place, wee standing our course. Now, since wee vnderstand that they haue reported, that wee were the occasion that their men were killed at *Moccafors*, which is most false: for, I protest, wee vsed our best meanes to free them, the first eight men had else also died.

The thirteenth of December, 1616. the *Swan* and *Defence* arriued in the Road of *Polaroone*. The fourteenth *dicto*, the people of the said Iland came aboard the ships with whom we had conference about the surrendring of their Iland of *Polaroone*. Also our Nation had many times beene at their Iland to our great charges, and partly vpon their requests, to settle a Factorie, and to haue friendly trade with them, in bringing them commodities, as Rice, Cloth, and other prouisions for their Spices, and that we desired not to vsurpe, and bring them in subiection, or bondage, as the *Hollanders*, and other Nations haue formerly; and that wee now came to settle a factorie, if they would surrender their Ilands of *Polaroone*, vnto our Kings Maiestie of *England* by writing: also by deliuering earth, with a tree and fruits of the said Iland, as true token of their fidelitie, and so euery yeare a nut-tree in remembrance, and in so doing, wee would furnish them with Rice, and Cloth, and other commodities, for present and also yeerly. And being settled on the said Iland of *Polaroone*, sufficient supplies should come euery yeere in better manner then now at present, and that we would to the vttermost of our powers, with our men and shippes, defend them against any their enemies, if they came to doe vs or them wrong. Wee also demanded of them, whether they had made any contract with the *Hollanders*, and giuen them any surrender; they all replied, they had not, nor neuer would: but held them as mortall enemies, confessing and auerring vnto vs (both *Polaroone* men and diuers of the principals, which once liued vpon *Polaway* and fled to *Polaroone* vpon the *Hollanders* comming there, and getting it by force of Armes.) They doe all still auerre, and doe maintaine the Iland of *Polaway* to belong vnto our Kings Maiestie of *England*, by a lawfull surrender vnto *Richard Hunt*, before the *Hollanders* came into the Road, and caused the *English* Colours to be set vp in the Castle, which the *Hollanders* shot downe seuerall times, and vsed many disgracefull words of his Maiestie. This the *Bandanefes* doe still confirme, and that they did defend it, as long as possibly they could, to his Maiesties vse, vntill perforce they must leaue the said Iland, and so fled to *Polaroone*, *Lantor*, and *Serran*.

This Councell continued all the day, and so concluded: the writings being drawne and confirmed by the principals of *Polaroone* and *Polaway*, and so deliuered by their owne hands vnto vs, viz. *Nathaniel Corthop*, *Thomas Spurway*, and *Sophonie Cozocke*, to his Maiesties vse. Also the same instant deliuered vs a Nutmeg-tree with the fruits thereon in the Earth, with other fruits, and a liuing Goat: and further, desired to haue the *English* Colours set vp vpon the Iland, and to haue Gunnes shot off. All which was presently effected, the Colours set vp, and fixe and thirtie peeces of Ordnance shot off: and so at night they parted in friendly manner, repaying to the shoare.

The five and twentieth of December being Christmas day, we discouered two great *Holland* ships edging neere *Polaroone*. They discouering our ships in the Road bore roome for *Nero*: and the six and twentieth another did the like. The eight and twentieth, another *Holland* Pinnasse standing right ouer for *Polaroone*, came brauing within shot of our Fort, hauing the *Flemish* Colours on the poöpe, and presently tacked about, and taking them downe, sets vp in lieu thereof a bloudie Ancient, and stands ouer for *Nero*. By this we expected their comming daily, according to their old custome of iniuring vs. On the thirtieth, we landed foure Peeces of Ordnance, besides two other on Christmas day, and went to worke to fortifie for our defence. And with the helpe of the *Bandanefes* we made two Forts, one called the *Swan*-Fort, the other the *Defence*-Fort, and mounted on each three Peeces. The *Swans* Fort is within Caluer shot of the ships, commands the Road at pleasure to the Easterne side, where the principall Road is for the Westerly Monson.

The third of Ianuarie there came into the Road three *Holland* ships from *Nero*, the *Horne*, of eight hundred tunnes; the *Starre*, five hundred; the *Taugar*, one hundred and sixtie: which came to anchor close by our ships; the *Horne* by the *Swan*, the *Starre* by the *Defence*, the *Taugar* a head of all to cut off supplie from the shoare; all these ships full of men, &c.

The Hollanders slander vs.

Surrender of *Polaroone*.

For their sollicitation of the *English* to this trade, see *Milwards* Iournall, also *Capp. Keelings*, *Midgdictons*, &c.

The men of *Polaroone* and *Polaway* protest that they nor had, nor would make contract with the *Hollanders*.

*Polaway* was deliuered ouer to the *English* before the *Hollanders* came into their road. The *Bandanefes* did fire to haue the *English* Colours set vp.

*Hollanders* inuade *Polaroone* with brauados and bloudie Ancients.

The *English* fortifie.

*Holland* ships approach to our ships at *Polaroone*.

Now



The English  
make knowne  
to the Hollan-  
ders that the  
Iland was En-  
glish.

The Hollanders  
could make no  
clayme to Po-  
laroone.

The English  
were the first  
Christians  
that euer came  
into the Road  
of Polaroone.

The Hollanders  
came to beate  
vs out of the  
Road.

The Hollanders  
send a Pinnasse  
to sound the  
depth by Pola-  
roone, and to  
inuaide vs.

Iohn Daues in  
the Swan would  
goe out of the  
Road to fetch  
water.

Now our commission directed vs that hauing receiued the Surrender, and settled at *Polaroone*, we should giue notice vnto the *Hollanders* thereof by writing, that they should not come there to molest vs, as formerly they were accustomed, pretending ignorance. A Letter to the same effect we had readie written, but could not tell how to conuey it to them, not daring to send *English* or *Bandanefes* for feare of detention. These ships therefore comming into the Road wee sent *George Muschamp* aboard their Admirall the *Starre*, and hee deliuered the Letter to the Commander, called *Dedall*, aduising them to depart the Road before fixe Glasses were run, for that the Ilanders would not haue them stay in the Road, nor come neere them; and would haue shot vnto them from the shore, had not we caused them to forbear. Presently their Commander *Dedall* and their Predicant, came aboard the *Swan* to know the reason: wee told them that their comming was to doe vs iniurie, as formerly they had done at *Polaway*, *Cambella*, and other places; and how they had turned the Glasse for *Master Ball*, hauing him in their possession, and threatening to hang him presently if hee caused not the *English* to come from Land forthwith. Also we then shewed them the surrender of *Polaroone*, and our right and possession there for his Maiestie of *England*, which we would hold and maintayne to our vtmost power: and wished them to be well aduised what they did, and that they would be shortly called to an account for their disgracefull words and abuses done to the *English*: demanding also of them the Iland of *Polaway*, as in right due to his Maiestie by lawfull surrender: further, demanding of them if they had any surrender of the Iland of *Polaroone*. But they could not say of any they had; and when wee shewed the surrender wee had vnto them, the Predicant hauing the same in his hand aboard the *Swan*, perusing it, said with these words, *This is a true Surrender*.

All this time the Glasse running in the great Cabin before their faces, put them in mind of being gone. We also told them, that their comming was onely to betray vs, and to put vs from the Iland by their treacherie, which our Nation hath diuers times had experience of: wherefore we neither could nor would trust them any more; and so put them in mind of being gone, for the Glasse fixe times run, they must expect shot from the shore: and if in case they did reply, and did shoote vnto the Land, or shewed any discourtesie or wrong vnto the people of *Polaroone*, we would take it as done to vs, and would defend them being now become our Kings subiects. They would haue stayd vntill the next day, but wee would not grant it, doubting that more of their Ships might haue come ouer. They then desired till mid-night, which wee granted if wee might see them about to way their Anchors: and that wee would send vnto the shore and perswade the *Bandanefes* to forbear. Also I demanded of *Dedall* the cause of their comming to molest vs, who answered, It had beene formerly a custome in passing by the Iland. I told him that was vntruth, for that the people of the Iland had reported vnto vs, that there was neuer any Christian ship in the Road till wee came, and that wee were the first. So hee was silent and would not mantayne his report. They came into the Road about three of the clocke in the afternoon, and departed thence about eleuen at night. Wee haue beene since informed that they came purposely to betray vs, and to haue beaten vs out of the Road, or to haue taken our ships; and had giuen the attempt, but that they perceiued we were fortified on the Land. If they had then begun, wee doubted not but to haue made our parties good with them. For wee had both Forts readie, and our Gunners readie to giue fire vpon our watchword or signe from the ships.

The tenth of Ianuarie, a *Holland* Ship and Pinnasse came forth from *Nero*: the Pinnasse came edging neere the small Iland or high sand adioyning to *Polaroone*, called *Nylacka*, belonging vnto *Polaroone*, and consequently to the *English*. There are no Inhabitants vpon the said Iland or sand, but it is full of Trees and Bushes, and *Polaroone* men resort thither daily to fish about the said small Iland. Now the said Pinnasse came neerer the said Iland and did sound the depth as shee went, which we perceiuing made foure shot at her from the *Defences Fort*, not intending to strike her, but shot wide, giuing them notice to forbear and be gone. The Pinnasse at euery shot replied with a Base, or some such like peece, vnto the small Iland amongst the Trees, where there were some *English* and some *Bandanefes* of *Polaroone*, which were in danger of their shot. And seeing they braued vs in such manner, the Gunner was bid to doe his best, who then made a shot, which fell close ouer them at the Sterne of their Pinnasse or Frigat, which made them crie out and presently get off. They were *Hollanders*, and seemed men which came to sound the depth and where to land, purposing to come with their forces, and there to fortifie and so to put vs from the great Iland.

Ianuarie the thirteenth, *Master Dauey* complayning he wanted water, and purposing to goe ouer for *Wayre* vpon *Lantore* side and there to water, we acquainted the people of *Polaroone* herewith, who would by no meanes consent hee should goe out of the Road: neither would wee, doubting some iniurie from the *Hollanders*. And the people of *Polaroone* told vs, that they would rather fetch them water ouer vpon *Lantore* with their Prawes. I went presently aboard and acquainted *Master Dauey* herewith, but He and the Companie would not yeeld hereunto, but spake all in generall against it, and said, that the *Bandanefes* would bring them raine water, or such as might bee vnholosome for his men to drinke: saying, it was but fixe or eight dayes time.

The



The same time there came ouer vnto vs from *Wayre*, a free Towne vpon *Lantore*, also from the Ile of *Rosfing* (an Iland of it selfe) the Principalls of both those places, to haue parly with vs, to surrender both the said *Wayre* and *Rosfing* vnto his Maiestie, as the people of *Polaroone* had lately done. Now, the surrender of both those places being drawne, and all concluded vpon at *Polaroone*, they desired that some *English* might goe ouer to receiue the same from all their hands, and to see all rights thereunto performed. Now, Master *Daneys* resolution being to goe ouer to water, we concluded that Master *Sophonie Cozock*, *George Muschamp*, *Robert Fuller*, and *Thomas Hodges*, should goe ouer for *Wayre* and *Rosfing* in the *Swan*, to performe the said business, or see it done, and the *Swan* there to water; after which dispatched, it was ordered that Master *Sophonie* should returne againe in the *Swan*, and the other three should remayne vpon the Iland of *Rosfing* for possession, till further order. All business being there ended according to our expectation, diuers men of *Wayre* and *Rosfing* desired, to lade Nuts and Mace in the *Swan*, and passage for *Polaroone*, there to sell their Spices to vs for Rice and Cloth. All being granted, they shipped twelue of themselves with Nuts and Mace, a great quantitie.

The *Swan* set saile and went for *Geulegola*, being but a little way from *Wayre*, as I vnderstand, and there watered; after which they set saile and eight leagues off land, a *Holland* ship or two gaue them chase; which they in the *Swan* perceiuing, asked the Master what he meant to doe, thinking that hee purposed to fight with them. Master *Daney* answered; they see my Colours and I see theirs, I know him to be a *Hollander*, they me to be an *Englishman*; I know no hurt I haue done them, and I stand for my Port of *Polaroone*. And in short time, the *Holland* ship the *Starre*, being come within shot, neuer haled the *Swan*, nor said word of their intent, but let flie great shot and small in most violent manner; the *Swan* hauing receiued two or three great shot thorow and thorow, before shee euer replied, and some of the men killed. The fight continued, as Master *Daney* writes, one houre and halfe, wherein fise men of the *Swan* were killed, viz. *Sophonie Cozock*, Merchant, beaten in pieces with a great shot; *Robert Morten*, quater-master and Drummer; *Christopher Droope*, *Edward Murtkin*, and a *Bandanese* of *Wayre*, a passenger. Three others were mayned, hauing lost Legs and Armes, and almost all hope of life, if not dead alreadie: More, eight men wounded, most of their wounds deadly. And in this their crueltie, a villaine of the *Starre* standing vpon the Poop with a drawne Sword, braued with these words, *English Villaines and Rogues, we will kill you all* (thus he spake in *Dutch*.) It seemeth that the *Swans* men were much discouraged, seeing many of their men lye dead, wounded, lamenting; insomuch that none would stand by the sailes to trimme the ship for their best advantage: so that the *Holland* ship lay still in her quarter powring in small shot and great, and so tooke her, bording her both Souldiers and others; brake vp Cabbins and pillaged them, and the men also in most base manner, both of clothes and all things else, throwing ouer bord what they liked not. The *Spaniard* neuer vsed more crueltie in their professed Warre. The *Starre* had in her one hundred and three score men, most Souldiers, taken from *Nero* and *Polaway* Castle: the *Swan* hauing not about thirtie able men to fight, the rest sicke and lame: and the men somewhat wearied out in toilesome labour at *Polaroone*, in landing the Ordnance and making two Forts.

Ten also of their companie were left in *Polaroone* to defend the Forts, two of which were Gunners, viz. *Harman Hammon*, and *Iohn Day*.

The *Swan* being taken they carried her presently vnder *Nero* Castle and all the men, shee being much battered and torne; they much glorying in their victorie, and shewing the *Bandanese* their exploit, in the great disgrace of the *English*, what they could, saying, that the King of *England* might not compare with their great King of *Holland*, and that one *Holland* ship would take ten of the *English* ships, and that *Saint George* is now turned child, and that they care not for the King of *England*.

The *Swan* being brought to *Nero*, they presently sent our men on shore and keepe them all prisoners, many of them in yrons, neither Man nor Boy hauing libertie. The *Swan* set saile from *Polaroone* the sixteenth of Ianuarie, 1616. wee expecting her returne in eight or ten dayes at furthest; but neuer heard of her till the fise and twentieth of Februarie by *Robert Fuller*, who being at *Rosfing* and *Wayre*, heard of an *English* ship vnder *Nero* Castle, and came ouer to *Polaroone* to acquaint vs herewith.

Presently we dispeeded away *Robert Hayes*, Purser of the *Defence*, with some principall men of *Polaroone*, to land vpon *Lantore* tide being our friends, so to goe as neere as might bee to the *Holland* ships, and to make signe to them by a white Flagge of Truce. Our Messenger stayd almost two houres. At last they came with their Boat to fetch him, but made him wade to the middle, and so carried him aboard one of the *Holland* ships. The Principall and Assistants of *Nero* meeting him aboard, our Messenger demanded, why they had taken the *Swan*, and what was become of the men, the reason of detayning the Ship, men and goods. They answered, that Time should bring to light. Our Messenger still vrging to know, and therefore he was sent, they vsed many disgracefull words of the *English*, and that they would come ouer to *Polaroone* with their forces, and driue vs from the Iland and other places. *Hayes* replied, they had alreadie done more then they could answere: and returned, without sight of any man of the *Swans* companie.

E e e

The Ile of *Rosfing* and Town of *Wayre* desire to surrender themselves, and to haue some goe to take the same surrender. The *Swan* and four Merchants goe to *Rosfing*, and take the surrender. The people of *Rosfing* and *Wayre* goe with goods to the *Swan*. The *Starre* takes the *Swan*, slaying fise men, vsing cruell violence, and proud insultation.

*Egregiam vero laudem!*

The surrender of *Polaroone* was taken in the *Swan*, so we procured another verbatim from the *Polaroone* men, which I haue brought with the Surrender of *Rosfing*, and deliuered both at *Bantam*, &c.

A Messenger sent to know why they took our ship. Their horish vsage of him.

Their vaunts and threats.

The



The English  
make knowne  
to the Hollan-  
ders that the  
Iland was En-  
glish.

The Hollanders  
could make no  
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laroone.

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Now our commission directed vs that hauing receiued the Surrender, and settled at *Polaroone*, we should giue notice vnto the *Hollanders* thereof by writing, that they should not come there to molest vs, as formerly they were accustomed, pretending ignorance. A Letter to the same effect we had readie written, but could not tell how to conuey it to them, not daring to send *English* or *Bandanefes* for feare of detention. These ships therefore comming into the Road wee sent *George Muschamp* aboard their Admirall the *Starre*, and hee deliuered the Letter to the Commander, called *Dedall*, aduising them to depart the Road before sixe Glasses were run, for that the Ilanders would not haue them stay in the Road, nor come neere them; and would haue shot vnto them from the shore, had not we caused them to forbear. Presently their Commander *Dedall* and their Predicant, came aboard the *Swan* to know the reason: wee told them that their comming was to doe vs iniurie, as formerly they had done at *Polaway*, *Cambella*, and other places; and how they had turned the Glasse for *Matter Ball*, hauing him in their possession, and threatening to hang him presently if hee caused not the *English* to come from Land forthwith. Also we then shewed them the surrender of *Polaroone*, and our right and possession there for his Maiestie of *England*, which we would hold and maintayne to our vtmost power: and wished them to be well aduised what they did, and that they would be shortly called to an account for their disgracefull words and abuses done to the *English*: demanding also of them the Iland of *Polaway*, as in right due to his Maiestie by lawfull surrender: further, demanding of them if they had any surrender of the Iland of *Polaroone*. But they could not say of any they had; and when wee shewed the surrender wee had vnto them, the Predicant hauing the same in his hand aboard the *Swan*, perusing it, said with these words, *This is a true Surrender*.

All this time the Glasse running in the great Cabin before their faces, put them in mind of being gone. We also told them, that their comming was onely to betray vs, and to put vs from the Iland by their treacherie, which our Nation hath diuers times had experience of: wherefore we neither could nor would trust them any more; and so put them in mind of being gone, for the Glasse sixe times run, they must expect shot from the shore: and if in case they did reply, and did shoote vnto the Land, or shewed any discourtesie or wrong vnto the people of *Polaroone*, we would take it as done to vs, and would defend them being now become our Kings subiects. They would haue stayd vntill the next day, but wee would not grant it, doubting that more of their Ships might haue come ouer. They then desired till mid-night, which wee granted if wee might see them about to way their Anchors: and that wee would send vnto the shore and perswade the *Bandanefes* to forbear. Also I demanded of *Dedall* the cause of their comming to molest vs, who answered, It had beene formerly a custome in passing by the Iland. I told him that was vntruth, for that the people of the Iland had reported vnto vs, that there was neuer any Christian ship in the Road till wee came, and that wee were the first. So hee was silent and would not mantayne his report. They came into the Road about three of the clocke in the afternoone, and departed thence about eleuen at night. Wee haue beene since informed that they came purposely to betray vs, and to haue beaten vs out of the Road, or to haue taken our ships; and had giuen the attempt, but that they perceiued we were fortified on the Land. If they had then begun, wee doubted not but to haue made our parties good with them. For wee had both Forts readie, and our Gunners readie to giue fire vpon our watchword or signe from the ships.

The tenth of Januarie, a *Holland* Ship and Pinnasse came forth from *Nero*: the Pinnasse came edging neere the small Iland or high sand adioyning to *Polaroone*, called *Nylacka*, belonging vnto *Polaroone*, and consequently to the *English*. There are no Inhabitants vpon the said Iland or sand, but it is full of Trees and Bushes, and *Polaroone* men resort thither daily to fish about the said small Iland. Now the said Pinnasse came neerer the said Iland and did sound the depth as shee went, which we perceiuing made foure shot at her from the *Defences Fort*, not intending to strike her, but shot wide, giuing them notice to forbear and be gone. The Pinnasse at euery shot replied with a Base, or some such like peece, vnto the small Iland amongst the Trees, where there were some *English* and some *Bandanefes* of *Polaroone*, which were in danger of their shot. And seeing they braued vs in such manner, the Gunner was bid to doe his best, who then made a shot, which fell close ouer them at the Sterne of their Pinnasse or Frigate, which made them crie out and presently get off. They were *Hollanders*, and seemed men which came to sound the depth and where to land, purposing to come with their forces, and there to fortifie and so to put vs from the great Iland.

Ianuarie the thirteenth, Master *Daney* complayning he wanted water, and purposing to goe ouer for *Wayre* vpon *Lantore* side and there to water, we acquainted the people of *Polaroone* herewith, who would by no meanes consent hee should goe out of the Road: neither would wee, doubting some iniurie from the *Hollanders*. And the people of *Polaroone* told vs, that they would rather fetch them water ouer vpon *Lantore* with their Prawes. I went presently aboard and acquainted Master *Daney* herewith, but He and the Companie would not yeeld hereunto, but spake all in generall against it, and said, that the *Bandanefes* would bring them raine water, or such as might bee vnholosome for his men to drinke: saying, it was but sixe or eight dayes time.

The



The same time there came ouer vnto vs from *Wayre*, a free Towne vpon *Lantore*, also from the Ile of *Rosfing* (an Iland of it selfe) the Principalls of both those places, to haue parly with vs, to surrender both the said *Wayre* and *Rosfing* vnto his Maiestie, as the people of *Polaroone* had lately done. Now, the surrender of both those places being drawne, and all concluded vpon at *Polaroone*, they desired that some *English* might goe ouer to receiue the same from all their hands, and to see all rights thereunto performed. Now, Master *Dauceys* resolution being to goe ouer to water, we concluded that Master *Sophonie Cozock*, *George Muschamp*, *Robert Fuller*, and *Thomas Hodges*, should goe ouer for *Wayre* and *Rosfing* in the *Swan*, to performe the said business, or see it done, and the *Swan* there to water; after which dispatched, it was ordered that Master *Sophonie* should returne againe in the *Swan*, and the other three should remayne vpon the Iland of *Rosfing* for possession, till further order. All business being there ended according to our expectation, diuers men of *Wayre* and *Rosfing* desired, to lade Nuts and Mace in the *Swan*, and passage for *Polaroone*, there to sell their Spices to vs for Rice and Cloth. All being granted, they shipped twelue of themselves with Nuts and Mace, a great quantitie.

The *Swan* set saile and went for *Geulegola*, being but a little way from *Wayre*, as I vnderstand, and there watered; after which they set saile and eight leagues off land, a *Holland* ship or two gaue them chase; which they in the *Swan* perceiuing, asked the Master what he meant to doe, thinking that hee purposed to fight with them. Master *Daucey* answered; they see my Colours and I see theirs, I know him to be a *Hollander*, they me to be an *Englishman*; I know no hurt I haue done them, and I stand for my Port of *Polaroone*. And in short time, the *Holland* ship the *Starre*, being come within shot, neuer haled the *Swan*, nor said word of their intent, but let flie great shot and small in most violent manner; the *Swan* hauing receiued two or three great shot thorow and thorow, before shee euer replied, and some of the men killed. The fight continued, as Master *Daucey* writes, one houre and halfe, wherein fise men of the *Swan* were killed, viz. *Sophonie Cozock*, Merchant, beaten in pieces with a great shot; *Robert Morten*, quater-master and Drummer; *Christopher Droope*, *Edward Murikin*, and a *Bandanese* of *Wayre*, a passenger. Three others were mayned, hauing lost Legs and Armes, and almost all hope of life, if not dead already: More, eight men wounded, most of their wounds deadly. And in this their crueltie, a villaine of the *Starre* standing vpon the Poop with a drawne Sword, braued with these words, *English Villaines and Rogues, we will kill you all* (thus he spake in *Dutch*.) It seemeth that the *Swans* men were much discouraged, seeing many of their men lye dead, wounded, lamenting; insomuch that none would stand by the sailes to trimme the ship for their best advantage: so that the *Holland* ship lay still in her quarter powring in small shot and great, and so tooke her, bording her both Souldiers and others; brake vp Cabbins and pillaged them, and the men also in most base manner, both of clothes and all things else, throwing ouer bord what they liked not. The *Spaniard* neuer vsed more crueltie in their professed Warre. The *Starre* had in her one hundred and three score men, most Souldiers, taken from *Nero* and *Polaway* Castle: the *Swan* hauing not aboue thirtie able men to fight, the rest sicke and lame: and the men somewhat wearied out in toilesome labour at *Polaroone*, in landing the Ordnance and making two Forts. Ten also of their companie were left in *Polaroone* to defend the Forts, two of which were Gunners, viz. *Harman Hammon*, and *Iohn Day*.

The Ile of *Rosfing* and Town of *Wayre* desire to surrender themselves, and to haue some goe to take the same surrender.

The *Swan* and four Merchants goe to *Rosfing*, and take the surrender. The people of *Rosfing* and *Wayre* goe with goods to the *Swan*.

The *Starre* takes the *Swan*, slaying fise men, vsing cruell violence, and proud insultation.

*Egregiam uero laudem!*

The surrender of *Polaroone* was taken in the *Swan*, so we procured another verbatim from the *Polaroone* men, which I haue brought with the Surrender of *Rosfing*, and deliuered both at *Bantam*, &c.

A Messenger sent to know why they took our ship. Their borish vsage of him.

Their vaunts and threats.

The

The *Swan* being taken they carried her presently vnder *Nero* Castle and all the men, shee being much battered and torne; they much glorying in their victorie, and shewing the *Bandanese* their exploit, in the great disgrace of the *English*, what they could, saying, that the King of *England* might not compare with their great King of *Holland*, and that one *Holland* ship would take ten of the *English* ships, and that *Saint George* is now turned child, and that they care not for the King of *England*.

The *Swan* being brought to *Nero*, they presently sent our men on shore and keepe them all prisoners, many of them in yrons, neither Man nor Boy hauing libertie. The *Swan* set saile from *Polaroone* the sixteenth of Ianuarie, 1616. wee expecting her returne in eight or ten dayes at furthest; but neuer heard of her till the fise and twentieth of Februarie by *Robert Fuller*, who being at *Rosfing* and *Wayre*, heard of an *English* ship vnder *Nero* Castle, and came ouer to *Polaroone* to acquaint vs herewith.

Presently we dispeeded away *Robert Hayes*, Purser of the *Defence*, with some principall men of *Polaroone*, to land vpon *Lantore* side being our friends, so to goe as neere as might bee to the *Holland* ships, and to make signe to them by a white Flagge of Truce. Our Messenger stayd almost two houres. At last they came with their Boat to fetch him, but made him wade to the middle, and so carried him aboard one of the *Holland* ships. The Principall and Assistants of *Nero* meeting him aboard, our Messenger demanded, why they had taken the *Swan*, and what was become of the men, the reason of detayning the Ship, men and goods. They answered, that Time should bring to light. Our Messenger still vrging to know, and therefore he was sent, they vsed many disgracefull words of the *English*, and that they would come ouer to *Polaroone* with their forces, and driue vs from the Iland and other places. *Hayes* replied, they had already done more then they could answer: and returned, without sight of any man of the *Swans* companie.

E e e e



The poore ship there lay rent and torne in view of the Countrey people. In short time after, they sent ouer vnto vs a Messenger with a Letter, which we answered, as we did others after sent, their Messenger still comming with a Flagge of Truce, all which said Letters and Surrenders I brought with me to *Bantam* and deliuered to Captayne *Ball*.

Reports that the Hollanders were preparing ships against *Polaroone*.

Hollanders practise to fire the ship Defence.

Hollanders threaten that we should haue no Spice from those Ilands:

Our people fortifie *Polaroone*.

Nine men went away in the Defence vnto the Hollanders: *John Christmas* Boatsons mate *John Owers*, *William Carter*, *Richard Taylor*, *Edward Bridges*, *John Harris*, *Will. Rockwell*, *Hugh Woodlock*.

The Hollanders encouraged by the Villaines that run away.

The people of *Lantore* wil not accord with the Hollanders.

Now we were still threatned by their Letters, as also by word of mouth from their Messenger, that as they had the *Swan*, so would they also come to fetch the *Defence*, and driue vs from the Iland. Wee still answered, that wee expected their comming in regard they had so often threatned vs, and that we would defend it as long as life lasted. Many brauado's they made, daily shooting at *Nero* and *Polaway*, fortie, fiftie and sixtie peeces of Ordnance, thinking to affright vs therewith. Also the people of *Lantore* brought vs word that they were fitting their ships, and shipping Planke and Earth, which wee imagined was for Land seruice, hauing then seuen Ships, foure Gallies and Frigats, and many men: and that they pretended to come ouer to fight with vs. And that they had instigated their *Blacks* (which are *Slaues*) that if they could by any meanes goe ouer to *Polaroone*, and there set on fire the *Defence*, they should be Free-men, as also some other reward they should haue. Also the Hollanders reported, that wee should carry no Spices from the Iland, or any the Ilands of *Banda*. Hereupon wee considered, that hauing made a contract with the people of *Polaroone*, *Wayre* and *Rosiging*, and had trusted our goods vnto them: Also a good quantitie of Nuts and Mace being readie to dispatch away, lying readie vpon *Polaroone*: The Hollanders threatning to come ouer and force vs from the said Iland of *Polaroone*, and to take the *Defence*: Hereupon we resolved, to maintayne the Honour of our King, and good of the honourable Companie our employers; to land all the gunnes out of the *Defence*, and all prouisions elie, and to fortifie vpon the small Iland adioyning vnto *Polaroone*, there being no people on the small Iland, but full of Trees and Bushes. And there the Hollanders purposed to haue landed and to haue fortified, which had they performed they would haue commanded the Road and done vs much iniurie; for that the people also of the Iland *Polaroone*, could not haue fished as they were accustomed, neither could the *English* haue come into the Road, but that they on the small Iland would haue beaten them off. And to preuent all dangers, we landed all the *Defences* Ordnance (onely foure great peeces, and some Bread and two Butts of Syder, also a Terce of wine) and were all fortifying vpon the said small Iland, with the helpe of the *Bandanefes*.

The Master of the *Defence*, Master *Hynsley*, being also on the small Iland, and all men else at worke, and landing things, some men being left aboard the said *Defence* to keepe the Ship, a conspiracy was plotted, and the same night the twentieth of March, 1616. either they let the Ship driue, or cut the Cables, and so droue off in the night, which we perceiuing from the small Iland, presently sent a Boate after them; aduising them to returne with the said Ship: but those Villaines would not heare them, neither suffer the Boate to come neere them, but bent their peeces against them, and discharged a Musket shot at them. They being not able to ouer-come them, forsooke the said Ship and came backe vnto vs at the small Iland, acquainting vs what had passed. The next day we perceiued they run into *Nero* Road, vnder saile, and vnder the command of *Nero* Cattle; some of the men went presently, as we vnderstand, on shoare, and meeting with the Hollanders, reported vnto them of their exploit, and contending amongst themselves who should be the best Pilot in conducting the Ship thither; one reporting it was I; and another, it was I: and as the Hollanders Messenger reported vnto vs, afterwards comming ouer vnto vs, that they brought a kan of Wine alhoare and dranke vnto the Hollanders, as soone as they came on shoare. Presently the Hollanders tooke possession of the said Ship the *Defence*, and had all the Villaines into their Castle, and examined them of all our proceedings at *Polaroone*; and they discouered all how we were fortified, and what passed amongst vs. These Villaines tooke the course to cut all our throats vpon *Polaroone*; for the going away of the Ship bred a ielousie in the *Bandanefes*, that it was a pretended plot amongst vs to ioyne with the Hollanders, and so to betray them. Also their discouering our weaknesse vpon *Polaroone* might haue encouraged the Hollanders to haue attempted, that in which else they perchance would haue doubted of victorie. And indeed, many sharpe threats wee had after the running away of these fellowes, and expected daily their comming ouer; which had they come it would haue cost many mans life. For their hauing taken the *Swan*, and killed our men, abusing them with imprisonment and fetters, and all the disgrace that might bee, hath much hardned the hearts of the *English* against them.

The three and twentieth of March, 1616. we dispeeded away a Letter vnto the Hollanders at *Nero*, by *Robert Fuller*, who being landed vpon *Lantore*, the people of *Lantore* being then in parley with the Hollanders, about a *Factorie*, that the Hollanders desired vpon *Lantore*, and also would build a Fort there, but the people of *Lantore* would not graunt it; This time our Messenger could not passe, but desired to stay three or foure dayes with kind words from the *Lantore* people, so our Messenger returned. The effect, to demand the *Defence*, Men and Goods.

The five and twentieth *dicto*, a Messenger came ouer vnto vs from *Laurence Ryall*, principall Generall, being newly come to *Nero* from the *Moluccas*, vnderstanding what had passed, desiring



ring to haue parley with vs, and would haue Master *Corthop* and my selfe to come in a Prow, and two of his principall Merchants should doe the like, and so to meete each other halfe way betwixt *Polaway* and *Polaroone*, to parley. But we refused their demand, doubting the treacherie, for they might haue men lye secret, and so carry vs away perforce.

Also the same time, and by the *Hollanders* Messenger, we receiued a Letter from Master *Daney* being prisoner at *Nero*. The effect, disliking of what we had done and still did maintayne, in keeping the said Iland of *Polaroone*, and that our commission could not warrant what we had done, and aduising vs to haue parley with the Generall, *Laurence Ryall*, and to come to some agreement that no more blood might be spilt. All which he hath written, I conceiue, was by the instigation of the *Hollanders*, possessing him with many vntruths; as hereafter it plainly appeareth: the first and principall they had so wrought him in humouring him, and made him beleue that they had our Kings Maiesties Letters to take any *English* ships, if they found them to the Eastward of the *Selebes*, which newes made vs much to maruaile: and that if any such things were, we must obey it.

Hereupon we did write a Letter vnto *Laurence Ryall* Generall, by his Messenger, that if he would send ouer vnto vs two of his principall Merchants, viz. *Henrick de Waterfoord*, and *Peeter Younge*, and to land them vpon the small Iland; and hauing receiued them into our charge, Master *Corthop* and one more to attend vpon him, would presently goe ouer, so their Messenger departed; and two dayes after, viz. the third of Aprill, returned with this answer, The two Merchants, before named, which we desired for pledges could not come: the one gone to Sea in the *Horne*, the other his businesse such, being principall Booke-keeper, could not be spared. The said *Laurence Ryall* propounding two others lately come ouer, and principall Merchants, called *Cornelius Neep* and *Hans Rogers*. Wee returned the said Messenger, accepting them: And the sixt of Aprill their Galley came ouer vnto vs and brought these two men. Presently receiued them into our charge, and a Tent being set vp neere the place where they landed, there lodged them, because they should not come neere our Forts to take any view how we were fortified, and placed a Guard alwayes about the Tent, twelue *English* men with small shot, and that they might receiue no wrong of the *Bandanefes*. Presently Master *Corthop* went into their Galley and went ouer to *Nero*, and arriued there neere night and was receiued; no words passed that night but referred vntill next day: so the next day did discourse many Oppositions on both sides, which I leaue to relate because of the Letter of Master *Corthop*, which I brought from *Banda* and deliuered vnto Captayne *Ball*, will certifie your Worships at large. Onely a little I will touch, Many threatening words they vsed, and spake of many abuses they had receiued by the *English*. Imprimis, that Sir *Henric Middleton* did weare the *Hollands* colours in the Red Sea, in the Trade, and gaue out they were *Hollanders*. Master *Corthop* replied, that was an vntruth, for that hee came forth in the said Ship, and continued in her as long as shee rigned, and neuer knew her to weare *Hollands* colours; and replied, That Sir *Henric* was a Gentleman that much scorned to weare the *Hollands* colours. Also reported, That they had the King of *Englands* Letters to take any *English* to the Eastward of the *Selebes*. So Master *Corthop* vrged them that he might see the same, and that if they could shew him that we would obey it and begone, but they could shew no such Letter. Diuers other things they alleaged, but no truth; and many perswasions to leaue the Iland of *Polaroone*, perswading him the great error we were run into in holding the same. All this while, Master *Daney*, neither any the *English* were permitted to come neere Master *Corthop*. The Generall, *Laurence Ryall*, seeing hee could not preuaile and to haue his desire, grew much discontented, and threw his Hat on the ground, and pulled his Beard for anger: Master *Corthop* answering him, that hee could doe nothing of himselfe, but was ioyned to a counsaile being Assistants, and would relate what had passed when he came to *Polaroone*, and that we would consider of it, and so write our direct answer. Thus I aduised him to say, that he might get the more freely away: Also Master *Corthop* demanded the Defence, Men and Goods in their possession, but they would deliuer neither Ships nor Men except vpon composition. Thus being *Laurence Ryalls* demand, that we would permit him to come with his Ships and Gallies vnto the small Iland adioyning to *Polaroone*, where our Castle is and twelue peeces of Ordnance, and there to land his Men and his Ordnance, and being possessed, would deliuer vnto vs the *Swan* and Defence, and all our Men; and for the goods, he would make restitution to all to a penny. All this would not doe; then to conclude, Desired Master *Corthop* to set his hand vnto a Note which hee had drawne, The effect, That the said *Laurence Ryall* had made these proffers vnto vs; Master *Corthop* likewise refused and would not put his hand hereunto.

Now, they had so wrought with Master *Daney*, that they were perswaded that hee would perswade somewhat: he was sent for by the Generall, and admitted into the roome with Master *Corthop*. So Master *Corthop* and he had much discourse, speaking of the Letter which they should haue, and was perswaded that it was true, and that we continued in a great error. Then Master *Corthop* acquainted him what had passed in discourse with *Laurence Ryall*, and what proffer we had made him, if he would shew vs the said Letters: which Master *Daney* perceiuing

Offers of parly betweene the *Hollanders* Agents and Factors of *Polaroone*.

*John Danis* his iudgement by information of the *Hollanders*.

*Nath. Corthop* vpon pledge goeth to parly with the *Hollanders* at *Nero*.

The *Hollanders* accuse our people of vntruths.

The *Hollanders* report that they haue our Kings Letters for taking of ships, &c. all vntruths.

The *Hollanders* denie to restore our ships; but vpon conditions to render *Polaroone*.

*Laurence Ryall*.



The men of the *Swan* did complaine of want of food and clothing, in their imprisonment in the *Hollanders* hands, and that they had fate in Iudgement vpon them, and giuen sentence vpon them. A Prow sent toward *Bantam* from *Polaroone*.

uing so reasonable a proffer, which they could not, accordiug as they had verified vnto him, make good: Master *Danie* presently in great furie railed against them all, saying, they had done him great iniurie, in telling him and possessing him with so many fallhoods: and further said, that they promised him and his men good quarter, but his men complained much of want of food, and clothing, and hard vñage; and that they had fate in Iudgement vpon him and his companie, and had giuen them all condemnation, there to remaine vntill they heard out of *Holland*; and could be content to remaine, so as we could keepe them from the Iland of *Polaroone*, &c. So Master *Corthop* tooke his leaue and was brought ouer againe vnto vs, and being landed, we presently released their hostage, and so departed for *Nero*. Now the easterly Monson being come, we fitted a *Bandan* Prow to dispeed away from *Bantam*, to giue aduise what had passed. It was concluded, my selfe, Mr *Hynsley* Master of the *Defence*, and others, to the number of foure *English*, and fourteene *Bandanese* of *Polaroone* should goe. Wee had the greater number of men, doubting of the *Hollanders* laying wait for vs, whereby we might by rowing free our selues, and indeed the Principals of *Polaroone* desired it. These which wee brought, five of them are principall men, one is the *Sabandors* sonne, the principall of the Iland his father is; the other foure are *Orencayas*, and the rest their seruants: These also came to deliuer the Nutmeg tree and earth of the said Iland, and to manifest their loues vnto the *English*.

A *Holland* ship and pinasse gaue chase.

Wee set sayle from *Polaroone* the seuenteenth of April, 1617. and as wee fell with *Bottone*, standing our course for *Moccafors*, we discovered a great ship and pinasse, they seeing vs, gaue vs chase baring a presse saile, so that wee had no way to escape them, onely wee must perforce stand in for *Bottone*, and did. Halfe a day they gaue vs chase, and had fetcht vs vp had we not rowed hard, so we were neere the Towne of *Bottone* by night, thinking they would not haue come so farre into the riuer. Next morning wee perceiued this ship and pinasse, almost within Musket shot of vs, presently we landed most of what we had in our Prow, and carried it into the Woods, and went presently vnto the King, and gaue him a Present (such things as we had) to the value of thirtie Rials, desiring his protection, which he promised vs in all kind manner, and sent his seruants to put all our things in house, and put vs into two seuerall houses to lodge, and to keepe in, that we were not seene abroad; so wee tooke our leaue. Wee were no sooner gone but presently comes the *Hollanders*, and giues a Present three times the value of what wee gaue, enquiring what we were that were landed: but the King replied, that he did not know. The King demanding them how long they meant to stay, they said, sixe dayes: hereupon the King aduised vs to stay so long time, to see if they will goe or not, that wee might goe with the more securitie. The sixe dayes being expired, they would stay sixe dayes longer to mend their Mast, as they reported. So, seeing their intent, and our Prow lying in view of their ship and Pinasse, that we could not goe about to fit our Prow, but they would haue taken notice thereof. Wherefore I bought a Prow, and the King commanded all our things to bee carried by his slaues into the same, lying out of sight of the ship. And all things being fitted, sent his men out of the riuer, passing neere the *Holland* ship with the prau, and to carrie her about on the backside of the Iland, and sent fiftie men with vs, and conueighed vs ouer land vnto the said Prow, where we went presently aboard, and kept vnder the Iland vntill neere night, and so stood our course for *Moccafors*, heard no more of them. Wee were enformed that the *Hollanders* kept watch euery night vpon the water neere our *Bandan* Prow at *Bottone*.

We by the help of the King of *Bottone*, got another prau, and came to *Bantam*.

Wee arriued at *Moccafors* the seuenth of May, 1617. and there we found the *Attendance* pretended for *Banda*, but could not beat it vp, the Easterly Monson being come. So we shipped in the *Attendance*, an hundred and eightie suckets of Mace which was bought at *Moccafors*, and sent the Prow for *Beniarmasin* and *Suckadania* for aduice, and that a supplie of goods was not yet come to furnish those parts, as was pretended, for that the *Salomon* was not arriued yet at *Bantam*, being long expected.

The surrendrie of the Ile of *Banda*, brought to *Bantam*, and deliuered to Master *Ball*.

The third of Iune wee arriued with the *Attendance* at *Bantam*, vnderstanding of the death of Captaine *George Barkley*. And Master *Ball* succeeding him Captaine of the house: vnto him I deliuered all things, viz. two Surrenders, the *Hollanders* Letters, and other Copies of Letters to them written by vs, and all things else of our proceedings in *Banda*; all which, I doubt not, but your Worships shall receiue by the first conuayance.

Also, may it please your Worships to vnderstand, the Messenger that came ouer first vnto vs from the *Hollanders*, hauing beene with vs two seuerall times, with Letters from the Principals of the *Hollanders* at *Banda*; This Fellow called *Christopher van Loare*, as he reported, came ouer vnto vs in a Prow, and three *Blacks* with him, saying, that he was runne from the *Hollanders* vpon discontent, the Captaine of *Nero* hauing abused him, and that he loued the *English*, and would serue vs: also was exceeding earnest with vs, presently vpon his comming ouer, and importuned vs extraordinarily, that we should goe that night vpon the Iland of *Polaway* with fiftie men, and he would warrant vs the Iland of *Polaway*, and would bring vs so that we should take the Castle, discovering vnto vs his plots. I could not beleue him, but told him, that hee was sent to betray vs; This fellow hereupon protested, and swore most deeply to the contrarie, and that the *Hollanders* would presently hang him, if euer they did take him. Wee told him, wee



we would not seeke it by force of Armes, for wee had no commission so to doe: not doubting but they would be made to deliuer the said Iland, by right of Law and Iustice: the *English* hauing the first possession and surrender of the said Iland, and were by force of Armes put from it. Vpon his protestations, Master *Corthop* accepted of him, and gaue him libertie, and went with him wheresoeuer he went vpon the Iland, so that he saw all our fortifications and occurrences of businesse (which much grieued me, for I counsailed him many times to lay him fast, at the first place where he was receiued, which was vpon the *Defence*-fort, and told him often my opinion, that he was a villaine, and was sent to betray vs; also it was the opinion of the *Bandanefes*;) yet all would not perswade Master *Corthop*: so I thought good to haue him with mee to *Bantam*, and that he might bee sent for *England*, for that hee knew of all wrongs the *Hollanders* haue done vnto vs. And he hath said vnto mee and others, that the three ships that were with vs at *Polaroone*, which before I noted, came purposely to fight with vs, and to haue beaten vs from the Iland; and that the *Horne* had plancke, bricke, and lime, and other prouision to fortifie vpon *Polaroone*, or the small Iland, but that wee were before hand. Also hee did manifest vnto vs of foure other great ships that were sent from *Nero*, which ships wee saw come forth, and plied for *Polaroone*: but they were by the strong currant put to leeward, and so forced for *Amboyna*. Also he told vs, that their condemned slaues were set to worke to fire the *Defence* at *Polaroone*; and if they could performe it, they should haue their libertie, and bee free-men. All this he manifested and auerred to be true. Within three dayes after our arriuall at *Mocca-*  
 20 *for*, this Fellow published that the *Swan* was taken by one of their Pinnaßes, and other disgracefull words tending to the disgrace of the *English*: which as soone as I heard thereof, I presently charged the Master of the *Attendance* with him, and so sent him aboard: hereupon hee vowed to haue my life. Shortly after we set sayle for *Bantam*, and comming neere, put him in the Bilboes, and searched him and his Chest for Letters which he might haue of aduice, to conuay vnto the *Hollanders*, and found a draught, which (hee said) was of *Polaway* Castle; also a Letter pretended vnto the principall of the *Hollanders*, or *English* at *Bantam*: all which I deliuered vnto Captaine *Ball*. This fellow reported he was a director in the building of the Forts at *Polaway*, and that he had experience therein: and when hee came ouer to vs, brought two hundred Rials of eight. So at my arriuall at *Bantam*, I did acquaint Captaine *Ball* of busineses,  
 30 and aduised that the fellow might be carefully looked to, and kept prisoner, that hee ranne not away, to doe vs hurt. He willed to haue him brought ashore; My selfe and others went and fetched him and deliuered him prisoner in the house. Captayne *Ball* had some discourse with him, who it is likely gaue him good words, as formerly he had done, with many protestations of his loyaltie: and had his libertie in the house (neuer made fast with yrons, nor in any roome.) And many times I spake to Captayne *Ball*, to make him sure, and told him he would watch his time to run away: whose answere was, he should run if he would, little regarding it, it much greening me to harbour a Traytor in our bosomes. Hee hauing beene two moneths in the house, the second of August, 1617. got out, and ran into the *Dutch* house, whereas I had aduised to keep him sure, and send him in the first ship for *England*, so to haue witnessed against the *Hollanders*,  
 40 as he must haue acknowledged and spoken truth vpon oath; which would much haue aduantaged your Worships in the prosecution in Law, touching the mayne businesse.

The foure and twentieth of August, 1617. departed from *Bantam* an *Holland* ship of aduice directly for *Holland*: and two dayes after her departure, they reported here, that ten *Englishmen* were sent in the said ship for *Holland*. What they are, we cannot learne, but imagine them the men that ranne away in the *Defence*, the *Hollanders* thinking to make them say any thing, by their instigation, which may make for them. And it may be, they will say, that the *Defence* was left as a Wracke, which is not so. The Master and Companie would haue gone away for *Bantam*, but we held it not good: for that the people of *Polaway* vnderstanding thereof were discontented, and said, that we had built a Fort for the *Hollanders*. The Master writing a note,  
 50 that he would set saile that night, hauing no goods at all in the ship, Master *Corthop* was going aboard to perswade the Master and Companie to the contrarie: which the *Polaroone* men vnderstanding, called presently a Councell, and shewed many reasons that it was not fitting the ship should goe away, and would not let Master *Corthop* goe aboard by any meanes, doubting of his going away. It was propounded, that I might goe aboard to perswade the Master, or to command him and the rest to stay; and to charge them, that if they went, if wee lost liues and goods, it should be laid to their charge. Long it was before the *Bandanefes* would permit mee, so iealous were they; but at last, through our earnest request granted it, and sent sixe men with me of *Polaroone*. I acquainted Master *Hinsley* the Master, and the Companie, of the many inconueniences and dangers, both of losse of goods and liues, and scandall to our Nation, and  
 60 that if we should haue gone about to haue laden Spices, the *Hollanders* would presently haue had notice thereof, and laid wait to haue taken the ship, and brought all into their hands: neither had wee men, munition, or victuall, to maintayne the Iland of *Polaroone*, nor the small Iland *Nelaro* adioyning. All the ships companie would haue gone away, being vnruely and peruerse, saying, they came not to be souldiers, nor would they stay: so that we were faine to giue

The Ile of *Polaway* taken from vs by force of Armes. A counterfeit messenger or dissembling run-away.

The *Hollanders* suborned their slaues to set fire vpon the ship *Defence*.

Captaine *Ball*.

The counterfeit *Hollander* suffered to escape by the toleration of *G. Ball*.

*Hollanders* sent ten *Englishmen* from *Bantam* to *Holland*.

The Mariners were kept at *Polaroone* with much difficulty.



way, and intreat them by faire meanes, like children, so little in their resolution regard they what may enlue, caring for nothing so they may get free. The people of *Polaroone* perceiuing a difference amongst vs, did murmure, taxing vs with our promises before mentioned: and that if the *Defence* and men went away, wee could not resist the *Hollanders* our mortall enemies, whom wee expected daily. And if they came and had the victorie, wee that should there remaine, must expect none other but rigour on both sides. The People of *Polaroone* would haue conceited that we betrayed them, and the *Hollanders* would haue had no remorse, setting their slaues a worke to murther, wherein themselves would not haue beene seene. And should they haue gayned either the great Iland, or the small (as they might and would haue done, had not the ship stayed) we had lost all, goods, debts, credit of our Nation, without hope euer to bee there respected. All things considered, we resolved the *Defence* to stay and land all things: and to let her ride it out vntill further opportunities. But in the meane time, these villaines ranne away with the said *Defence*, endangering all, and therefore worthie of death.

The runawaies in the *Defence* in many respects worthie of death.

170. suckles of Mace shipped in a lunk with eight English, which was lost by the negligence of one *Stacie*, who had charge of her.

At my comming from *Polaroone*, it was concluded by vs, that another Praw should bee sent for *Bantam* for aduice, twentie dayes after our departure, doubting the *Hollanders* might haue pursued and taken vs (as they did their best) and so all our proceedings had beene obscure. Accordingly a Praw was sent, and therein laden an hundred and seuentie suckles Mace (contayning three thousand three hundred sixtie sixe Catees, at a Riall the Catee, each Catee sixe English and neere two ounces better) which if it might haue come safe, it would haue yeilded in *England* five thousand pound. In the said Praw were eight English, and thirtie *Bandanefes*: the charge committed to one *Walter Stacie*, once Master *Hinsleys* Mate in the *Defence*. But it seemeth his knowledge and care answered not our expectation: for neere the Iland of *Bottom*, he ranne the Praw vpon the shoies, being rockie ground, and there bilged her, and lost all the Mace; the men got ashore. *Stacie* is put in fault by the rest of the companie, for that some of them told him they saw land on the lee bowe, but he being peeuish and headstrong, called them all fooles, not regarding it.

Hollanders brags that they can make friends in Court, &c.

Also may it please your Worships to vnderstand, that the *Hollanders* hauing beene by some of our people, told of their vile abuses done vnto vs, and that it will lie heauie vpon them at home, being knowne; the better sort of them haue replied, that *they can make as good friends in the Court of England as you* (the Honourable Companie our Employers) *can*: and that *this which they haue done, will cause you, the Honourable Companie, and them to ioyne, and that a chaine of gold will recompence all, and that they haue Rials enough in Holland to pay for a ship or two, so as they may hinder vs from the trade at Banda.*

John Dawie had 700. Rials of eight by him when he was taken: and further feare.

All being considered, we hope, you the right Honourable and Worshipfull, our Employers, will so prize the blood of your seruants, by them murthered, maymed, and wounded, the rest all prisoners: also all damages, interests, and hinderances in the returne of ships and goods; also poore mens percutular losses, as also Master *Corthop*, my selfe, *Sophonie Cozocke*, and *George Muschampe*; wee all presuming what we had in the *Swan* to be as sure as on the shoare, and now haue lost all: that they may better aduise themselves how they attempt the like againe. Likewise Master *Dawie* told me many times, that if it pleased God to send him well home, he would come forth no more, finding himselfe decayed and weake in bodie, and that hee had fixe or seuen hundred Rials to employ, with which returne, and other his wages, hee should haue a competent liuing: all which money (as farre as I can learne) he had by him when hee was taken: now these crosses, I am perswaded, will kill him; or else, I doubt, they will make him away by poysoning him, that he shall neuer see *England* againe.

Description of *Polaroone*, &c.

The profitable trade.

Now, for aduice as touching the trade at *Banda*, the Iland of *Polaroone* is reported to be the worst Iland, and is about eight English miles compasse: and the small Iland adioyning called *Neluco*, about one English mile compasse. There is prettie store of Mace and Nuts growing vpon *Polaroone*, and more would be if it were well husbanded. *Lantore* and *Rosinging* yeeld great store. *Rosinging* is a fine Iland, and yeeldeth the largest Nuts and Mace. Now, if we hold *Polaroone*, we cannot want Spice: for the people of *Lantore*, *Rosinging*, and other places thereabouts, will come ouer to vs, and bring their Spices, if we bring Rice, Cloth, Salt, Pepper, Mel-lases, and other Necessaries for food, and some *Moccasor* gold, which will passe at *Banda*, as currant as Rials of eight, and at the same rate, being worth at *Bantam* but two shillings foure pence, or two shillings six pence the piece, called *Masse*. Our Cargason which we had was but small, hauing but one hundred quoyes of Rice, our Cloth at *Moccasor* much decayed, lying there two or three yeeres. If we had had three times as much Cloth and Spices, we could haue sold it all for Nuts and Mace at *Polaroone*: and were intreated for Rice and Cloth by *Lantore* and *Rosinging* men, and others; but had it not for them: and some returned with part of their Spices home againe. They come ouer to *Polaroone* with Prawes and Correcorries in the night. The Mace and Nuts were very good, but lying so long must needs decay, by the many molestations of the *Hollanders*; we hauing no time, nor lime to make wherewith to preserue the Nuts. The Trade will proue profitable, if we may quietly enioy the Iland, and we must buy Rice at a lower rate then at *Moccasor*, it being by report at *Lipin* about halfe the price.

May



May it please your Worships to vnderstand, that after my arriuall at *Bantam*, the Steward of the House being at the Market to buy prouisions, the *Hollanders* Steward there present quarrelled with him, whereof (whiles they contended) notice was giuen at the *Dutch* House: and presently *Tymon* (the second Merchant) ran forth with twentie *Japons*, and *Hollanders*, and *Blacks*, to the *Basar* or Market, running vpon our Steward with their drawne weapons, he hauing but two *English* all disarmed, enforcing them to shift and giue way. Meane while *Richard Hunt*, chanced to come by and drew his sword, whom presently they assaulted and gaue him three wounds, whereof he dyed within fifteene dayes after on the foure and twentieth of Iuly, 1617. Notice hereof being brought to the *English* house, we with our *Japons* ran forth and met with them, before they could recouer their House, and wounded two *Hollanders*, whereof both dyed shortly after; also one of their *Blacks* then killed out-right, and one or two more of them were hurt; and so draue them home to their House. They gaue after that great words, that they would put vs all to the Sword, and did lye in wait for our people with their Pistolls and Peeces, whereof wee had notice by the *Ianans*, and stood vpon our Guard night and day to receiue them, if they had giuen any attempt on the House, or abroad.

Now concerning the Ilands of *Banda*, and especially *Polaway*, Captaine *Castleton* might haue made it sure vnto the *English*, as I haue heard reported by diuers: and the *English* haue still more right on that Iland, both by Law and Iustice, then the *Hollander*, although by force of Armes they put the *English* from it. The easie obtayning, and Captaine *Castleton* denying the right and possession the *English* had there (as it is reported) emboldned the *Hollanders* to vse the violence at *Polaroone*. And except it bee supplied this yeere, and the possession maintayned, the name of *English* is vtterly disgraced, and little hope of being receiued there againe: which if we hold vntill your Worships haue resolued what to doe herein, wee shall in short time procure as much Nuts and Mace as they; which may in time prooue an entrance into the *Moluccas* for Cloues. The *Hollanders* pretend they haue right vnto the *Moluccas* and *Banda* by the King of *Ternates* \* sonne, hauing him prisoner. But the *Bandanefes* denie any right the King of *Ternate* hath in their Ilands, euery Iland being free of it selfe, and gouerned by *Sabandors* and *Orencayas*, generally appointed. Now it is meet that a supply be sent the *Bandanefes* and *English*, for Rice, Victuals and Cloth, and other necessaries, to hold the possession, and bring away the Nuts and Mace there in readinesse, in *Godownes*. The *Hollanders* giue out that they will take your ships that shall goe into those parts and cut them off, so to famish both *English* and *Bandanefes*. So your Worships may charge them of all damage already done, and may expect to heare of further abuses from them. Wherefore it requireth an earnest and speedie prosecution, that wee may quietly trade without molestation vnto those parts, that haue surrendred and desired Trade with vs: viz. *Polaway*, a Paradise by report (the *Hollanders* report it to bee as good vnto them, as *Scotland* to his Maiestie) *Polaroone*, *Rosinging* and *Wayre*, *Wayre* being a Towne vpon *Lantore*. And if in case of necessitie your Worships cannot agree for *Polaway*, yet if you may enioy the three last, we shall procure Nuts and Mace enough for *England*, as also to transport both thence and hence for *Surat*, and other places in the *Indies*. Now is the time or neuer vpon the vile abuse of bloudshed and murther committed by the *Hollanders*. And for the Trade there, it will proue very profitable, I make no doubt. What hath passed formerly, I doubt not, but Captaine *Jordan* hath certified at large; what since, my selfe. It is requisite that I should relate the particulars of all Occurrences, in respect the businesse is of so great importance. Here is bound home for *England* the *Charles* and *Hope*, I pray God send them well at *London*. I haue sent your Worships a brieue abstrackt of our *Cargason* for *Banda*, and sales there made. If I seeme tedious, I humbly craue pardon: with my humble dutie I end, beseeching the Almighty to prosper and giue good successe to all your designes: humbly taking leaue.

A land quarrel  
at *Bantam* with  
the *Hollanders*.

A very *Timon*.

Our right by  
Law and Equi-  
tie vnto *Pola-  
way*.

\* In the quar-  
rels first moou-  
ed betwixt  
Capt. *Keeling*  
and them, 1609  
they neuer  
make such  
Title, but pre-  
tended agree-  
ment, and in-  
tended and ex-  
tended force.  
See aboue pag.  
202. their own  
Articles of  
their right.

50

Your Worships most humble seruant in all dutie,

THOMAS SPURWAY.

Endorsed. To the Honorable and Right Worshipfull  
Companie of the Merchants of London, Trading to  
the East Indies, these be deliuered.

By Captaine Henrie Pepwell, whom God preserve.

60



## CHAP. IIII.

*Relations and Remembrances, taken out of a large Iournall of a Voyage, set forth by the East Indian Societie, wherein were employed, the Iames, the Anne, the New-yeeres Gift, the Bull, and the Bee; written by JOHN HATCH, Master of the Bee, and after in the New-yeeres Gift; and lastly, came home in the Iames.*

1617.



Saldania Bay.

The Hound.

Molala or Molahia.

Sea white.

Current to the South South West. Socotora.

A great Current to the North.

Danger by leak, of this you have Master Prings own report, in his relation writt n since this, which hereafter followeth.

A prize. English men of warre.

Swat.

Damon.

1618.  
\* This voyage you have hereafter.

Brinion, Brim John or Brim John.  
How to know it.

He fift of March, 1616. we set saile from the Downes. The seuen and twentieth 10  
1617. we saw the *Canaries*. Aprill the tenth, we met the *Tornadas* in sixe degr. From thence to the twentieth, wee obserued a Current setting to the North. The thirtieth, the *Tornadas* left vs, in latitude thirtie minutes North, longitude three hundred and fiftie degrees fiftene minutes, that night we crossed the Line. Iune the one and twentieth, we came to anchor in *Saldania Bay*, accompanied with the *Gift* and the *Bull*, hauing lost our Admirall and Vice-Admirall the night before, by fogs and hazie weather. They came in the next day. There we found riding the *Hound*, wherein was Master *William Iourdaine*. Here we could get no refreshing for our sicke men, wherefore on the first of Iuly, some were sent to march vp into the Countrey to get prouision, which they did (without losse of any, onely two hurt) in great abundance. The thirteenth, wee set saile 20 from the Bay. August the thirteenth, we anchored in the Road of *Molala*. The seuenteenth, we had both our Cables cut with the Rocks. The eighteenth, we set saile from thence.

The five and twentieth, in latitude at noone foure degrees fortie foure minutes, longitude fiftie three degrees five minutes by iudgement, we found our selues hindred by some Current: at sixe in the euening the water was changed white, and at seuen as white as any Whay, which made the Skie also white and hazie. This night we sounded often and had no ground: thus the water continued all night in the strangest manner that euer I saw, vntill the day light did alter it. It so continued together with the Current: the sixe and seuen and twentieth was but little whitish, and the Current also forsooke vs. The fourth of September, we passed by *Socatra*, but came not within sight by reason of the Monson, lest it should be done before we came to *Swat*. Wee 30 found in the foure dayes before that, by helpe of a Current, the ship had passed three score leagues more then otherwise shee could haue run; which now left vs. The seuenth, a leake sprung in the Admirall (which Master Copeland, their Minister, hath with much feeling related how dangerous, either by villanie or negligence of the Shipwrights, as after appeared, when they came to careene her: being a great hole slightly stopped, and much hazarding ship, goods and men: they had none other meane there in deepe water to stop it, but by stitching a Bonet or piece of a saile full of Ockam or calking stuffe, which by force of the water running into the ship, being haled downe to the place, was sucked and forced in, and so stayed the leake till it selfe decayed in time, then the leake renewing, and againe stopped: which in the careening was found and remedied.) On the eleuenth, it was stopped. The twelfth, we tooke a Portugall ship which came from *Mosambeek*, laden principally with Ele- 40 phants teeth, and bound for *Din*.

In the sixteenth, we saw two Iunks, one of them chased by two Ships, which were the *Francis* and the *Lion*, Ships set forth by ( ) The Iunke they chased was the *Grat Molgols Mothers*, of the burthen of twelue or fourteene hundred Tunnes, hauing in her aboue a thousand persons, and nine and twentie Tunne of siluer (some report more a great deale) wee chased the Chasers, and in the euening came vp vnto them with the *Bee* and the *Gift*, and so saued the Iunke, with whom and her two Chasers, we anchored on the twentieth, betweene the Riuer of *Swat* and the Barre of *Swally*.

The thirteenth of March, wee weighed: the fifteenth at night, wee anchored to the South west of *Damon*. The seuenteenth, the *Anne* departed from vs to the \* Red Sea. The seuen and twentieth, 1618. wee espyed many sailes and fetched them vp with the *Bee*, being five and 50 twentie saile (fourteene saile of Frigats men of Warre, eleuen of Merchants the *Molucca* fleet) and two great Gallies of *Goa*, which exchanged some shot with vs, but alsoone as they could cleare themselves from vs, went away: and being so farre off at Sea, they all escaped vs, not without great trouble, in three Vessels, whence they heaued Chitts and other things ouer-board, to make roome for their Oares, and eight of them got into *Cochin*, the rest to *Goa*.

The nine and twentieth, came aboard a Boat with one Woman and foure Men from the King of *Calecut*. The Woman was interpreter and spake *Portuguese*. Aprill the first, we came to anchor two miles to the North of the Road of *Brim John*. About two leagues to the North of *Brim John* is a red Cliffe, and to the South of it a low sandie shore, and the next high Land or Cliffe is within a mile of the Road of *Brim John*, where on the second wee anchored. Master *Coytmore* and I agreed the next day with the Gouvernour for fortie Rials to water there, and seuentie men were landed to guard the watering place for feare of poysoning; for they are treacherous people, which also came armed the next day very strong, and would not permit vs vnder twentie Rials more. The



The twelfth of Aprill, we had much adoe (the Current setting vs right on the Iland of Zelon, halfe a league from Cape de Galia) to double it with tacking off and on that night. The thirteenth, the Generall came aboard the *Gift*, and established mee Master of her. The fourteenth, the *Bee* departed from vs for the Coast of *Coromandell*. The sixe and twentieth, we were neere the Southerly Iland of *Nicobar*. The nine and twentieth, wee anchored on the Mayne of *Sumatra*, the high Hill *Lambre* (by some called *Pedire*) bearing South South east halfe East from vs, and the East point of *Achen* Road West by North halfe North, foure leagues and halfe off. The King his Courtiers with his Women were there on hunting, who the next day sent his Chop by the *Sabander* and *William Nicholas*, our chiefe Factor there: at whose parting wee gave  
 10 twentye pieces of Ordnance to honour the Kings presence and his Women, which was well taken, and went the same night neerer to *Achen*: and anchored the first of May, a little to the West of the Court.

Master Hatch  
made Master  
of the New-  
yeeres Gift.  
*Nicobar*.

The tenth of June, wee weighed to goe for *Teco*, but with foule weather were put backe againe. The nineteenth, we againe set saile. The fourth of August, we came to an anchor in the Road of *Teco*. The first of September, we set saile for *Bantam*, where on the two and twentieth we anchored. On the five and twentieth, arrived there the *French* Pinnasse from *Iambe*, on the Coast of *Sumatra*. On the thirtieth, came in the *Vnicorne* from *Musulpatan*. The fourth of October, we set saile for *Iaquatra*, and then anchored on the sixt; and thence againe on the twentieth to *Bantam*, with the *James*, *Vnicorne* and *Bee*. The seven and twentieth, the *James* had her  
 20 leake brake out againe, which did increase by report two foot water in a glasse, and five foot in hold before they knew of it. The eight and twentieth, they stitched a Bonnet with Ockam, and haled it vnder her, which hauing beene there a quarter of an houre, the leake stopped, so that the water increased not aboue halfe an inch in an houre. They resolved to careene her, and we hasted to get out our Ordnance and Prouisions. The twelfth of Nouember, shee was in like case, and men were sent from euery ship to pump her (and haling the Bonnet againe to her keele, shee was thight as before) at the Iland where shee was to be careened.

Leake againe  
in the *James*.

The fifteenth, the *Rose* anchored at *Palamban* point from *Teco*. The nineteenth, foure Ships out of *England*, the *Moone*, the *Cloue*, the *Samson*, and the *Pepper-corne*; Sir *Thomas Dale* and  
 30 Captaine *Iourdain* being both in the *Cloue*; the *Sunne* being lost at the Iland of *Inganio*, and the *Globe* lost their companie betweene the Cape of *Good Hope* and *Saint Lawrence*. They had most of their men sicke at their arriuall. The eight and twentieth, they anchored by vs at the Iland, being in all thirteene saile, the *James*, *Gift*, *Vnicorne*, *Cloue*, *Samson*, *Moone*, *Pepper-corne*, *Thomas*, *Bee*, *Aduise*, *Rose*, little *Francis*, and the *Prize*. This afternoone the *Sunnes* Skiffe came aboard the *Moone* from *Inganio* with the Master and Cape Merchant, the Minister, and twentye men more, the Ship being split in pieces, and all her sicke men drowned, being eightie or ninetie of them. The Inhabitants of *Inganio* came downe on them which were gotten on land, and slue  
 40 seven or eight, hurt the Master and others, with wooden Darts. Then they made them another Boat of boords and broken pieces that came from the ship. So there came sixtie or seuentie men in the Skiffe and this Boat; and nineteene or twentye were left on the Iland sicke and hurt, which were after taken in by *Iowa* Prawes and brought aboard the ships, being in miserable case, with want of clothes, bruses with the Rocks, and burning with the *Sunne* and salt Water. The nine and twentieth, the *Globe* arrived.

Sir Tho. Dale

English ships,  
thirteene saile  
together.

*Sunne* perished.

The third of December, the *Bee* set saile for *Inganio*, to see if they could haue any thing, but was forced backe with crosse windes. The fourth, the *Blacke Lion* of the *Hollanders* arrived from  
 50 the Coast of *China*, *Palatina*, and other places; her lading, *Pepper*, *Rice*, *Sugar*, and some *China* commodities, by report, to the quantitie of sixe hundred tunnes. This night Sir *Thomas Dale* caused men to goe out of other ships aboard the *Moone*, the *Cloue*, the *Samson*, the *Globe*, being but weakly manned: which the next day anchored close by the *Blacke Lion*, which yeilded on composition. Shee was, by report, of eight hundred tunnes, had in her eightie men, and two or foure and twentye peeces of Ordnance. The nineteenth, Sir *Thomas Dale* in the *Moone*, Captaine *Pring* in the *Gift*, with the *Vnicorne*, *Cloue*, *Samson*, *Globe*, *Pepper-corne*, *Thomas*, *Bee*, *Rose* and *Blacke Lion*, set saile for *Iaquatra*, where they found riding seven saile of *Hollanders*, ready to fight. The one and twentieth, came a *Holland* ship from *Iambe*, which sent their Boat for *Iaquatra* with twelue men, two great murtherers and eight small shot, with each man his sword: but we way-layed her and tooke her with the Barge, and the Ship put to Sea againe.

*Blacke Lion*.

The two and twentieth, we thought to haue fought, and plyed to and againe as occasion offered. The three and twentieth, we began the fight, and the *Iambe* ship got in amongst them. This fight continued about three houres, in which time wee receiued in the Hull and Masts be-  
 60 tweene fiftie and sixtie great shot, most in the Hull, yet had but one hurt in the fight, and hee died of it. The *Hollanders* and wee came to an anchor all night close by each other. The next morning wee set saile and plyed to windward: but the *Hollanders* seeing wee would get vp to them, waighed and fled betweene *halfe way Iland* and the other Iland to the East, and so bore away to the East, betweene the Ilands and the Mayne. And when they came thwart of their Iland, they saw a little *English* Pinnasse, which in flight from them had run on a ledge of Rocks,  
 and

Fight with the  
*Hollanders*  
fleet. See Capt.  
*Pring* and Ma-  
ster *Corthops*  
Iournall.  
*Hollanders* fled:

Little *James*  
sunke;



Thomas Junke.  
Blacke Lion  
burnt.

Rackupce, or  
Aracape a hot  
Drinke.

Another fight.

Marough.

\* The Blackes  
call the Salt hill  
so.  
Owen Bodman.

A new fleet.

Shoalds:

Nimtan.

Four Corpo-  
Santos.

Pola Tellore and  
Ballambin.

and was there cast away. They sent their Boates, which by our pursuit they were forced to recall; and we stood after them amayne and chased them (being now by addition of another from *Iaquatra* nine ships) three or foure miles to the East of *Iaquatra*, and night comming on, anchored. The five and twentieth, came a *China* Iuncke on fire driuing thwart our halfe, but we perceived it betime, let slip and auoyded it, so that it did no harme at all. We made after them, but they were vnder sayle to the East, and the wind at South South-west. The same day we tooke out the *Thomas* Ordnance, beeing an old ship, and sunke her neere the *Hollanders* Iland. The eight and twentieth, they aboard the *Blacke Lion*, cryed out, fire, and shee was suddenly on a light fire, and nothing saued, but her company, which went into the Boat and Skiffe. This happened by some which had beene at Dice all night, and went and broke vp a Scuttle where there was Rackupce, which so soone as they had broched, tooke fire with the light they had, as it is reported.

The third of Ianuary, Master *Jackson*, the Land Captaine of the *James*, dyed of a shot which had taken away his legge at *Iaquatra*. The seuenth, Shot and Powder were sent to the King of *Iaquatra* to take the *Hollanders* Castle. The ninth, we wayed from this place to the Westward. The twentieth, we espyed two sayles to whom we gaue chase in vaine, they sailing better then wee: the next day wee espyed foure, which wee chased as the wind would giue leaue till night. The five and twentieth, the *Bee* was sent to *Marough* for prouision; The one and thirtieth, we anchored in the Road of *Bantam*.

The three and twentieth of February, Sir *Thomas Dale* weighed to go for *Iaquatra*, with the *Moone*, *Cloue*, *Globe*, *Samson*, *Pepper-corne*, *Hound*, *Bee*, *Rose*. The seuen and twentieth, the *Great James*, the *Gift*, the *Unicorne*, and the little *James* weighed from *Bantam* leauing in the Road the *Aduice* and the *Mosambecke* or *Prize*.

The first of March, the *Flemmings* saw vs and weighed, and we made all the sayle we could to get vp to them, and they keeping the weather of vs, their Admirall let flye two Peeeces at the *Great James* first: and then we went to it on all hands. As wee fought, one of the *Flemmings* ranne aboard their Admirall by chance, and bore ouer-boord his owne Botspret and Beak-head, and the Admirals Ancient. The other two *Flemmings* seeing that, shooting a shot or two, ranne away and the rest after. We tacked and chased them, but they going better; went from vs exceedingly, and wee gaue ouer. The thirteenth, the *Bee* came to vs in *Bantam* Road, from Sir *Thomas Dales* Fleet at *Iaquatra*.

The seuen and twentieth of Aprill, 1619. there came a Iuncke amongst our Fleet from *Patania* with *Flemmings* goods and a *Flemming* in her, which we tooke. The eight and twentieth, the *Dragons Clawe* came to an anchor at *Palambam* from *Surat*.

The twentieth of May, we set saile in the Road of *Marough*, to goe for the Coast of *Coromandel*, being eleuen Sayle in company, the *Great James*, *Moone*, *Gift*, *Unicorne*, *Cloue*, *Globe*, *Pepper-corne*, *Bee*, *Rose*, *Aduise*, and the *Surat* Pinnaffe. At five in the afternoone wee anchored betwixt *Besse* and *Cracatawe*. The one and twentieth, a Councell was held aboard the Admirall (the *Moone*) wherein *Owen Bodman* was condemned for burning the *Blacke Lion* and other trespasses, who was hanged the next day aboard the *Moone* at the Yards arme.

The thirtieth of Iune, we came to an anchor nine leagues East from *Masulipatan*. We stayed in these parts till the tenth of December.

The nine and twentieth of Iuly, the *Unicornes* Shallop was cast away at *Penara*, wherein *M. Rice* and *Harris*, and foure men more were drowned.

The five and twentieth, we anchored neere *Teco*, and saw three shippes, which the next day came to vs, being a new Fleet; the *Palsgrau* Admirall, the *Elizabeth* Vice-Admirall, the Merchants *Hope* Rere-Admirall. We all wayed and went into the Road of *Teco*.

The fourth of March, we all set saile in *Teco*. The fifth, the *James* met with a shoald, and they had much to doe to saue her from grounding. This shoald lyeth from the *White Iland*, South-east, two thirds East, three leagues within two Glasses, the *James* and *Unicorne* met with another shoald, and stayed vpon it at five fathome water, and within a Cables length of fiftie fathomes, and then the *White Iland* bore North-west by West eight miles and an halfe off. The ninth, we bore vp to goe to the South of *Nimtan*. This Iland is neere twentie leagues long, and lyeth South South-east, and North North-west. On the Wester-side is great shoalding, on the East deepe water hard by the shoare. The twentieth, at night wee had a great storme, and had many *Corpo-Santos*, viz, at the head of the Main-top-mast, and on the Meson yard, the Fore-top-mast, and the Mezon Top-mast. The next morning, the storme beganne to breake vp, and we saw the high-land of *Manning Cabo*.

The five and twentieth of March, 1620. we anchored neere the point of *Ballambin*; where on the sixe and twentieth our Cable was cut a-sunder with a Rocke, which wee recovered the seuen and twentieth.

At the South-west point of *Sumatra* lyeth the Iland *Pola Tellore* in five degrees fiftie seuen minutes of South latitude, South South-east from which is *Ballambin*, where is good refreshing and



and watering, thence to the South point called Cape *Bublathore*, is two leagues South South-east three quarters East, and from thence to the next Easter point is three leagues, and in the second Bay from the said point is a Riuer where we watered, but the water not very good.

The sixth of Aprill, 1620. we weighed to goe for *Bantam*, with a full resolution to make an end with the *Hollanders* one way or other, they being eightene Sayle, and wee ten, little and great. The eight, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning, being short of *Sangang* we met with the *Bull* and two *Hollanders* bound to looke vs to bring newes of the peace betwixt vs and them. The eleuenth, their Fleet being thirteene besides the former two came vnto vs from *Iaquatra*: and wee saluted each other with many Peeeces of Ordnance. The  
10 twelfth we went for *Bantam* where we found two *Hollanders* more. The seuen and twentieth, the *James* and the *Unicorne* departed from vs for *Japan*, to careene there. The thirtieth, we anchored in *Iaquatra* Road.

Peace betwixt  
vs and Hollan-  
ders.

The one and twentieth of May, the *Elizabeth*, the *Bull*, and the *Hope*, set sayle with the *Harlem*, and the *Dutch Hope*. The *Elizabeth* and *Harlem* were bound for *Leque Pequena*, there to stay for the *Bull* and the *Dutch Hope* which were appointed to goe for *Mocow*, and the *English Hope* for *Patania*, and then to meete with the other foure at *Leque Pequena*, thence to goe all for *Japan*, there to meete the rest of the Fleet for the *Manilla*. The thirtieth, peace was published at *Iaquatra* on shoare and aboard the ships.

Leque Pequena.

Fleet for Japan  
and Manilla.

The fourth of Iune, the *Moone*, the *Palsgrau*, the *Bantam* and the *Praw*, set sayle from *Iaquatra* for *Japan*, and the *Manilla*'s. The teuenteenth, wee set saile to goe to *Cracato* to cut new Mafts and Timber to sheath our ship, and being a league and halfe from the Roade, met with a shoald where we had but two fathomes water (being suddenly on ground) at the shippes head, and fue at her sterne: but praysed be God, got off without hurt. It is Rockes and Corall and lyeth halfe way betwixt *Iaquatra* Road, and the Sand to the East of *Hedors* Iland. If you keepe the *Flemmish* Castle and the top of the highest hill one right ouer the other; you shall goe cleere in or out. If you cannot see the hill keepe the Castle South South-east, but if you keepe it South by East, You will be neere it, or on it. On the neereft part of the next Iland to the East of *Pola Lacka* is a dangerous shoald two miles off, and seldome sheweth it selfe. The one and twentieth, we anchored and moored our ship a Cables length North-west of the little  
30 round Iland, and rode till the one and twentieth of Iuly, in which time wee cut about seuentie pieces of square Timber for our decayed ship, and to pay the *Hollanders* two and twentie borrowed, for their house at *Iaquatra*, by our Merchants. This place is so infectious that most of our men were taken with swolne legges, or bodies, some breaking out with Sores and Byles, other taken with dizziness and dimness of sight, almost euery one losing his stomacke, and giuen to vomiting with a strange costiuenesse: fixe dyed, and thirtie seuen were sicke and lame, all weake, vomiting, sacke, racke, beuerage; nothing stayed.

Shoald.

Cracato a ve-  
ry sickly place.

The seuen and twentieth, we anchored in *Morough* Road neere the shoare, which is no good Road, but we were forced, so to command the Towne with our Ordnance in succour of our Boats, if the people should haue betrayed them, as they had done the *Hollanders* of whom they  
40 slew eight men. We lost an Anchor there (they cut off the Boyes that we could not after finde it) and could get little refreshing, or none.

Morough.

The nineteenth of August, we anchored at *Iaquatra*, hauing beene from thence two moneths, and in one moneth which we were returning from *Cracato*, we lost with the former fixe, one and fortie men, besides fortie fue sicke in the ship; nor had we about twentie of our owne Company that could goe vp and downe the ship. The eight and twentieth, the *Hollanders* surrendered the *Starre* againe to the *English*.

Starre rendred.

The first of September came in a *Flemming* from *Holland*, which told vs of the *Lion* arriued at the Cape from *Surat*; and of fixe *English* ships with her in *Soldania* from *England*, two bound for *Bantam*, and foure to *Surat*, which were to stay in *Soldania* for foure *Flemmings* to goe to *Surat* with them. The one and twentieth, the *Dragons Claw* arriued from *Achen* with newes that the *Charles*, the *Rubie*, and the *Diamond*, were all at Sea comming for *Iaquatra*; and that the *Bee* saw a *French-man* of Warre on the Coast of *Sumatra*, which would by no meanes speake with her. They were in all foure ships, but she had lost her consorts.

Newes of Eng-  
lish ships.

French man of  
Warre.

The first of October, the *Schedam* arriued with newes of three *English* ships in the Straits of *Sunda*, the *Royall Exchange*, the *Vnitie*, and the *Beare*, the *Bee* alio with them, which on the second, and the tenth arriued here. The foure and twentieth, the *Dragons Claw* departed hence for the *Moluccas*. The fixe and twentieth, one of our men suspected for stealing Cloues, was drowned. Hee had wished before mee a little afore, if hee knew of the Cloues, that hee were so farre vnder water that he might neuer rise againe; and going cuer the ships side, a step of the ladder broke, and he fell ouer-board, & neuer rose againe. The thirtieth, the *Beare* and *Diamond* were sent for *Iambe* in hope of Pepper. The eleuenth of Nouember, the *Globe* departed from *Iaquatra* for *Iapara*, to fetch sheathing board and cattell: and the fiftenth, the *Vnitie* set saile for *Achen*.

New fleet.

Iapara.

The second of December, the *Roe-bucke* arriued from *Teco* with Pepper. The third, the *Samson* arriued from *Patania*, and brought in her the Purser and three others of the *Unicorne*, which

Unicorne lost,



which was cast on the Coast of *China*. The fifteenth, the *Globe* arrived with boards and planks from *Iapara*. The sixteenth, arrived a Juncke which brought some of the *Samsons* men, some of the *Vnicornes*, and those which were left on shoare at *Patania*, when the *Samson* and the *Hound* were taken. The one and twentieth, the *Rubie* departed for the *Moluccas*. The sixe and twentieth, the *Cloue* arrived from *Iambe* and *Patania*. The nine and twentieth, the *Royall Exchange*, the *Starre* and the *Roe-bucke*, set sayle for *Amboino* with a *Holland* ship in their company.

The *Dragon* still  
serving the  
Dutch.

Returne of the  
*James*.

Their returne  
home, 1621.

Saint Helena.

The second of January, the *Bee* went to *Hectors* Iland to careene. The same day the *Hollanders* had foure ships that went for the *Moluccas*, the *Dragon* being one, and the next day the *New Holland*, and in her *John Peterson Coen* Generall of all the *Indies*, for the *Hollanders*: who carryed a float with eight or ten Demicanons, and fortie great Prawes to land men, and a great company of Souldiers. The eighteenth, the *James Royall* arrived in *Iaquatm* Road from *Iapan*, where she careened both sides to the keele. The one and twentieth, arrived the new *Zeland* from *Masulipatan*, and brought in her Captaine *Ball*, *Thomas Jones*, and *Richard Thomas*. The thirtieth, the *James* began to take in Pepper to goe for *England*. The one and thirtieth, the *Bee* returned from *Hectors* Iland, careened to the keele, and the *Globe* foure or five strakes on a side. In the *James Royall* bound for *England*. The sixe and twentieth of February we set saile.

The nineteenth of May, we anchored in the Bay of *Soldania*: where we set sayle the second of Iune. We found there riding the *Anue*, wherein was Captaine *Walter Bennet*, and the *Fortune* a Victualler, and three *Hollanders* bound for *Bantam*. The one and twentieth of Iune, wee saw the Iland of *Saint Helena*, bearing West by North sixteene leagues, and on the two and twentieth anchored there. Here we tooke store of fresh fish by the shippes side. The nine and twentieth, wee set sayle, and the eighteenth of September anchored in the *Downes*:

## CHAP. V.

*The Voyage of the Anne Royall from Surat to Moha, in the Red Sea, for settling an English Trade in those parts: Anno Dom. 1618. extracted out of Master EDWARD HEYNES his Iournall, written thereof.*



Ir *Thomas Roe*, Lord Embassadour for his Maiestie with the *Mogoll*, hauing giuen diuers Articles of instructions vnto Captaine *Andrew Shilling*, Master of the *Anne Royall*, together with *Ioseph Salbanke*, *Edward Heynes*, and *Richard Barbar*, Merchants; for Trade at *Dabul*, and after as they saw occasion in the Red Sea: it was thought meet by Captaine *Martin Pring* Generall, and *Thomas Kerridge*, and *Thomas Rastell* (the twelfth of March, aboard the *James Royall*, the time being too farre spent for *Dabul*) that the said ship should sayle directly for the Red Sea. Thus they sayled from the Road of *Swally*.

Aden.

Moha.

The tenth of Aprill, we had sight of *Aden*. The thirteenth, we past the Strait of the *Bab* or *Babel Mandel* (an Iland in the entrance or mouth of the Red Sea, which causeth the Strait) about seuen in the morning: and about five in the euening, wee had sight of *Mocha* five leagues off. Night comming on, we anchored, and a Canon came aboard vs from the Gouvernour to know what we were and our intent, which we answered, and they hauing begged a few Biskets departed.

The next morning wee anchored a league and halfe from the shoare, and saluted the Towne with nine Peeces. The Water-Bayly brought vs a Present from the Gouvernour, a young Bullocke, two Goates, Mangoes, Limes, Cucumers, and Water Melons, welcommed vs, and desired to send one on shoare to acquaint the Gouvernour with the cause of our comming. We answered, we were *English-men*, which came to seeke Trade there, but durst not aduenture on shoare without sufficient pledges. About three in the afternoone, came a *lew* aboard (borne in *Lisbone*) together with an old *Venetian* turned *Turke* (one in good respect with the Gouvernour) which from the Gouvernour assured vs of all content.

They goe on  
shoare.

The Gouver-  
nors house and  
state.

The fifteenth, *Allee Asgee*, the Chiefe *Scriniano* sent a Present of Goates and Fruites to welcome vs, with two old men of good qualitie: sent from the Gouvernour to remayne as pledges for such as went on shoare, with many protestations of good vsage. Hereupon Master *Salbanke* and I went with our two Linguists and one Attendant, with a Present for the Gouvernour, viz. sixe yards of broad-cloth Stammell, sixe yards of greene, a Fowling Peece, and Looking-glass. At our landing, a thousand people expected, and diuers Officers were readie to receiue and conduct vs to the Gouvernour. His house was faire and large, built of stone and bricke. At the entrance was a faire gate with a Porters lodge, and diuers seruants there attending. Within is a great Court, whence arise winding staires about thirtie steps to a square Tarris; out of which we were brought into a large roome, hauing at one end a great bay window opening to the Sea,



in which the Gouvernour sate : on the sides others of like bignesse, looking vnto the Wharfe or landing place. The flore was couered with fine Mats, and neere the Gouvernour, with faire *Turke* Carpets and *Persian* Felts. That whereon himselfe sate was a partie coloured Sattin Quilt, with rich Damaske and Veluet Cushions. Hee was clothed in a Violet colour Sattin Vest, his vnder-coats fine *India* Linnen, hauing on a Sattin Cap wreathed about with a fine white Shash. He was accompanied with the Chiefe *Scrivano*, the Principall Customers, some *Turkes* of better fashion, many *Indian* Merchants, and one hundred seruants. Hee is about fittie yeeres old, and named *Mahomet Aga*.

When we came neere, he bowed himselfe and wee did reuerence : then bade vs sit downe, and demanded our Nation and businesse. Wee answered, we were *Englishmen*, of *London*, Merchants, who by command of the Ambassadour of His Maiestie of *England*, resident with the Great *Mogoll* (with whom we hold league and amitie) are comne to this Towne to treat for licence of free Trade: That we were friends to the *Grand Signior*, and had traffique at *Constantinople*, *Aleppo*, and in other places of his Dominion, and hoped the like here: that wee were come to desire his, and the *Bashas* *Firman*, for like liberties heere as is granted vs by the *Grand Signior*, both for present and future times, as intending to visit their Ports yearely with plentie of *English* and *Indian* goods: that we had likewise in command from the said Embassador (which had heard of diuers Pirats, *English*, *Dutch*, *French*, *Portugals*, *Malabars*, and others which infested the quiet Trades of this Port, and principally the *Guzerats*, our friends) to take them, and free those Seas of such incombrances, protecting all honest Merchants, ships and lunkes from iniurie: and these were the true causes of our comming. Hee then rose vp and bad vs welcome; applauded our designe, and demanded why wee were so fearefull to come on shoare without pledge. We answered, that about fixe yeers since, some of our Countrymen were here with kind shewes and promises entised alhoare, and by the then Gouvernour betrayed, emprisoned, and many murthered: whose harmes made vs cautelous for our owne safetie. But that we were no otherwise then we professed, they should shortly know by the testimonie of two *Guzerat* Iuncks, one of which had not come this yeare, but for the passe and promise of the said Embassador that our ship should defend them home-ward bound from Men of Warre in these Seas, hauing escaped rifling last yeere by men of our Nation, through our opportune comming to our rescue; who deliuered her safe at her Port, and sent their chiefe Commanders into *England* to answer those wrongs to our Kings friends. Hee acknowledged our Nation good and friendly, promised that we should liue on shoare and negotiate as secure as in our owne Countrey, that hee would also procure the *Basha* to confirme the same, and would giue vs any content. That for the ill vsage formerly, the Gouvernour then was an ill man, long since remoued, and now liuing in disgrace at *Stambola*: and sware by his *Mahomet* and by his Beard, that not one haire of vs should be diminished, nor any wrong offered: that he would therefore proclayme our liberties that none might pretend ignorance to discourtesie. Hee wished vs also to looke out a house in Towne fit for our persons and goods, commanded two of his principall *Chanses* to attend vs, and till wee could fit our selues better, recommended vs to the *Jew*-Merchant his entertainment, desiring him to assist vs in all things.

Their conference.

They still suspected our ship a man of Warre, by reason of some excesses of some of our Country-men in those Seas.

Constantinople.

The visit the *Scrivano*.

They view the Towne. The description thereof.

Heat at *Mocha*. Their neatnes.

Thus after our Present deliuered as from our Captaine and many kind thanks, wee went by the *Jewes* perswasion to visit the *Scrivano*, who is likewise chiefe Customer, whose seruants (himselfe not being then at home) entertayned vs with much ciuilitie, and brought vs into a faire roome, not much inferiour in building, or furniture to that of the Gouvernour, where we had left him, and whence he soone returned and welcommed vs with much courtesie, assuring vs of whatsoeuer the Gouvernour had promised, and that he himselfe would see all executed, who had power also to right vs. We were informed that this mans authoritie was no lesse in the Towne then the Gouvernours, who was by him directed in matters of weight: hee seemed a heartie old man. After he had made vs Drinke *Coho* and *Sherbet*, we tooke our leaue and rested that night with our *Jew*.

The next morning, wee spent an houre to view the Towne and obserue the countenances of the people toward vs, whom we found gentle and courteous, especially the *Banians* and *Guzerats*, of which here liues continually great store, as Merchants, Shop-keepers, and Mechanike Trades, their shops neatly built and cleanly kept. Their Market or Bazar appeared well furnished with all necessities, besides fruits daily brought out of the Countrey. The Towne for the most part built with bricke and stone fairely playstered ouer with Playster of *Paris*: the building flat-roofed some two stories high, with Tarrises on the top, whereon they build Summer houses of Canes and Mats, in which they rest in the nights and passe the first quarter of the day, hauing at that time a fresh breeze from the Sea; all the rest of the day so hot, that men cannot well endure any clothes, not so much as a shirt. It lyeth leuell alongst the Sea-side, being about two miles from North to South. There are many faire houses and three principall *Moschees*; the streets kept cleane, each mans doore euery morning and euening watered and swept, seeming liker sandie bowling allies then streets; no filth suffered to be cast abroad, but carryed to a place appointed scowred by the Sea: In fine, I haue not lightly seene, a sweeter, cleaner, better gouerned



uerned Towne then this of *Mocha*. Betwixt the *Gouernours* and *Scrivanoes* is the Wharfe, about twelue score square, neere which adioyning to the *Gouernours* house is a platforme rayfed, built with hewen stones, with Battlements towards the Sea, about fortie paces square, in which are mounted thirteene or fourteene small Peeces of little force. Against the landing-place are two faire Brasse Peeces about fve foot in length; on the other end is the *Alfandica*, and a Brasse Peece of fixe foot, which carryeth a Bullet as bigge as a Canon. This is their strength for defence of the Towne. Yet at the North end is a stone house in manner of a Fort, and in it some few Peeces, but they put small trust in their Ordnance, relying most on their Souldiers, of which two hundred reside continually in the Towne, the rest (beeing in all to the number of fve hundred) liue within a day or two dayes iourney, and are in readinesse vpon any occasion.

Another Go-  
uernour expe-  
cted.

*Hoia Nassans* sonne, the principall *India* Merchant of the Towne, professed and promised all kindnesse (for wee went to his house) and after a cup of Coho and Tobacco (which is vsually amongst these people) we went againe to visit the *Gouernour* before wee went aboard, who rose and met vs, caused vs to sit by him, welcommed vs, promised as free Trade heere, as in any other place of the *Grand Signiors* Dominion, nor would denie vs any thing reasonable: said that another *Gouernour* should shortly succeed him, but one as his brother, honeste then himselfe, who should performe all the promises which he had now made; at our request, commanded the Water-Bayliffe to furnish vs with Boats at all times to carrie vs, or water from shoare for the ship aboard. After this we visited the *Scrivano*; and found him very courteous, promising to come aboard to see our ship, and bid our Captaine welcome, and after a health of Coho dismissed vs to returne to the ship, where our two pledges approued their kind vsages, whose departure was honoured with fve Peeces.

Feast on ship-  
board.

On the seuenteenth, the *Scrivano*, our pledges, the *Jew*, and twentie persons attending came aboard, brought a Bullocke, Bread, Quinces, and other Fruites, and a Cake of great roundnesse and thicknesse like puffed-past, wherein were baked Hennes and Chickens very well dressed, and pleasing enough to a daintie palate; we also with a Quince Pye, Crabs, Sacke and Strong-water, added our best welcome. He would needs bee sworne brother to the Captaine, which was solemnized with a Cup of Sacke, and after much mirth and view of our ship, hee departed with great content.

Storme and  
heate.

We had water brought by poore people at reasonable rates. We also had giuen good reason to the *Gouernour* and *Scrivano* (who approoued it) to make euery Iuncke that should arriue to anchor by vs, and there to ride till they had discharged their goods. The *Gouernour* was willing, we should examine and compell them hereto, because some Iunkes passed by their Towne to other Ports for Trade, to the losse of this.

New Gouer-  
nour arriued.

The one and twentieth, fixe at night, we had a storme of wind off the shoare with Thunder and Lightning very vehement, but no raine, which continued halfe an houre, the rest of the night extreame hot. This storme brought sand and dust aboard in abundance, notwithstanding, we roade a good league from shoare. The fve and twentieth, we had a message from the *Scrivano*, that the *Gouernour* and himselfe had receiued Letters from the *Basha* of *Sinan*, commanding them to receiue and entertaine vs with all kindnesse, to permit vs to liue and Trade amongst them freely and quietly.

English fleet of  
fve ships.

Factory inten-  
ded at *Mocha*.

Ignorance of a new *Gouernour* must excuse vs of the charge of a new Present to him. His arriual was on the seuen and twentieth, the Ordnance of the Towne, and Iunkes, and of our ship welcomming him. Hee sent our former Pledges aboard with thanks, and a Present of Plantans, Limes, Mangos, Melons, Bread, and one Bullocke, promising in the *Bashas* name like trade here, as at *Constantinople*. The two Pledges remained aboard all night, and went with vs on shoare the next day, where we found the new *Gouernour*, and the old sitting at the end of a large roome, adorned much what as at our first arriual, or better. He is about foure yeares old, named *Raiab Aga*, was accompanied with diuers principall *Turkes*, and all chiefe Merchants now in trade of *Surat*, *Diu*, *Dabul*, *Sindu*, *Calicut*, and *Cananor*. At our approach he onely moued, so did the *Turkes*: the Merchants rose, and saluted vs. He caused vs to sit downe by him, told vs that the *Basha*, the Vizier of the Prouince, informed of vs, had commanded to giue vs content: and besides his Lords command, he knew vs to be friends of the *Grand Signior*, and to haue Trade at *Constantinople*, *Aleppo*, and other places of his Dominion, a Nation of friendly and honest disposition, and therefore we should find him our good friend, and readie to doe vs any courtesie, and giue vs as free Trade, as wee any where had vnder the *Grand Signior*, or Great *Mogoll*. We told him we were Merchants, and our ship *Vice-admirall* to a Fleet of fve ships, one of which, was departed from *Surat* homewards, three from *Bantam* and other places to the South, and our ship by his Maiesties Embassador employed hither (with such circumstances as before are deliuered) that if our iust requests of free Trade be granted, wee purposed at our next comming to settle a Factorie here, and yeerely to frequent this Port with shipping with *English* and *Indian* goods: signified our intents against Routers, and what already we had done in that case against our owne Countrymen: intimating that it was needlesse to presse with the inconueniences which might arise from denying vs Trade, who were able to force it, and hinder



hinder others from comming; the feare of which had caused some already to passe by this Towne to *Gudda*, the Port of *Mecca*, one hundred and fifty leagues farther vp, a Towne of great Trade, and others to other places. He replied, we should be as welcome as to any place in our owne Countrey, and vowed by *GOD*, *Mahomet* his head and beard, we should live as secure from hurt as in our owne Land. We asked what securitie he would giue vs; besides his oath (he answered) his *Firman* vnder his *Chop*, and procure the like from the *Bajba*. With this wee seemed content, and gaue him thanks: nor did euer people seeme more willing to giue content then they: which, I thinke, ariseth not from conscience, or loue, but feare, seeing vs able to interuert their Trade. After some questions of our Embassador, now residing at *Constantinople*, and touching the *Portugals*, and *Spaniards*, (which he said were proud and vnfaihtfull Nations) some speech happened of Sir *H. Middleton*: we demanded the cause of that treacherie towards him: hee answered, the *Vizier* at that time was a bloudie, cruell, and ill-minded man of himselfe, and made worse by the instigation of others, *Turkes*, and *Arabs* of this Towne, who obseruing the vnciuill behauiour of our people, as *pissing at the gates of their Churches; forcing into mens houses to their women; and being daily drunke in the streets, would fight and quarrell with the people*; things hatefull in these parts: these things were in part, but the *Gouernours* couetousnesse (hoping to get their ship and goods) was the maine cause of that ill dealing, for which and many other bad actions, he was not long after sent to *Constantinople* to answer it, and is either dead, or liues in disgrace to this day. Wee dined with the *Scrinano*, and hired a house of *Hassana Ga*, one of our Pledges, at seuentie Rials of eight the Monson, (which is all one with the yeerely Rent.) The *Scrinano* would needs sweare himselfe our friend on his *Alchoran*: yet denied this *Gouernour* to be the man which captiued Sir *H. Middleton*, which was after found *Turkish* faith. We agreed for Custome three by the hundred, both inwards and outwards (which hee vowed all others paid due) and for siluer, and gold, and money, to pay none. Wee supped with him also, and gaue him a Present.

The nine and twentieth, wee had thought to haue had our *Firman* read before all the Merchants, and proclaimed to the people; but the most part of the day was spent in a ceremonie by the *Gouernour* and Chiefe at their high Church for the death of the *Grand Signior*, and the establishing his brother in his roome. They came riding afront our house, we sitting in our window open to the street: they seeing vs, bowed themselves, and we did reuerence: their horses were accommodated with rich furniture. At foure of the clocke, wee were sent for, but our Linguist had got to a *Iemes* house that sold Racke, and was drunken, and wee pretending Master *Salbankes* present in disposition, promised attendance the next day. On the one and thirtieth, the *Gouernour* sent for vs, and made knowne to all the Merchants our welcome, causing his *Scrinano* to draw a *Firman* as large as we could require, which he would signe with his *Chop*, and at his principall *Scrinanoes*, in the afternoone we should haue it. The Copie whereof is as followeth, translated out of the *Arabicke*.

40 **A** Faithfull and perfect *Firman* giuen by the grace of *GOD* to the worthie Captaine of the English, Andrew Shilling, to the Merchants, and to all such as are come with him at this present; and to all the Nation of the English, which shall come to this Port hereafter: For their good vsage, and friendly entertainment by the grace of *GOD*, and by the Faith we haue in our holy Prophet *Mahomet*: with the licence of our Great Lord and King, to whom the Great *GOD* of the World giue long life: by the fidelitie, truth, and authoritie of the great *Vizier* of *Sinan*, *Mahomet Balha*; whom the Great *GOD* giue strength, and power in his Kingdome: and by the faithfulnessse, and true meaning, and command of me *Raiab Aga*, now *Gouernour* of the Towne of *Mocha*; to be giuen to the Great Nation of the English, with all faithfulnessse.

*Mahomet Balha*  
*Raiab Aga.*

50 **I** The *Gouernour* *Raiab Aga*, doe giue libertie and licence to the English Nation, to come hither to this Port, to receiue friendly entertainment, to bring aboard their goods, to buy and sell with all freedom; to carrie such goods as they buy aboard, without let or hinderance: and haue made contract with them, that for all goods they land, they shall pay three by the hundred, not in ready money, but in goods; and for what they carrie away aboard, so it be Merchandise, and not prouision for their ship, as *Victuals*, or such like, that they shall pay ready money at three by the hundred likewise, neither more nor lesse, but as it is contracted by our agreement. That no Inhabitants of this Towne, nor People of the Countrey, neither *Turke* nor *Arab*, shall iniure them; but they shall haue their libertie to their contents. And that this my *Firman* and Contract is giuen them with a good heart, and true meaning to see it performed, I witnesse the truth before the most high *GOD*, and our holy Prophet. Signed with my *Chop*, the fourteenth day of *May*, in the yeare of our Prophet *Mahomet* 1027.

\* Either the difference is from their different computation, or that the Seale was deferred to this day.



I haue thought good to adde the *Basha* of *Sinan* his *Firman*, translated as before.

**I**N the name of God. This Letter written with the word of trueth of the most high GOD: To all Nations, Gouvernours and Officers ouer the people under my gouernment: GOD keepe you all. Know yee, that we haue giuen our faithfull *Firman* vnto the hands of Signior Andrew Shilling Captaine of the English, Ioseph Salbanke his Companion, and to their friend Edward Heynes Merchant, which are come to the Port of Mocha, for them to goe and come with their ships to the said Port, and there to buy and sell all manner of Merchandise freely, and with all content. And wee doe further giue them by vertue of this our *Firman* in the Faith of the Great GOD, and our holy Prophet Mahomet; in the Faith of our Great Lord, whom GOD preserue; and in the Faith of Our selfe, Gouvernour of the Prouince and Citie of *Sinan*; free licence for to sell and buy there, heere, and in all other of our Ports, and Townes of Trade within our Gouvernment, as freely and quietly, without iniurie, let, or molestation, as any of the Traders and Merchants which come to that Port of Mocha, or any other, of what Nation soeuer. And doe consent and agree with them, to pay for Custome of such goods as they bring, three by the hundred, and for what they buy and carrie forth, three by the hundred likewise. And doe promise and sweare, in the true way of an Oath, to keepe our word with them in this Agreement; and giue you all hereby to know that they shall pay neither more nor lesse. And further, that they shall receiue neither iniurie, hurt nor danger, nor any discontent giuen them, eiber to their persons or goods, but they and their Nation shall haue, as from their first ship that came to this Kingdome, now this, so euer to the last ship that shall arriue hereafter, the like friendly entertainment, and good vsage, as we haue commanded to be giuen them at this present. And that this is my faithfull meaning, This our *Firman* which comes to your hands shall be a witnesse of the trueth. Written and signed with my Royall Chop, from our Court of *Sinan* this eighteenth day of Iulie, in the yeere of our Prophet Mahomet 1027.

The Copie of the Gouvernour of *Moha* his *Firman*, giuen to Master Salbank for good vsage in his way to *Sinan*, is this.

**I**N the Name of the great GOD. This Letter of commandment in the name of our great Lord (whom GOD keep) to all people, Gouvernours of Townes and Cities. Know yee that it is our will and commandment, that when the Bearer hereof Ioseph Salbank, or any of his people, or any of the Nation of the English, come to your places of Gouvernment, you vse them, him, and all whomsoeuer, friendly and with all courtesies: that you make them pay for victuall, or other necessaries, no more then ordinarie; but rather make provision for them, and assist them. And for what goods they shall carrie away, or bring up into the Citie of *Sinan*, you shall take no duties of them, as is the custome to other men, but let them passe free, doing them neither wrong nor iniurie. Wherefore, all you to whom this Letter or Commandment shall come, which I haue giuen into his hand, I command you all, in the name of the *Basha*, (whom GOD blesse) to see this performed with all diligence. Given at Mocha, the twentieth of Iune, A. 1027. of our Prophet Mahomet.

Racke is a wine or strong drink made of Rice.

Entertainment of the *Surat* Captaine.

It was agreed betwixt vs, that Master Salbanke and I should follow the businesse on land, and Mr Barber should remaine aboard to prepare such things as should be sent for. The fift of May, wee went to the *Scrivano* to get leaue for Racke to be made for our sicke men: for by reason that our Linguist, and others of our companie had beene drunke in a *Iewes* house, we complained and desired the *Iew* might be prohibited to sell them any: whereupon the Gouvernour forbade the *Iewes* and *Turkes* the selling of Wine or Racke in the Towne. The Gouvernour, at our and the *Scrivano's* request, gaue leaue onely that a *Iew* by his appointment, should brew it in our house; but to preuent disorders, would permit none elsewhere. On the eight in the afternoon, vnderstanding the Gouvernour and principall men were set in the Custome house, expecting the *Surat* Captaine then comming alhoare, he went also to see the manner of his entertainment. At our comming, we found the Gouvernour sitting at the vpper end of a long roome vpon a Bench of stone, on a Carpet: by him in a row, on the same Bench couered with fine mattes diuers Merchants, and men of qualitie about twentie; on the other side against him, were about as many set in Chaires: betweene them was made a lane reaching downe to a square place, three steps high from the floore railed in and matted, in which the *Scrivano* and Officers of the Custome house sate on Carpets. The Gouvernour bade vs welcome, told vs hee had giuen the chiefe Broker order to come see our goods, and procure their sale; caused vs to sit downe, two Merchants offering vs their places, and called for Cohoh and Tobacco. After halfe an houre thus spent, the Captaine came alhoare, in his owne boat curiously painted, rowed by twentie of his own seruants, all in white linnen, with a Tilt of red silke, many silk Streamers, his Saile of fine Callico, with diuers Drummes, Waits, and ill Trumpets, his owne Iunke, and the Towne-Chambers adding their reports to make vp the musicke (if such confused sounds may be so called) Attended by a few slaues trimmed vp with Silkes, and course Sattins, hee entred the



the place where we sate, where the Gouvernour rose and saluted him, and placed him next him : and many complements of welcome passed from him, and from the rest of the Merchants : only he in the height of his pride, neglected vs, and wee accordingly him, though wee thought, the Captaines courtesie to him, lending his long-boat and men to free his Iunke (being foure or five hundred tunnes, and aground) with his kind entertainment aboard our ship, had deserued better respect. After a little time in complements, Cohoh was againe brought to all the company, and after it fix Velts, two giuen to the Captaine, and foure to his foure Merchants, which being put on, and Salams giuen, they againe tooke their seats, sitting like so many painted Images, their Coats being of course Gold and Siluer Veluet. One thing wee obserued as the vsuall custome of this Towne, at the arriual of any Iunke, and the landing of the Captaine, there is free libertie to all the Mariners and Passengers of the same Iunke, to bring ashore as much of their goods as each man can carrie on his backe, free from paying any Custome : in which manner passed by at this present, three hundred persons of that Iunke, with their luggage, to their habitation without molestation. On the ninth, our Landlord and the *Scrivano* told vs of three Iunkes of *Diu*, and foure *Malabars* that stayed at *Aden*, hearing of our ship, and would not come without our Passe, which they intreated vs to grant. The forme of our Passe subscribed by the Captaine and three Merchants, was this.

**V** Hereas the Gouvernour of the Towne of Mocha, understanding that there are diuers Iunkes now riding before Aden, fearing to come to this Port, as doubting good vsage from vs the English; hath intreated vs to giue unto him, our Certificate or Passe, for the said Iunkes, or for any other that vsuallly trade to this Port, to come in freely, without any iniurie done vnto them, either in bodie or goods by vs, and to haue good and friendly quarter, as louing friends and Merchants amongst vs : Wee finding good vsage by the Gouvernour himselfe, and forwardnesse by all men to giue vs free Trade and commerce, and as well out of our good disposition, and inclination to peace, as for the satisfaction of the Gouvernour, in his request; Wee, by these presents, doe promise and giue them all freedome to passe quietly, and assure them friendly vsage, to their content : so as they be not enemies to our dread Soueraigne, the Kings Maiestie of England, or his Subiects. In witnesse whereof, wee haue put to our Firmes, &c.

30 A larger Passe at the Gouvernours request, and more generall, for the quiet departure of all Iunkes, &c. was after made, which I forbore to transcribe.

The tenth, the Captaine of the *Dabul* Iunke invited vs to his house to a Banquet, where we found the Gouvernour with fiftie principall persons, besides Attendants; All rose and bade vs welcome : wee sate not long but Coho and Sherbet were brought, Tobacco, and diuersitie of Fruits, as Plummes, Apricockes and Mangos, we thinking these to bee our Feast, and readie soone after to depart. But the Gouvernour and Captaine desired vs to stay, and *eat Bread and Salt with them*, which we did; at last, though late, our greatest cheere comming, being about fixtie Dishes of sundry sorts of meats, baked, roasted, boyled, stewed, and sodde, but all mingled with Rice, with diuers sorts of Sallets, in manner as in *India*.

40 Our Cargason was of bad wares for the most part, which had lien in *India*, till they were neere spoyled, and so hang on our hands; wee therefore importuned the Gouvernour, and hee charged the Broker to procure our sale with great earnestnesse: we obtayned leaue also, contrary to the common custome, to come and goe aboard and ashore at our pleasure without demanding any leaue, and charged the Water-Bayliffe not to molest vs. On the twentieth, it was obserued in generall that the Monson changed.

The foure and twentieth, The *Scrivano* told me that he vnderstood that our men of the Ship, at their comming ashore, sold in the *Bazar*, Bastas and Sword blades : he said, the Gouvernour had promised for the poore mens goods to demand no custome, and therefore they should not feare to bring it ashore, but to sell it at the house; for at the *Bazar*, was a disgrace to vs and our Nation. On the one and thirtieth, the ship was in danger to haue beene burnt, one taking Tobacco in the sprit-saile yard arme, and the cole falling in a fold of the saile, which there burned two or three breadths, and was long smelt before it could be found : and Tobacco taking was prohibited, except in the Cook-roome or Captaines Cabin. In regard of recouering our sicke men, discovering the coast, and procuring ballast in stead of Lead, taken out of the ship, it was concluded, that the ship should goe ouer to *Assab* on the Coast of *Africa* : and Master *Baffen* Masters Mate, was sent to sound and discover before.

60 The tenth of Iune, we had speech with the Gouvernour, and in other discourse learned of him, that hee was Gouvernour of *Aden* when the *Ascension* came thither, where hee imprisoned the Captaine and *Ios. Salbanke* two dayes; as he said, doubting they were not Merchants, but a man of Warre : that he was Gouvernour here at Sir *H. Middleton*s apprehension, which he excused by the ill rule of our people, and bad disposition of the *Basha*; that he was blamed for the fact; but the *Basha*, whose seruant he then was, commanded that and a great deale more, God knew his vnwillingnesse to it, and sorrow for it; but these things are past, feare you nothing. Here wee saw how farre he and the *Scrivano* were to be trusted.

Feare of the English.

*Dabul* Captain his feast.

Freedome of egress and regress.

Pedling of some.

Danger by Tobacco.

The ship goes ouer to *Assab*.



I haue thought good to adde the *Basha* of *Sinan* his *Firman*, translated as before.

**I**N the name of God. This Letter written with the word of truth of the most high GOD: To all Nations, Gouvernours and Officers ouer the people under my gouernment: GOD keepe you all. Know yee, that we haue giuen our faithfull *Firman* vnto the hands of Signior Andrew Shilling Captaine of the English, Ioseph Salbanke his Companion, and to their friend Edward Heynes Merchant, which are come to the Port of Mocha, for them to goe and come with their ships to the said Port, and there to buy and sell all manner of Merchandise freely, and with all content. And wee doe further giue them by vertue of this our *Firman* in the Faith of the Great GOD, and our holy Prophet Mahomet; in the Faith of our Great Lord, whom GOD preserue; and in the Faith of Our selfe, Gouvernour of the Prouince and Citie of *Sinan*; free licence for to sell and buy there, heere, and in all other of our Ports, and Townes of Trade within our Gouernment, as freely and quietly, without iniurie, let, or molestation, as any of the Traders and Merchants which come to that Port of Mocha, or any other, of what Nation soeuer. And doe consent and agree with them, to pay for Custome of such goods as they bring, three by the hundred, and for what they buy and carrie forth, three by the hundred likewise. And doe promise and swear, in the true way of an Oath, to keepe our word with them in this Agreement; and giue you all hereby to know that they shall pay neither more nor lesse. And further, that they shall receiue neither iniurie, hurt nor danger, nor any discontent giuen them, either to their persons or goods, but they and their Nation shall haue, as from their first ship that came to this Kingdome, now this, so euer to the last ship that shall arriue hereafter, the like friendly entertainment, and good vsage, as we haue commanded to be giuen them at this present. And that this is my faithfull meaning, This our *Firman* which comes to your hands shall be a witnesse of the truth. Written and signed with my Royall Chop, from our Court of *Sinan* this eighteenth day of Iulie, in the yeere of our Prophet Mahomet 1027. 10

The Copie of the Gouvernour of *Moha* his *Firman*, giuen to Master Salbank for good vsage in his way to *Sinan*, is this.

**I**N the Name of the great GOD. This Letter of commandment in the name of our great Lord (whom GOD keep) to all people, Gouvernours of Townes and Cities. Know yee that it is our will and commandment, that when the Bearer hereof Ioseph Salbank, or any of his people, or any of the Nation of the English, come to your places of Gouernment, you vse them, him, and all whomsoeuer, friendly and with all courtesies: that you make them pay for victuall, or other necessaries, no more then ordinarie; but rather make provision for them, and assist them. And for what goods they shall carrie away, or bring vp into the Citie of *Sinan*, you shall take no duties of them, as is the custome to other men, but let them passe free, doing them neither wrong nor iniurie. Wherefore, all you to whom this Letter or Command shall come, which I haue giuen into his hand, I command you all, in the name of the *Basha*, (whom GOD blesse) to see this performed with all diligence. Giuen at Mocha, the twentieth of Iune, A. 1027. of our Prophet Mahomet. 40

Racke is a wine or strong drink made of Rice.

Entertainment of the *Surat* Captaine.

It was agreed betwixt vs, that Master Salbanke and I should follow the businesse on land, and Mr Barber should remaine aboard to prepare such things as should be sent for. The fift of May, wee went to the *Scrivano* to get leaue for Racke to be made for our sicke men: for by reason that our Linguist, and others of our companie had beene drunke in a *Jewes* house, we complained and desired the *Jew* might be prohibited to sell them any: whereupon the Gouvernour forbade the *Jewes* and *Turkes* the selling of Wine or Racke in the Towne. The Gouvernour, at our and the *Scrivano*'s request, gaue leaue onely that a *Jew* by his appointment, should brew it in our house; but to preuent disorders, would permit none elsewhere. On the eight in the afternoon, vnderstanding the Gouvernour and principall men were set in the Custome house, expecting the *Surat* Captaine then comming ashore, he went also to see the manner of his entertainment. At our comming, we found the Gouvernour sitting at the vpper end of a long roome vpon a Bench of stone, on a Carpet: by him in a row, on the same Bench couered with fine mattes diuers Merchants, and men of qualitie about twentie; on the other side against him, were about as many set in Chaires: betweene them was made a lane reaching downe to a square place, three steps high from the floore railed in and matted, in which the *Scrivano* and Officers of the Custome house sate on Carpets. The Gouvernour bade vs welcome, told vs hee had giuen the chiefe Broker order to come see our goods, and procure their sale; caused vs to sit downe, two Merchants offering vs their places, and called for Cohoh and Tobacco. After halfe an houre thus spent, the Captaine came ashore, in his owne boat curiously painted, rowed by twentie of his own seruants, all in white linnen, with a Tilt of red silke, many silk Streamers, his Saile of fine Callico, with diuers Drummes, Waits, and ill Trumpets, his owne Iunke, and the Towne-Chambers adding their reports to make vp the musicke (if such confused sounds may be so called) Attended by a few slaues trimmed vp with Silkes, and course Sattins, hee entred the 60



the place where we sate, where the Gouvernour rose and saluted him, and placed him next him : and many complements of welcome passed from him, and from the rest of the Merchants : only he in the height of his pride, neglected vs, and wee accordingly him, though wee thought, the Captaines courtesie to him, sending his long-boat and men to free his Iunke (being foure or five hundred tunnes, and aground) with his kind entertainment aboard our ship, had deserued better respect. After a little time in complements, Cohoh was againe brought to all the company, and after it six Velts, two giuen to the Captaine, and foure to his foure Merchants, which being put on, and Salams giuen, they againe tooke their seats, sitting like so many painted Images, their Coats being of course Gold and Siluer Veluet. One thing wee obserued as the vsuall custome of this Towne, at the arriual of any Iunke, and the landing of the Captaine, there is free libertie to all the Mariners and Passengers of the same Iunke, to bring ashore as much of their goods as each man can carrie on his backe, free from paying any Custome : in which manner passed by at this present, three hundred persons of that Iunke, with their luggage, to their habitation without molestation. On the ninth, our Landlord and the *Scrivano* told vs of three Iunkes of *Diu*, and foure *Malabars* that stayed at *Aden*, hearing of our ship, and would not come without our Passe, which they intreated vs to grant. The forme of our Passe subscribed by the Captaine and three Merchants, was this.

**V** Hereas the Gouvernour of the Towne of Mocha, understanding that there are diuers Iunkes now riding before Aden, fearing to come to this Port, as doubting good vsage from vs the English; hath intreated vs to giue vnto him, our Certificate or Passe, for the said Iunkes, or for any other that vsuall trade to this Port, to come in freely, without any iniurie done vnto them, either in bodie or goods by vs, and to haue good and friendly quarter, as louing friends and Merchants amongst vs: Wee finding good vsage by the Gouvernour himselfe, and forwardnesse by all men to giue vs free Trade and commerce, and as well out of our good disposition, and inclination to peace, as for the satisfaction of the Gouvernour, in his request; Wee, by these presents, doe promise and giue them all freedome to passe quietly, and assure them friendly vsage, to their content: so as they be not enemies to our dread Soueraigne, the Kings Maiestie of England, or his Subiects. In witnesse whereof, wee haue put to our Firmes, &c.

A larger Passe at the Gouvernours request, and more generall, for the quiet departure of all Iunkes, &c. was after made, which I forbore to transcribe.

The tenth, the Captaine of the *Dabul* Iunke inuited vs to his house to a Banquet, where we found the Gouvernour with fiftie principall persons, besides Attendants; All rose and bade vs welcome: wee sate not long but Coho and Sherbet were brought, Tobacco, and diuersitie of Fruits, as Plummes, Apricokes and Mangos, we thinking these to bee our Feast, and readie soone after to depart. But the Gouvernour and Captaine desired vs to stay, and eate Bread and Salt with them, which we did; at last, though late, our greatest cheere comming, being about fixtie Dishes of sundry sorts of meats, baked, roasted, boyled, stewed, and sodde, but all mingled with Rice, with diuers sorts of Sallers, in manner as in *India*.

Our Cargason was of bad wares for the most part, which had lien in *India*, till they were neere spoyled, and so hang on our hands; wee therefore importuned the Gouvernour, and hee charged the Broker to procure our sale with great earnestnesse: we obtayned leaue also, contrary to the common custome, to come and goe aboard and ashore at our pleasure without demanding any leaue, and charged the Water-Bayliffe not to molest vs. On the twentieth, it was obserued in generall that the Monson changed.

The foure and twentieth, The *Scrivano* told me that he vnderstood that our men of the Ship, at their comming ashore, sold in the *Bazar*, Baftas and Sword blades: he said, the Gouvernour had promised for the poore mens goods to demand no custome, and therefore they should not feare to bring it ashore, but to sell it at the house; for at the *Bazar*, was a disgrace to vs and our Nation. On the one and thirtieth, the ship was in danger to haue beene burnt, one taking Tobacco in the spirit-saile yard arme, and the cole falling in a fold of the saile, which there burned two or three breadths, and was long smelt before it could be found: and Tobacco taking was prohibited, except in the Cook-roome or Captaines Cabin. In regard of recouering our sicke men, discovering the coast, and procuring ballast in stead of Lead, taken out of the ship, it was concluded, that the ship should goe ouer to *Affab* on the Coast of *Africa*: and Master *Bassen* Masters Mate, was sent to sound and discover before.

The tenth of Iune, we had speech with the Gouvernour, and in other discourse learned of him, that hee was Gouvernour of *Aden* when the *Ascension* came thither, where hee imprisoned the Captaine and *Ios. Salbanke* two dayes; as he said, doubting they were not Merchants, but a man of Warre: that he was Gouvernour here at Sir *H. Muddletons* apprehension, which he excused by the ill rule of our people, and bad disposition of the *Basha*; that he was blamed for the fact; but the *Basha*, whose seruant he then was, commanded that and a great deale more, God knew his vnwillingnesse to it, and sorrow for it: but these things are past, feare you nothing. Here wee saw how farre he and the *Scrivano* were to be trusted.



On the thirteenth, the Gouvernour sent for vs, told vs that he had acquainted the *Basha* with our purpose, to send vp one to him for his *Firman*, who had promised his welcome whether wee came or sent; he thought it our best course that one should goe, and we should haue Horfe, Camels and Seruants of his to attend vs; and he would write in our behalfe.

Losse of a  
Monson, how  
dangerous.

M. Salbank's  
journey to  
*Sinan*.

The nineteenth, arriued a Iunke expected from *Gudda*, which brought Chamlets, bad Corall, Amber beads, much Siluer to invest in Spices and *Indian* Linnen, many passengers from *Mecca*. Shee brought newes of a Ship laden hence the last yeere for *Grand Cairo*, by losse of her Monson through contrarie windes, forced to stay a little about *Gudda* till next yeere. By this Iunke the Gouvernour receiued letters, that the *Gran Signior* had sent diuers ornaments of State to the *Basha* of *Sinan*, and had confirmed to him his gouernment for seuen yeeres longer, and himsele in this Towne of *Mocha* vnder him for the like time, whereof hee seemed not a little proud. In regard of my continuall indisposition, it was thought fit Master *Salbank* should goe, and a Present for the *Basha* to be prepared, with some merchandise also to carry with him. The *Scriuano* offered Master *Salbank* his Mule to ride vpon, which he accepted with thanks. He was furnished with two Camels, one Cooke, one Horle-keeper, three Seruants of the Gouvernours, whose wages he had compounded to pay, with *Alberto* a Linguist, and taking leaue and letters of the Gouvernour. On the three and twentieth, he departed about sixe in the euening, the nights being the accustomed time of trauell. That morning wee receiued a Letter from our Captaine of his safe arriual at *Affab*; of their good health, and finding ballast and other prouisions. 10

The Gouver-  
nours feast.

Cards, chesses,  
iugglers.

On the sixe and twentieth, the Gouvernour sent me a Horfe by one of his Seruants, desiring mee to ride with him in companie of other Merchants to his banquetting house, some halfe mile out of Towne, there to spend the day in mirth. About halfe an houre after came the chiefe *Scriuano* to call me, with whom I rid and met the Gouvernour in the way, whom we accompanied to the place. It was in the midst of a groue of Date Trees, in which was a faire house, and within it a large Tanke, and other roomes of pleasure to sit in. After a little while, He with diuers others went into the Tanke, and sported therein halfe an houre. Then was *Cohoh* brought and giuen the companie; after that, Grapes, Peaches, Muske, and water Melons, Almonds blanched with others, Raisins in great abundance (for he had at least fiftie or sixtie Ghefts, besides attendants) and alwayes betweene whiles *Coho* and Tobacco. Thus with Musicke, indifferent good, he spent the forenoone. After prayers he went againe into the Tanke with others, where in hee spent an houre in sport with his companie: after which, the rest of the time was spent, some at Cards, some at Chesses, himsele beholding juggling tricks vntill foure at euening. Then were brought in at least a hundred dishes of diuers sorts, good meat, but cold and ill dressed. E- uery dish might well haue serued foure men with good stomacks. Hee vsed me well, and was earnest to haue me into the Tanke, which I excused by my late sicknesse. He answered, if at any time I had a desire to wash, he would haue me come hither and take my pleasure, and the Keeper should permit me and vse me well. 30

Good fire-  
worke, figures.

The twelfth of Iuly, at euening was a great shew made by the *Surat* Captaine before the Gouvernour, being the time of the New Moone: Many figures artificially made in fire-works, rare and excellent. The Gouvernour sent for me to see them, placed me in a Chaire by him, told mee of Letters that day receiued from *Sinan* of the *Basha's* *Firman*, granted before Master *Salbank* came, who hearing of his comming staid it and made another, as he gaue instructions, and deliuered it him with his owne hand. 40

*Gudda* of great  
Trade.  
*Kutchine*.

*Aliambo*:

Portugall Iunk.

Returne of the  
Ship.

M. Salbank's  
his retorne.

Relation of  
his voyage and  
entertainment

On the thirteenth, passed by the Road of *Gudda* a Iunke of foure or fise hundred tunnes, bound for *Kutchine*, a dayes saile within the entrance of the Red Sea; I suppose it not farre from Cape *Guardesun* on the Coast of *Afrike*. Shee is reported to be rich in gold, Royalls of plate, and many sorts of Merchandise: yeerly comes to *Mocha*, brings Myrrhe, Trunkes for *Coho* seeds, at the first beginning of the westerly Monson, and dispatching here, goes vp to *Gudda* or *Aliambo*, and there sells her *Coho* and *Indian* goods which shee taketh in at *Kutchine*, brought thither by *Portugall* Frigats from *Diu*, and other places. Her lading outward is *Indico's*, all manner of *Indian* Linnen, Gumme, Lac and Myrrhe; shee is freighted by the *Portugalls*, and the Gouvernour wished we might meet with her, which it is likely we had done, had not our ship beene absent, which returned into the Road on the one and twentieth. I went aboard, and was told, that the King of *Affab* with his brother and brothers sonne, had beene aboard and receiued good entertainment, in requitall whereof, the King promised to send for store of Beeces and Goats: but in the euening, by signe of a light giuen, fled with all his people vp into the Mountaynes, pretending a pursuit of his enemies, and neuer returned so much as thanks. 50

The seuen and twentieth, before day, Master *Salbank* returned in perfect health and content with his *Firmans*. He related to me of his hard iourney, good respect giuen him by the way in all places; being alway met before he entred any Towne of note, with Horfe and Foot, to guard him to the Gouvernours, and of them receiued with good welcome; his prouisions provided by their Officers (but at his owne charge) the Gouvernour of *Mocha* seruant in the name of the *Basha*, procuring his good vsage. Before he came into *Sinan* he was met a mile without the Citie by 60



by fortie or fiftie braue *Turks* well horsed, sent by the *Basha* to bring him in; which conueyed him to a house readie and richly furnished against his comming. He receiued friendly entertainment of the principall *Xeriffe* and the *Basha's* chiefe Treasurer, which were both appointed to welcome him. And two dayes after, the *Basha* himselfe gaue him hearing, of whom he receiued courteous entertainment and two *Firmans*, both of one Tenor, but one written in a fairer Character then the other, to shew to the *Grand Signior*, if occasion required.

I find, by his report, that the Citie of *Sinan* with the Countrey adioyning, will vent yearly some quantitie of *English* cloth, those parts for three quarters of the yeere being cold; yea, in this Summer time a man might well haue endured a turred Gowne. Besides, there is a Court kept, to which belong fortie or fiftie thousand gallant *Turks*, most of which wore garments of *Venetian* cloth of great prices. Also not farre from thence lyeth a Leskar of Souldiers, to the number of thirtie thousand, that continually are in the field against an *Arab* King not yet conquered, which liueth in the Mountaynes adioyning, all which, he saith, are reported to weare Coats quilted of Cotton made of *India Pintado's*, which is deare and litle seruiceable, for want of cloth to keepe them from cold, which there is extreme. To this I may adde the Citie of *Tjeis*, and the Leskar of thirtie or fortie thousand Souldiers, gouerned by an *Almaine* turned *Moore*, subiect to the *Basha* of *Sinan*, where is much cloth worne, not aboue five dayes iourney from *Mocha*, yet very cold.

Sale of *English* cloth likely.

*Arabia*, not wholly subiect to the *Turke*.

The second of August, the Gouvernour sent our Captaine a vest, a rich one, by his chiefe *Shambander* with Drummes and Trumpets, his Boat bedecked with Flags and Streamers in great brauerie, which was deliuered with great reuerence, and receiued accordingly.

The Captaine vested.

The eleuenth, the Captaine of *Dabul Melic Marnet*, and *Nakada Roofwan* the *Chaul* Captaine, sent vs their Letters of recommendations to their Kings, according to our desire, certifying of our friendly vsage here, and promise to defend them homewards bound from Pyrates, and therefore beseeching, in our behalte, freedome of Trade and friendly vsage in their Kingdomes. The fourteenth, we gaue our Passes (as at other times to others) vnto two Captaines of the *Malabarres*, *Amet Ben Mahomet* of *Cannanor* vnder *Sultan Ala Raja*, and to *Abu Buker* of *Calicut* vnder the *Samorine*.

This day came into the Road a small Galley from *Cairo*, with many passengers, *Turks* and *Jewes*, rich in Royals, Chekines, Corall, Damaskes, Sattins, Chamlet, Opium, Veluets and Taffata's. Shee had bene in her voyage but thirtie dayes. I had conference with the *Jewes*, one of which had bene of my acquaintance in *Barbarie*. They report, that the *Grand Signiors* brother, being made Emperor, had imprisoned his two Nephewes, done to death some *Grandes*, and otherwise discontented the great Ones, and that he was deposed, imprisoned, and the eldest of his Nephewes created. That there were two hundred thousand Souldiers sent against the *Persian*, for the conquest of *Gurgistan*, with other things; whereof some proued true, others false, according to the fate of Merchants newes. Some *Jewes* and *Turks* desired passage for them and their goods in our ship to *Surat*; and it is likely when they know vs better, much profit may be made this way, their Iunkes being so pestered vsually with vnciuill people.

Many passengers both for Merchandize and Pilgrimage to *Meca*.

Thus hauing sold and bartered our goods as well as we might, hope of such a Cargason, and dispatched our businesse, wee visited the Gouvernour and desired his Letter testimoniall to the Lord Embassador, which he gaue vs; we tooke our leaue the nineteenth of him, the *Scriuano* and principall men of the Towne, from whom wee receiued protestations of much kindnesse alwayes, came aboard, intending the next day to set saile for *India*, in companie of the *Surat* Iunke, according to our instructions.

## CHAP. VI.

Briefe Notes of two Voyages of Master MARTIN PRING into the East Indies; the first with Captaine NICHOLAS DOWNTON, Generall of foure ships, in which he went Master in the New-yeeres Gift Admirall.



From England to the *Canaries*, we vsed our Chanell Compasses, and from thence our Meridionall. Whiles we vsed our Chanell Compasses, we gaue not any allowance for the variation; which afterwards we did in all our Courses. Wednesday, the fifteenth of Iune, 1614. we anchored in the Road of *Soldania*, the latitude whereof is foure and thirtie degrees, the longitude from the Lizard eight and twentie degrees, of a great circle East, the variation one degree, thirtie minutes, North westing.

Compasses.

*Soldania*.

The fourth of Iuly, we had the Cape of *Good Hope* East seuen leagues off. On Saturday, the sixt of August, we escried the Land of *Saint Laurence*. The Riuer of *Saint Augustine* hath in latitude

The Riuer of *Saint Augustine* latitude



Westminster  
Hall.

latitude twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* twentie three degrees, of a great Circle. We left it on the twelfth : and the thirteenth wee had *Westminster Hall* (which is a flat Hill, lying North-east by North from the Road of Saint *Augustine*) South-east by South nine leagues off, being in latitude three and twentie degrees, variation seenteene degrees and twentie minutes, North westing. On the fourteenth and fifteenth, we found that the Current had set vs to the North, of our account, fixe leagues.

Ioanna.

On the eighteenth, by obseruation of the Sunne at noone, wee found the eleuation of the South Pole to be seenteene degrees and twentie fixe minutes. The three and twentieth, wee descried the land of *Ioanna*.

The second of September, we passed the Line : the ninth, wee anchored in *Delisba Road* on the North side of *Socotora*, in twelue degrees and thirtie five minutes, variation eightene degrees and thirtie minutes, longitude eleuen degrees and twentie minutes, of a great Circle to the East of Saint *Augustine*.

Whirlewinds.

Their anchoring, and what passed at *Swally*, yee had before in Captaine *Downton*. The second of March, we left the Road of *Swally*. On the fourth, we were as low as *Damon*, and saw the Vice-roy with his *Paderosa Armada*, which chased vs till the sixt at noone, and then left vs. The night before wee came in sight of *Damon*, wee had many Whirlewinds, the weather being cleere, as if the two Monsons had bene struing for victorie. The sixteenth, *Cochin* bare three leagues off East halfe North. It stands in ten degrees close by the waters side; the Land so low that we could see nothing but Trees : but vp in the Countrey are Mountaynes : variation fifteen degrees North North-easting, this euening.

Eclipse.

The nineteenth, at noone being Sunday, there was an Eclipse of the Sunne, the end whereof by my obseruation, continued till one in the afternoone and fortie five minutes. The distance of the Sunne from the Zenith, was twentie seven degrees and thirtie minutes, iust as the Eclipse was ended. Munday, by obseruation of the Crosiers we were in fixe degrees, and by the Starres of the great Beare also. Tuesday, at five in the morning, we descried the Coast of *Seyloan* five leagues off, which neere the water side riseth full of small Hummocks, and vp in the Countrey are Mountaynes, whereof one like a *Friers Cowle*. Friday, *Punta de Galia* North-east halfe North eight leagues off, wee perceiued that the Current set westward. By obseruation of the Starre in the great Beares backe, we were in five degrees and thirtie minutes.

Zeilan.

1615.  
Currents.

The fourth and fift of April, we perceiued the Current had set vs five leagues and two third parts to the North, being in one degree and fittie minutes, when by our way wee should haue been in one degree thirtie three minutes. We found a like Current on the ninth. The two and twentieth, wee found that the Current had carried vs in foure dayes thirteene leagues to the South of our computation. The third of May, at noone, wee were in foure degrees and thirtie minutes, and found that since the former noone the Current had carried vs foure leagues South of our computation. We had sight of *Sumatra*. The like we found at noone the next day. Wee saw the Ile of *Enganio*, the North point bearing South-west eight leagues off. The sixt, at noon, we were in five degrees and thirtie seven minutes, carried to the South of our accounts five leagues by the Current. We saw the South point of *Sumatra* East South-east low by the water.

Salt Ilands.  
*Pumicestone* Ile.  
These Marine  
discourses are  
here abridged  
and cut off.  
partly because  
I thinke few  
will much af-  
fect that part,  
and now many  
Mariners  
kn with m by  
experience;  
and in the  
borrowed  
books of the  
Companie, I  
was forced to  
be Scribe my-  
selfe, the re-  
doublt of  
which wearied  
me. Yet haue I  
now in on  
and another  
while in ano-  
ther, expressed  
the most ma-  
teriall in this  
kinde.

On the seuenth, we were at noone in fixe degrees and ten minutes, the Current hauing set vs sixe degrees and an halfe to the South of our accounts.

This morning we saw the Salt Ile, which is in the entrance of the Straights of *Sunda*, bearing East, two third parts North. The tenth of May, the South-east winds began to blow fresh, onely now and then a gust which would sometimes alter it, and that about the change or full of the Moone, or else we had it alway betweene the South South-east, and the East South-east : but most commonly at South-east. On the tenth, the Generall (wee being able to doe no good the other way) thought best to beare vp to the North of the Salt Iles, where vnder the North end of the Northermost, wee anchored in twentie fadoms oaze, within three quarters of a mile of the shoare, finding the like depth all alongst the North end of this Iland in that distance. Betweene the high Salt-Ile and this, is *Pumicestone*-Ile, which alwaies burneth, and casts forth *Pumicestones* like to *Fuego*. The Northermost we called *Coco*, of the fruit found there. These *Pumicestones* we cast into the water, which swam like Corke. The twelfth, the Pinnasse was sent to *Pulo-Beced* for water : it was brackish. On the sixteenth, our men found a Pond of fresh water, on the North end of the Salt Ile, in the flat ground by the waters side, and filled water there. We set saile thinking to haue gotten to the South of the Salt Ile, the winde being at North-east, but could not preuaile against the Current. The nineteenth, we were in fixe degrees, five minutes of South latitude.

The twentieth, the Current North North-west and North-west, whereas before for ten degrees it had set directly West betweene those Ilands.

After much contending with the weather and Current, hauing had very good water from *Palmeto* Ile, halfe a mile within the East point in a sandy Coue.

The first of Iune, we set saile and stood to the South, making a South-west way by meanes of the Current that sets West South-west, alongst the shoare. On the three and twentieth of Iune, Master



Master *Jordan* came aboard: and the next our Generall sent a Present to the King of *Bantam*. Note, that while we rid in the Straits mouth, we found the Current from twelue at noone, till foure in the morning to runne very swift, and from thence till noone very easie. Sunday the sixth of August, our Generall departed this life.

The tenth of October, Captaine *Jordan* came in the Iuncke from *Iacatra*, and related his kind entertainment, the King being wholly deuoted to vs, and hating the *Dutch*.

The seuen and twentieth of Nouember, the *Flemmings* set vpon *Kewee* his house (he was our Merchant to buy Pepper for vs) with intent to keepe him Prisoner in their owne house: But  
10 Captaine *Jordan* hauing notice thereof presently went and rescued him in despight of the *Flemmings*, and brought him to the *English* house. The two and twentieth of December, hauing receiued our lading, we left the Road of *Bantam*.

Their returne:

The seuenth of Ianuary, we were in seuen degrees five minutes of South latitude, wee found that the Current had set vs South South-east nine leagues in twentie houres, the variation this euening was three degrees fortie minutes North-westing. The two and twentieth, our Generall Master *Thomas Elkington* departed this life.

The first of March, we anchored in the Bay of *Soldania*, our Company most part in good health. The next day we set vp our Tents ashore, landed our sicke men and our water caske. On Sunday the third, *Cory* came downe vnto vs, who told vs of one Captaine *Crosse*, which liued  
vpon *Penguin* Iland with eight men and a Boy: to whom Master *Dodsworth* had giuen a Boat. I  
20 sent the Pinnasse which brought three, and left there other three. These reported, that on Sa-

*Soldania.*

*Cory.*

turday last, Captaine *Crosse* with two others, their Boat being split in pieces, made a *Gingada* of Timber, and had gotten halfe way betwixt the Iland and the ship, when two Whales rose vp by them, one of them so neere, that they strooke him on the backe with a wooden spit; after which they sunke downe and left them. Captaine *Crosse* thus terrified with the Whales, and benumbed with the water, returned to the Iland, and hauing shifted a shirt and refreshed himselfe, aduentured the second time, giuing charge to one of the Company, to haue an eye on him so long as he could see him. This fellow saith, he saw him a great way from the Iland, and on the sudden lost sight of him; which is the last newes of him.

*Crosse* with other condemned persons left to inhabit there.  
*Crosse* lost.


The eight of March, (all things ready) we departed, hauing gotten good store of sheepe and  
30 some Bullockes. From the Tropike till we were in one degree eighteene minutes of South latitude, we met alway with a Southerly Current, which set vs to the South about seuen or eight miles in foure and twentie houres. The reason I guesse to be, because we were alway to the Eastwards of that Current, which sets towards the North-west from *Saint Helena*, so that wee went in the edge of the Eddy of the North-west Current. The five and twentieth of Iune, 1616. we arriued in the Downes.

## CHAP. VII.

40 *The second Voyage of Captaine PRING into the East-Indies. Or a Relation of the fifth Voyage for the Ioynt Stocke, set forth by the Honorable and Worshipfull of the East-Indie Societie: consisting of five Ships, viz. the James Royall, of burthen a thousand tunnes, ROWLAND COYT-MORE Master: the Anne Royall, nine hundred tunnes; ANDREW SHILLING Master: the Gift, eight hundred tunnes; NATHANIEL SALMON Master: the Bull, foure hundred tunnes; ROBERT ADAMS Master: the Bee, one hundred and  
50 fiftie tunnes; IONH HATCH Master. All vnder the Gouvernment of MARTIN PRING.*

### §. I.

*Occurrents in the way, at Surat, Bantam, and Iacatra.*

60  No 1616. The fourth of February, our Fleet departed from *Grauesend*. Thursday the sixth, Master *Maurice Abbot*, Deputie with diuers of the Commissioners were aboard the ships, and mustered all our men and payd their Harborough wages. The next day they departed, and all our men were entred into whole pay. After much foule weather. The fift of March, wee departed from the Downes. March the seuenth, we had the Lizard North foure leagues off, which lyeth



lyeth in fiftie degrees ten minutes. From the Lizard we steered away by a Meridionall Compasse, giuing allowance in all our courses for the Variation. The seuen and twentieth, 1617. at noone we had in latitude twentie eight degrees ten minutes, the North-east point of the *Gran Canaries* West North-west fise leagues off.

The two and twentieth of Iune, we had sight of *Soldania* point, and the same afternoone anchored in the Bay, whence we departed on the thirteenth of Iuly. On the three and twentieth, we descryed *Terra de Natal*.

\* An Eclipse.

The third of August, we descryed the land of Saint *Laurence*, in twentie two degrees fortie fixe minutes of latitude. On the eleuenth, we saw the Ile of *Molalia*. The Kings name is *Fernando Mary O Fannadill*: *Pamon* the name of the Port where we road: *Commoro* by the Inhabitants is called *Angaziya*. The next Iland to the East is *Joanna*: and the next to the East-ward of that is *Mawotta*.

The sixe of August, at night the Moone was totally eclipsed, when the foot of the Crossiers was nine above the Horizon: it began at eight, and continued til it was past eleuen, and was totally eclipsed for the space of an houre and halfe. The five and twentieth of August, at night betweene seuen and eight a clocke in South latitude foure degrees twentie minutes. The water of the Sea seemed almost as white as Milke, and so continued till the next morning: and then as the day came on the water began to alter againe. The next night wee were in the same water againe, but not altogether so white. The thirtieth, before day we saw the fore-said white water againe: and likewise the next night, but could find no ground.

The eight of September, we mounted the rest of our Ordnance; this night at twelue of the clocke we had six foote and an halfe water in hold, which in foure houres with both Pumps was freed, and after that the Pumps did sucke so much in the space of halfe an houre, that it would rise twelue inches water.

A great and dangerous Leake,

The ninth, in the morning, I caused the Chiefe Commanders of the Fleete to come aboard, where after that I had giuen them notice of the Accident, I willed them to send for their carpenters to haue their aduice in searching for the Leake, and some of their Companies besides to helpe our men to pumpe; others to rummage in hold, and the rest to stich our sprit-sayle with Ocom, wherewith we made tryall diuers times vnder the bidge of the shippe, but could not find the Leake, yet by diuers experiments within boord, we found that the Leake was before the Mast, and therefore the next morning being the tenth, wee fitted our sprit-sayle againe, as before, and let it downe before the sterne of the ship, and so brought it afterwards on by degrees, vntill by our iudgement it was vnder the starfe of the keele, and the sterne, and there (God bee prayed) our Leake was partly stopped, for it rose not aboue fixe inches in a Glasse, where before it rose twelue inches. After this comfortable newes, we steered away our course, and within three Glasses after the Ocom was washed out, so that we came to our old stint againe; this night we sent for one of the *Bulls* Pumpes to free our water from before, where there was alwayes till then a foot and an halfe water more then was in the Well.

The eleuenth. we fitted our sprit-sayle with Ocom, and let it downe againe, in which action it pleased God so to fauour vs, that within an houre after, our shippe was thighter then at any time before, which I pray God long to continue.

This ship did belong to Don Pedro de Almeida, and also most of the goods, *Mozambique*. Captain Nence and Jones.

At our arrivall at Swally, wee heard of two Dutch ships, and it away at Goudewer, viz. the Rotterdam of a thou and runnes, and a small Pinnasse; the one forced ashore. The 18. the other: The 19. of Iuly 1617. one in sight of another.

Portugall spies.

The twelfth, in the morning we descryed a sayle which the *Gift* did fetch vp in the afternoone: this was a *Portugall* which came from *Mozambique*, hauing about fife Kintals of Elephants teeth. In the morning, the *Bee* came to vs from *Swally* Road, and gaue vs intelligence of the rest of the Fleet, that they were all in safetie in the Road of *Swally*, which was no small ioy vnto vs. Likewise, we vnderstood that they had brought the Iuncke and the two shippes, which they chased the sixteenth of this moneth, into the Road with them; the Iuncke being a great ship of *Surat*, belonging to the Mother Queene, the other two *English* shippes which had her in chase, the one of the ships was called the *Francis*, a ship of one hundred and sixtie tunnes, belonging to (the other the *Lion* of one hundred and twentie tuns, set forth by Philip Bernardy, an Italian Merchant in London. The Captaine in the *Francis* was Nence, and of the *Lion* Thomas Iones, who in former time had bene Boat-swaine of the *Hector*.

This euening (God be prayed) we arriued in *Swally* Road without the Sands, where wee found the rest of the Fleet; the fore-said Iuncke, and the two *English-men* of Warre; the *Bull* and the *Lion* being got in on the barre. The five and twentieth, I gaue order that the *Francis* should goe in also, that we might be more secure of her and her Confort; the same euening, the *Bee* and the *Prize* went in also.

The ninth of October, at night, I sent vp one and twentie chests of Corall to *Surat*, which was landed from the *Anne* two dayes before; at night I sent eight tunne, foure hundred of Elephants teeth to *Surat* from the *Prize*. In the morning, wee had a consultation aboard the *James*, where it was determined that the *Anne* or *Gift*, should by Gods grace bee laden for England.

This afternone, twentie sayle of Frigats from *Goa*, arriued at the barre of *Surat*, the Captaine Maior, Don Pedro de Asadado, from one of those Frigats, fise of the Countrey people came ashore.



ashoare amongst our men, which being discovered, three of them fled and two were taken by our guard, who confessed that they came from *Goa* a moneth before, being commanded by the Vice-Regent to range the Coast, to discover the *English*; which found, they were to returne againe, if not descryed, to proceed on for *Cambaya* to waste the *Cassallo*.

The fourteenth \* in the morning, I sent fourteene tunne of Elephants teeth to *Surat*, from the *Prize*, which were guarded vp with thirtie sixe men that went for the Conuoy of our mony to *Amadaur*. The seuenteenth, wee sent vp twelue tunne, and foure hundred teeth.

The seuenteenth Frigats aforesaid returned againe faire by vs, and stood to the South-ward, we sent the rest of our teeth to *Surat*. On the two and twentieth, and this afternoone we landed sixteene chests of Corall, and two of Mors teeth from the *Bull*.

The fourteenth of Nouember, being Friday, we dispeeded the *Bee* for *Iasques*, a monethes pay was giuen to all the Company in the Fleet, (the chiefe Commanders and the Merchants excepted) which amounted to three thousand three hundred and two Rials of eight. And after that, this afternoone we landed Cloth, Tinne, Cafes of Wine, and strong Waters, with the rest of the Presents that were in the Cabbin.

The seuenteenth of Ianuary, being Saturday, the *Bee* returned from *Persia*: this day seuen *Mallah* bar Iunckes Road in the offing, to whom I sent out the *Francis*, who brought in two of them, and the *Bee* other two.

Thursday, the twelfth of March, we departed from *Swally* Road, the same euening we anchored neere the Barre of *Surat*. The seuenteenth, in the morning, the wind veered vp Northerly, and in the afternoone the *Anne* departed from vs, bound for the Red Sea. Tuesday, the eighteenth, I dispeeded the *Bull*. At noone wee had gone South-east by South twelue leagues, latitude, eleuen degrees twentie five minutes, the winds (as foure or five dayes before) at night a little breath off the shoare, by day in the afternoone a fresh gale from the Sea; this day in the fore-noone we saw eight sayle of ships to the South-wards of vs, and three betwene vs and the shoare; moreouer, two Gallies and ten Frigats, these were chased to the North-wards, by the *Bee* and the *Francis*, which I had sent the night before, to keepe faire the shoare. The eight and twentieth, in the afternoone the *Francis* and the *Bee* being neere the shoare, and thwart of *Callicut*; the King sent off a Boat pretending to bee very desirous to speake with me, but I was too farre shot to the South-wards before that I heard the newes.

The second of Aprill, 1618. in the morning, we got into the Bay of *Brin Ian*, where we anchored in fourteene fathome water, within halfe a league of the Towne, a high picked hill like vnto a Sugar-loafe, bearing North-east by East by the Compasse, which is the best marke if it be cleane, to know the place; here is good refreshing to bee had, Hennes and Coco Nuts in abundance, Goates and great store of fish, also good fresh water springing from a Rocke; but wee were faine to pay seuentie Rials of eight, a Vest of Cloth, a small Peece, a Looking-glasse, and a Sword, and all too little to giue her content. For after the Gouvernour had receiued the Present with the mony, and granted vs leaue, he came againe with seuen or eight hundred men, and demanded more money, and had we not kept a strong guard at the spring, hee would haue put vs by it after our money was paid. Sunday, the fifth, at one of the clocke at night, the wind coming off the shoare, we weighed anchor and departed. This euening we were thwart of a headland, which lyeth South-east by East from *Brin Ian* eight leagues, from whence vnto the Cape East, two thirds South are seuen leagues. Neere vnto the first head-land lyeth two Rockes a good heighth aboue water, and a mile without them, there is a most dangerous Rocke, which is euer with the surface of the water, but if you come not within twentie sixe fathome, you shall goe cleere enough.

On the seuenth, in the euening at sixe we had Cape *Commorin* North North-east one third, North five leagues off, being in thirtie fathome. The nineteenth of Iune, Captaine *Ball* and Master *Pickham* came aboard. This afternoone (God bee praysed) wee arrived in the Roade of *Bantam*.

The foure and twentieth, I went to the *Pangram*, to compose the matter betweene Captaine *Ball* and the *Chineses*, whose Iuncke Captaine *Ball* had arrested for certaine debts due by the *Chineses*; where (according to Captaine *Balls* desire) I made proffer of the re-delivery of the Iuncke, conditionally, that the *Pangram* would doe vs Iustice; which he passed his word to performe. Munday, the sixth of Iuly, in the afternoone, I went againe to the *Pangram*, Master *George Ball*, Master *Rich*, Master *Pickham*, and diuers other Merchants in company. His malice was so great against Master *Ball*, that he would not grant him access, whereupon I sent him word that Master *Ball* had brought the bills of debt, and was onely able to giue a reason of all passages betwixt the *English* and the *Chineses*, whereof I was vtterly ignorant, his Messenger returned the second time, and told me that Master *Ball* might not be admitted, and so wee left the Court.

The first of September in the morning, the wind being off the shoare, we weighed, and stood towards Point *Ayre*, keeping along in seuen fathome vpon the maine, vntill wee were within three miles of the said Point, where we had seuen fathom wanting a quarter the one cast, and the

\* This morning, the 17. saile of Frigate departed for *Cambaya*, passing faire by vs.

K. of *Calicut*.

*Brin Ian* and the refreshing there.

Perfidious people.

Dangerous Rockes.

Cape *Commorin*.

*Bantam*.

*Pangram* of *Bantam* his iniustice.

Point *Ayre*.



The Dutch had 3. great ships, which did ride right in the way that wee were to passe: 3 at the Careening place, and 1. in the Road of *Iacatra*. Deliueraunce from 3. dangers. The 19. of this moneth, the *Angel* a Dutch ship of 500. tunnes, came from *Amboyne* laden with nuts & cloues, and departed from thence the 25. of the same.

the next but three fathom; some supposing that our ship did touch, but I could not perceiue it. Off this Point there lieth a flat shoald almost with the frame of the water, but you haue seuen fathom within two Cables length of it. This afternoone, as we stood in with the Dutch ships, which rode in the faire way betwixt the two Ilands, euen as wee came within a mile of the ships, our ship came aground, but (God be prayesd) we got her off againe without any hurt at all, and so stood in the Bay, where againe wee came within two Cables length of another shoald, which lieth South-east by South from the *Flemmish* Iles, one league and an halfe off.

Wednesday, the second of September in the afternoone, it pleased God to bring vs into the Road of *Iacatra* in safety, hauing deliuered vs from three imminent dangers the day before, God grant we may alwaies remember it with praise and thankesgiuing to his holy Name.

The sixe and twentieth of September, being Saturday, early in the morning, I went to visite the King the second time, remayning in his Parke; and finding him in a pleasant vaine, I moued him concerning of former businesse; and before I left him, we came to a finall conclusion, which was this: First, in consideration of our free importation and exportation of all manner of Commodities, to giue him seuen hundred Rials of eight *per annum*, and fiftene hundred Rials of eight, for a plat of ground to build on.

## ¶ II.

### Dutch wrongs, and the Fights betwixt Sir THOMAS DALE and them.

Dutch iniuries to the English.

**S**unday, the seuen and twentieth in the euening, Master *Bishop* arriued in this Road, in a *Praw*, which came from *Iapparra*, wherein was a *Cogee* which brought the *Matran* his Letter to Captaine *Ball*, wherefore I dispeeded him for *Bantam* the same night: he left two English behind him at *Iapparra*, one of them being fled from the Dutch, and had Letters from diuers of our People that are prisoners in the *Moluccas*, and amongst the rest, one was directed vnto me from Master *Richard Tatten*, wherein he complaineth very much of the boarish vsage of the Dutch, that will hardly allow them Rice to put in their bellies, and that vpon euery idle newes of the comming of any ships, they are still put in Irons.

French ship taken by Dutch.

Sir Thomas Dale Admirall of sixe ships. Alack againe.

The thirteenth of October in the euening, *Cornelius Marthon*, Commander of the French ship taken by the Dutch, came into the Road, and the same night came aboard of me, and after some discourse told me, that we had sixe ships comming for this place out of England, Sir *Thomas Dale* Admirall, for some speciall businesse at the *Moluccas*, and that hee was bound thither with the French ship, the *Souldhailer*, and the *Neptune*, to attend the comming of good friends. The seuen and twentieth in the euening, wee had foure foot and an halfe water in the *James Royall*, which wee freed in two houres with both our Pumpes, and afterward kept our Pumpe going vntill the next morning about ten of the clocke, at which time by letting downe of a sayle batted with Ocum, it pleased God to stop the leake againe. The one and thirtieth, I discovered a place for the careening of the *James Royall*, vpon the little Iland, that lieth next within *Taniam* point in the Bay of *Bantam*, we made all things readie to repaire vnto the foresaid Iland.

Taniam point.

Viun point. Polo Paniang.

The fiftenth of Nouember, the *Rose* arriued from *Teco*, bringing newes that the *Hollanders* had a Factorie there established soone after that ours was dissolved. The nineteenth, the *Moone*, the *Cloue*, the *Samson*, and the *Pepper-corne*, arriued from England, and anchored betweene *Viun* point, and *Polo-Paniang*. This day I went aboard of them, taking with me such fresh victuals as our ship did afford to congratulate their comming. Comming neere, I perceiued the *Cloue* to be Admirall, and therefore went first aboard of her, where I found Sir *Thomas Dale* the chiefe Commander, and Captaine *Iordaine* the President; I vnderstood by them, that they lost companie of the *Globe* to the Westward of the Cape, and (which was farre worfe) that they left the *Sunne* (Admirall of the Fleet) in great danger of casting away, vpon the Ile of *Engano*: they themselues hauing much adoe to double the Iland. Two dayes they rode still in this place expecting her comming, which was long before bildged vpon the Rockes, as afterwards we vnderstood to our great grieve. The two and twentieth in the morning, the foresaid ships stood in for *Bantam* Road, and as they passed by the Iland where our ship lay, wee saluted them with fiftene Peeces of Ordnance, which we had formerly planted on the shoare, and withall, tooke in our Flag, to shew our respect to Sir *Thomas Dale*, the Admirall of that Fleet.

Sunne lost at Engano.

Leake againe.

The eight and twentieth of Nouember, came two boats from *Engano*, with sixtie eight of the *Sunnes* men, who brought lamentable newes of the losse of the said ship with many of the companie, vpon the foresaid Iland. The nine and twentieth in the morning, the *Globe* arriued; this day our leake brake out againe, but was quickly stopped (God bee prayesd) by remoouing of the Bonnet. The thirtieth, our ship being cleared from stemie to sterne, the Carpenter went downe to search for the leake, and as they passed forward, thill taking vp the feeling as they went, in the formost roome sauing one, they found the leake being an augur hole left



left open in the middle of the keele; which was foure inches and three quarters about, which leake, if it had sprung vpon vs alone in the Sea, would haue tired all our companie in foure and twentie houres, herein the great mercie of GOD did manifestly appeare, in that it neuer brake out but when we had a Fleet about vs for our aide, GOD giue vs grace alwaies to remember it with praise and thanksgiuing to his holy Name.

Their leake found, being an agur hole left open.

The second of December being Saturday, Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Ball came aboard, because we had proclaimed a Fast through both the Fleets, and the Exercise to bee aboard the *James* the next day, which was the Sabbath: on which morning, the President and diuers Merchants came aboard, bringing Master Wrenne in companie: the Preacher of the *Sunne*, who exercised in the fore-noone, and Master Copeland our Minister, in the after-noone. This day the *Bee* set saile for *Engano*, being formerly ordained to goe thither, in hope to recouer some monies and goods they hold of the *Sunne*. The fourth in the after-noone, the *Swart Leo* arriued from *Potania*, and rode to the Westward of *Poolo Paniang*; Master Denton in regard of his acquaintance amongst the *Dutch*, was sent aboard of her in the barge, to enquire from whence shee came: who when he came aboard, found one *Hendricke Ianson* his old acquaintance, a man that had bene chiefe Factor for the *Dutch* in *Potania* a long time. This man with another inferiour Factor came aboard the *Moone* with Master Denton, where they were well entertained, till Sir Thomas Dale came aboard, and soone after were set on shoare at *Bantam* the same night, before day we resolved to goe forth with foure ships, the *Moone*, the *Cloue*, the *Globe*, and the *Samson*, that we might the better incompasse her. At breake of day wee were faire by her, and after a few exchange of Parles, they yeelled vp their ship, vpon condition that they might depart with all such goods, as did properly belong vnto them. On the sixt, we brought her in neere the Iland where we had left the rest of our Fleet.

A Fast in both Fleets.

Master Wrenne, and Copland.

The Blacke Lion a Dutch ship taken.

The fourteenth, the *Bee* returned againe beaten back with foule weather, that she was not able to get out of the Straights. On the sixteenth in the after-noone, there came twentie *Portuguezes* aboard the *James Royall*, fled from the *Dutch* at *Iacatra*, which were freely receiued, and kindly entertained. This euening, we were readie to set saile with eleuen ships great and small for *Iacatra*, in hope to beat away the *Dutch* ships from thence; The names of the ships were the *Moone*, in which Sir Thomas Dale went, the *Gift*, wherein I went my selfe, the *Unicorne*, the *Cloue*, the *Globe*, the *Samson*, the *Pepper-corne*, the *Thomas*, the *Bee*, the *Rose*, and the *Swart Leo*; leaving behind vs the *James Royall*, there to take in her prouisions, alio the *Prize*, and the *Aduice*, because they had most of her prouision in them. The nineteenth in the morning, wee set saile with our Fleet aforesaid, and the same day wee anchored betweene *Poolo Paniang*, and *Poolo Tunda*. The twentieth in the euening, we anchored with all our Fleet about a league to the Northwards of *Hector-Iland*. This night we sent the barge to the *Flemmish* Ilands, where they found no people at all vpon the Souther Iland, there lay a *Dutch* Galley which they set on fire, and so returned aboard the same night. This euening, wee descried seuen roders in the Bay of *Iacatra*. The one and twentieth early in the morning, these seuen ships stood off with vs vntill they were somewhat neere the Ilands, and there they came to an anchor altogether. This afternoone we stood in towards them, and anchored a mile to windward of their Fleet. This euening, we had a consultation aboard the *Moone*, where it was resolved, That the next morning we should assault the *Holland* Fleet in manner following: The *Globe*, and the *Samson*, for the *Sunne*; and the *Thomas* to passe in betweene them, fitted with combustible matter to set her on fire; the *Moone*, and the *Cloue*, for the *Golden Lion*; the *Gift*, and the *Bee*, for to attempt the *Angell*; the *Unicorne*, and the *Rose*, for the *Deuill of Delfe*; the *Pepper-corne* was sent forth to surprize the burget boat come from *Iambee*; riding about three leagues off; whose boat with thirteene men, our barge had taken as shee was standing in with the *Holland* Fleet, about seuen of the clocke at night: this our determination being written downe, we departed aboard euery man to his charge, but after we were gone, Sir Thomas Dale sent his boat aboard the *Thomas*, for three Sakers, which held them in worke till eight the next morning, so that the *Hollanders* were all away before these Ordnance were aboard the *Moone*, which made vs all in a hurlyburly to weigh, and get to seawards, that we might haue sea-roome, and the aduantage of the feature; the which at length wee attained, getting without the Iles of *Point Aire*: the *Holland* Fleet passing betweene them and the maine of *Iana*. So that the same night they anchored faire about the Coast of *Iana*; and our Fleet in the offing without the Ilands.

The English ships.

Consultation for the Fight betwixt the English and Dutch Fleets.

On the three and twentieth, in the morning, the *Holland* Fleet stood off to the Westward close vnder *Anti-Lackie*. The *Deuill of Delft* borrowing so neere that shee came aground, and sate fast for a quarter of an houre; which was no sooner perceiued by vs, but forthwith we made towards them with all our Fleet; yet before we drew any thing neere, she was slipt off againe; and shee with all the rest of the Fleet standing off to the Northwards: our Fleet hauing the weather gadage, wee paid roome vpon them, till wee came within shot, and then the *Moone*, (wherein was Sir Thomas Dale the Admirall) beganne the fight with the headmost ship of the *Dutch*, named the *Sunne*; our fight continued the space of three houres, during which time wee spent some twelue hundred great shot amongst them, and so left them for that night; they

The Fight; See Master Cortio's Journal, where you may read Sir Tho Dales Letter and Master Iordans.

Gggg

standing



standing off so farre to the Northwards, that they got the *Burger boat* into their companie, and then anchored to the westwards of vs, about halfe a league: there they rode all night.

The foure and twentieth, both Fleets weighed anchor, ours plying to the westward to gaine the wind; and the *Hollanders* ranne in to the shoare, towards *Point Aire*: in the meane time wee descried three Saile comming from the westward afore the wind, which comming neere, we perceiued to be the little *James*, the *Hound*, and the *Francois*; and after they were come neere vs, we ioyned all together, and chased the *Holland Fleet*, through the Bay of *Iacatra* vnto the Easterne point of the same; where wee all came to an anchor in the euening. This night there was a lunke sent from the *Flemmings* at *Iacatra*, filled with combustible matter, and set on a light fire, which came so neere vnto our Fleet, that we were faine to weigh our anchors and be gone. The five and twentieth, being Christmas day, wee saw the *Flemmish Fleet* againe, standing to the Eastwards, and the same day, wee sent out our barge to follow them all night, and see what course they tooke, because we had left the *James Royall* in the Bay of *Bantam*, with the *Aduice*, and the *Prize*, which ships they might haue surprised, if they should get *Bantam* before vs; for there was no ship of defence, but the *James*, and shee vnprepared, by taking in of her goods. 10

John Iordan  
went ashore  
at Iacatra.  
Master Iackson  
slaine.

The seuen and twentieth after midnight, the *Blacke Lion* was set on fire by the wretched carelesnesse of three wicked fellowes, and burnt downe to the water. The thirtieth in the morning, the President went ashore to the King of *Iacatra*, with Master *John Iackson* in companie, to view their fortifications, where an vnfortunate shot tooke away his leg, and so consequently his life. 20

Aide to the  
King of Iacatra.

The first of Ianuarie, the *James Royall*, the *Aduice*, and the *Prize*, arriued from *Bantam*. The second, Sir *Thomas Dale* went ashore to visite the King of *Iacatra*, and to vnderstand his resolution concerning the *Dutch Fort*: The King gaue both the President and him great content in words, promising to grant any reasonable request, if the *English* would assist him in surprising of the *Dutch Castle*. This morning before day, the *Francois* departed for *Polaroone*, with diuers prouisions for reliefe of that worshipfull Gentleman, Master *Nathaniel Corthop*, and his companie, God send her thither in safetie. The sixt day, we held a consultation aboard the *Moone*, where it was resolved, That out of our greater ships we should land six Peeeces, three Culuerings, and three Demi-culuerings, with powder and shot, conuenient to assist the King of *Iacatra* against the *Dutch*, also that Sir *Thomas Dale* should remaine in the Road with eight Saile, to countenance the businesse, and my selfe with sixe ships to plie for the Straits of *Sunda*, to lie in wait for the *Holland Fleet*. The five and twentieth, being Munday, wee got into the Road of *Becee*, and anchored in fiftene fathoms oze, about two miles from the shoare, the South point of *Becee*, bearing South-west one quarter West, and the North point of *Sabaioa*: (the Wester Ile of *Poolo Tiga*, being shut in vpon it) did beare North by West three leagues off. The twentie seuen and twencie eight, we watered our ships, and cut wood; and my selfe with Master *Coitmore*, and other Masters went ashore twice, to view the Harbour; which wee found to bee an excellent place for refuge of a small Fleet against a greater force. The one and thirtieth, by order from the President, we put into *Bantam Road* with our Fleet. 30

This agree-  
ment was crof-  
sed by the Pan-  
gram of Bantam  
who gaue vs  
leauie to beat  
the bush, and  
thought him-  
selfe to haue  
caught the  
birds, but in fine  
was deceiued.

The first of Februarie, Captaine *John Iourdan* the President came aboard; who acquainted me with all the passages betwixt them and the *Dutch*, in the Castle of *Iacatra*, during the time of my absence; which was that the *Dutch* had condescended to deliuer ouer their Fort vnto the *English*, vpon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and a ship for two thousand Riials of eight, to carrie them for *Coromandell*. On the fourth, Sir *Thomas Dale* with sixe ships, viz. the *Moone*, the *Cloue*, the *James*, the *Peppercorne*, the *Hound*, and the *Aduice*, arriued in *Bantam Road*. This afternoone, the rest of the ships came in. Here, after our arriual vnderstanding that the *Pomgram* of *Bantam* had dealt vnder-hand with the *Dutch*, to haue the Castle of *Iacatra* deliuered into his hands (who before had vniustly disappointed vs of it) we thought it fitting, that the President, and the rest of the Principals should repaire aboard, and forthwith to get all their goods and prouision from the shoare. The tenth, eleuenth, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, we were employed in getting the Honourable Companies moneys and goods aboard the ships: during this time, the *Pangram* sent diuers slight messengers vnto the President, to demand (as from themselves) the reason of his departure, he (as he said) giuing them no other iust occasion, so to leaue his Countrey: whereupon the President drew certaine Articles of the seuerall wrongs and grieuances, that the *English* had receiued from time to time at his hands, which were to bee translated into the *Iana* language, and sent vnto him. 40

The seuenteenth, Master *Vfflet* aduised from *Iacatra*, that the *Flemmings* were fortifying daily. And also, that when the Messengers of the *Pangram* demanded the surrender of their Fort, with part of their Moneyes, Goods and Ordnances; They answered, That it was their Masters goods, and therefore not fit for them to giue them away. About noone, wee heard of the arriual of two *Dutch* ships, in the Road of *Iacatra*. The same night, Sir *Thomas Dale* with eight ships, went for *Iacatra*, in quest of the said ships, and I remayned here with foure to attend vpon the President. 60



dent. The sixe and twentieth, we had certaine intelligence that foure *Holland* ships were at anchor in the mouth of the streights of *Sunda*: this euening we went out with the *James Royall*, the *Gift*, the *Unicorne*, and the little *James*; and the next morning anchored neere *Poolo-Pen-lang*, to pridy vp our ships, and to take in water and planks that lay by our side.


The first of March in the morning, we weighed againe, and plyed towards the mouth of the Streights, where we descried the foure *Dutch* ships aforesaid at anchor, neere vnto the Island called *Tamporon*, which lyeth about three leagues to the Westward of *Vium* or *Pakambam* point. So soone as we descried them we made towards them with all speed: and they in a carelesse fashion plyed it to and againe with their top sailes halfe mast downe, and at length as wee drew neere vnto them, the Admirall and the rest bore vp with our ship, being the winder most of our Fleet; and gaue vs two shot, one through the ships side vnder the halfe decke; and the other in the steeridge side. Dutch brauery.

This I declare, because men may the better vnderstand the insolencie, or rather *vinuvalencie* of this arrogant Nation, to come on with such a *Spanish* brauado, and so soone to run away. vinuvalencie of the Dutch. They had no sooner begun, but they were as quickly answered from our ship, in such a measure, that within the space of two houres (by the gracious assistance of Almighty God) wee made them as quiet as Lambs; the Admirall, that first gaue the on-set, being the first that ran away, and after him all his Fleet; whom we chased vntill night, and then finding them too light of foote, gaue ouer the chase. The night wee stood ouer towards *Poolo Tunda*. The second in the afternoone, we anchored againe in the Road of *Bantam*; this day we had newes from *Iacatra*, that one of the two *Dutch* ships aforesaid, was fast on ground hard by their Castle, and that they themselues at sight of Sir *Thomas Dales* fleet, had set her on fire. The other ship which tooke in some rich goods out of the Castle, was likewise cast away vpon certaine Rocks, ten leagues to the Eastwards off *Iacatra*. The fourth dicto, we receiued the Letter from *Io. Powell*, residing in *Iacatra*, that Sir *Tho. Dale* departed from thence the first of March with the *Moone*, the *Hound*, the *Rose*, and the *Bee*, to search out the *Flemming* that was cast away. The fourteenth in the forenoone, we had newes from Sir *Thomas Dale*, that hee had gotten almost in shot of these foure ships; and then they were taken with a calme the space of twelue houres, and after this calme there did arise a tempest in the night, which scattered them so farre asunder, that the next morning they were out of hope of their chase, and so returned to point *Ayre* againe, determining forthwith to come vnto vs with the *Moone*, and to leaue the rest of his Fleet to take in some prouisions from *Iacatra*. Dutch ship burnt, and another cast away.

The of March, we consulted aboard the *Unicorne*, of our best course to bee taken with the Fleet, where it was resolved, that we should goe for the Coast of *Coromandell*, which (as we were informed) is a good Countrey for the health of men, and abounding with Rice, Wheat, Butter, Grauances, &c. which could not here be had for any money. A Tempest.

§. III.

40 *Their departure for Coromandell: Occurrents there: Sir THOMAS DALES death. English ships taken by the Dutch. Consultation and prouisions at Teco, and departure thence.*

 Prill 19. 1619. being Munday, all our ships being together that were in this place, and the three Iunks at anchor amongst vs, wee resolved in counsell to put the honorable Companies Commission in execution, which was to appropriate the *Chineses* goods vnto them for former debts. On Tuesday, *Kewee* came aboard to the President, accompanied with the three *Nochadas* or Captaines of the Iunks, to know his intent; who answered them, That if the young King of *Bantam* would displace the *Pangran*, he would then come and *Bichur* with him, and deliuer ouer the Iunks againe. The eight and twentieth in the morning, all our Fleet being readie to set saile, intending to goe for *Morrogh*, there to take in water, and to discharge the Iunks; we descried a saile comming in from the Westward about *Pallambam* point, which we found to be a *Portugall* Frigat, taken at *Iasques*, and hauing twentie *English* men aboard of her, and was sent from Captaine *Bonner*, as an aduise to the President in *Bantam*. These men gaue vs to vnderstand, that Sir *Thomas Roe* the Lord Embassador, was gone for *England* in the *Anne Royall*, hauing quitted the Countrey with great honour and reputation, both for himselfe and the honorable Companie our Employers. *Bodman*, who was the cause of setting the *Black Lion* on fire, was hanged. On the two and twentieth of May, this night wee set saile from hence. Morrogh.

The thirtieth, we parted with Sir *Thomas Dale*, who haled in with his Fleet, vnder the Island: and we held on our course for *Messulapatan*, hauing in companie the *Gift*, the *Unicorne*, and the *Bee*. The thirtieth of Iune in the morning, wee anchored in nine fathome about two leagues of the shoare on the Coast of *Coromandell*, here we roade for the space of foure dayes, during



The cause that put vs to leeward of *Messulapatan*, was the violence of the Westerly winds, and the Current setting so strong to the Eastward.

From the place where we first anchored vnto the foresaid point, which we supposed to be nine leagues we had seven fathom water, all along two leagues or two leagues and a half off lost Ozic.  
Cape Comfort.

ring which time, we were hardly able to visit one another, by reason of the West South-west windes, and the continuall Currents setting to the East North-east. The breach also was so loftie on the shoare, that we durst not aduenture to put to shoare with any of our boats. At length when we met together, Master *Roberts*, Master of the *Vuicorne*, gaue me notice of a Bay, lying in seuentene degrees vpon this Coast, about fve leagues to the Eastwards of *Nassapora*, where there was good riding for a Westerly Monson, which was the onely thing I now desired, seeing there was no hope against Winde and Tyde to recouer *Messulapatan*. The fourth in the morning, we set saile and stood to the Eastward, the Coast lying West South-west, and East North-east, and hauing run about nine leagues by iudgement with the Wind and Current, wee found the Land to lye away North, and North and by West, which gaue mee some hope of a good Road: by this point of Land there commeth out a great Riuer, the fireame whereof hath raised a great Rife or Shoald of the sharpe of the Point, extending it selfe halfe a mile into the Sea, which maketh the smother Road about the point, for you may bring the said sand South South-west, and ride in sixe degrees and an halfe fathome Oze, two miles off the neereft Land. Two leagues from the Northwards of this point (which for distinctions sake I call Cape Comfort) issueth out another branch of the former Riuer, which maketh the head-land it selfe an Island, of the mouth of this Riuer lyeth likewise a long ridge of sand which is drie at low water; the Northermost point of this ridge beareth North-west halfe a degree West from vs, where we ride in sixe fathome and an halfe, three miles off; and the shoald of Cape Comfort beareth South South-west three miles from you, and the neereft land between them both about two miles off: The next point to the Northwards of Cape Comfort is three leagues & a third part distant from it, and did beare from vs (whence we road) North North-west, halfe a degree West, two leagues and a third part off; to the Eastward of this point lyeth another sandie Shoald, the Eastermost part of it bearing North from vs about foure miles off: in the setting of all these Points and Shoalds, I haue allowed the variation, which in this place is twelue degrees neereft.

Mullet Sound.

The fourth of Iuly, in the afternoone, we sent the *Vuicorne* Shallop into the second branch of the Riuer (which we call *Mullet Sound*) to see if they could discouer any Towne, where they might procure a Guide to conduct *Robert Pickering* and *William Clarke* vnto *Messulapatan*, by whom we had sent our Letter to Master *Methwold*. Tuesday the sixt in the morning, the Shallop returned aboard, reporting that they had gotten a Guide to direct our Messengers at a little Village three leagues vp the Riuer; they brought aboard twentie Hennes which cost two shillings. Friday in the afternoone, the Barge returned aboard from Captaine *Ball* with one and seuentie Goates and Sheepe, and nine and thirtie Hennes, leauing Captaine *Ball* and the rest at a Towne called *Nassapela*, which is sixe leagues vp in the Countrey. The twelfth in the morning, Master *Methwold* came from *Messulapatan* in one of the Countrey Boats, and brought with him twentie Hogs, two great Iarres of Racke, sixe Goats, and two baskets of Bread; hee brought vs newes of a Dutch ship richly laden, in the Port of *Messulapatan*, and readie to depart for *Holland*.

Prouisions.

Vingeron.  
Coranga.

The sixe and twentieth in the euening, I went in the Barge to seeke out some Barge which might lead vs vnto *Vingeron*, the chiefeft Towne that is neereft the Sea side: The same night I passed in ouer the Barre of *Coranga*, and about two miles vp in the Riuer, I lodged in the town of *Coranga*, where I found the chiefeft of the town very readie to entertayne vs in the best manner they could, and gaue the Gouvernour of *Vingeron* notice of my comming the same night. The next morning, hauing rowed vp about three miles in the mayne Riuer, and two miles in a little Creeke we had sight of *Vingeron* about twelue miles off. Here I landed and went towards the Towne; but before I came to the Townes end, the Gouvernour sent his Horse for mee with all the musique that the place afforded; amongst other instruments there were two huge brasle Hornes in stead of Trumpets: The Gouvernour received mee very kindly, but more kindly my Present, which was two pieces *China Veluets*, and sixe pieces *China Taffataes*; our congratulations ended, I tooke my leaue of him, who had then caused his *Pallankeen* to be made readie to conueigh me vnto my lodging, which was an house neere at hand, that he himselfe had allotted for mee.

Mendrowned  
neere to Ponara.

The first of August, I returned aboard the *James*, where to my griefe I vnderstood, that the *Vuicorne* shallop was cast away three dayes before, neere vnto *Ponara*. Master *Harris* being drowned with two of the *Coxsons* gang, and one *Blacke*; Captaine *Spaulding*, Master *Yard*, and the rest, very hardly escaping the danger. Saturday in the morning, the Gouvernour of *Vingeron* came aboard to see our ship, in expectation of some great Present; on whom I bestowed a piece of *China Damaske*, and foure pieces of *China Taffataes*, which gaue him more content then the sight of a thousand ships, and so hee departed, when he saw that begging could no further preuaile. On Munday the three and twentieth, I caused our men to repaire aboard, intending to ply vp towards *Messulapatan*: This euening wee got aboard two hundred and fittie Goats for our prouisions at Sea.

Prouisions.

Tuesday in the afternoone, here arriued a *Ballegat* from *Nassapora*, bringing in her twentie sixe Candees of *Granances*, a Candee of Butter, and one hundred Gallons of Racke; this day I received



ceiued letters from *Messulapatan*, importing the dolefull newes of the death of Sir *Tho. Dale*, he departed out of this life the ninth of August, 1619. in *Messulapatan*.

The death of Sir *Tho. Dale*.

Munday, the sixt of September, in the morning, hauing road most part of the former night about three leagues South South-east from the Barre of *Nassapore* in nineteene fathome, finding the wind at North-west, we set saile againe and plyed it vp towards *Messulapatan*. This night we anchored foure leagues to the Eastwards of *Messulapatan*.

Of the Riuer of *Nassapore*, we found the Current by day to set South South-east by night North North-east, after halfe a league an houre. They arriue at *Messulapatan*.

The seventh in the morning, wee saw the *English* ships in the Road of *Messulapatan* foure leagues off. This afternoone, the *Bee* being farre southerly, wee stretcht it alongst the shoare, and in the euening arriued in the Road of *Messulapatan*; where we found the *Moone*, the *Cloue*, the *Globe*, and the *Adnice*, which being found vnseruiceable was here cast off, and her prouisions put aboard the *Moone* and the *Cloue*. Wednesday, in the morning, Master *Spaulding*, Master *Ball*, and Master *Methwoud*, came aboard the *Iames*, giuing mee notice of all matters that had passed in my absence, also of the state of the honorable Companies businesse at present. This afternoone I accompanied them ashoare, that we might the better consult and determine how to proceed in these weightie affaires; the first thing proposed, was the vnion of both Fleets, which was thought most necessarie, and therefore soone concluded, which businesse ended, they made choise of me to be Admirall and chiefe Commander of all these Ships and Men thus vnited, according to the honorable Companies direction. The eighteenth of October, being Munday, here arriued a ship from *Mocha* belonging to the Towne, who brought vs newes of the *Lion* being at *Mocha*, and a small Frigat in her companie. The *Bee* arriued from *Nassaporpete*, with prouisions from the Fleet.

Both fleets vnited. Capt. Pring Admirall of both. The *Lion* at *Mocha* in the Red Sea. Nouemb. 6. *Nassaporpete*.

The nineteenth, the *Dragons Claw* came from *Nassaporpete*, almost laden with Rice and Pad-die. Thursday, the ninth of December, in the afternoone, Master *Ball*, Master *Methwoud*, and the rest of the Merchants, that were to remayne in this Countrey, went ashoare.

Friday, the tenth, in the morning, we left the Road of *Messulapatan*, and in the afternoone anchored of the head-land to stay for the *Pepper-corne*, which came out to vs in the euening, betweene the Ile *Engano* and *Messulapatan*, I made nineteene degrees and thirtie minutes of great Circle in longitude, which although it giue not the true longitude in these parts neere the Equinoctiall, custome hath called it so, and so doe I, because I would not sauour of innoation.

The longitude betweene *Engano* and *Messulapatan*.

The next morning very early, we descried the Land of *Sumatra*, the Hill of *Passaman*, bearing East North-east halfe North twelue leagues, and the high Land of *Priaman* East halfe South fourteen leagues off. Here we met with two Shoalds; the one within a mile to the Eastward of the other; the *Gist* came ouer the Eastermost, and had no lesse then foure fathom and a halfe: ouer the Wester Shoald I sent the *Claw*, who found foure fathom: in the first place shee crossed it, and had but two fathom as shee returned, which was a little more to the Northward. This morning before day, the wind began to duller againe, which was the onely meanes that pleased God to vse for our preseruation, his holy Name bee praised for the same. This morning about nine, the wind came vp South-east, and so continued vntill three in the afternoone, which brought vs to the Southward of all these Shoalds againe, and so with little wind we spent all the next night betweene the foresaid Shoalds and the Ile of *Battoo*. A sagging Current setting to the Northwards, brought vs so neere vnto these Shoalds; for had the Current, as in former time set away to the South-east, our course would haue lead vs neere vnto *Tecoo*, but contrarie to our expectation, wee found that it had carried vs to the Northward, and this deceived our iudgement.

*Passaman* in *Sumatra*. Two Shoalds, and their escape.

Ile *Battoo*.

*Tecoo*.

The foure and twentieth of Ianuarie in the morning, the Hill of *Passaman* did beare East North-east one third part Northerly, and the high Land of *Priaman* East one third part South twelue leagues: here we saw a drie Shoald in forme of the Hull of a great Boat, lying South-west by West of the Hill of *Passaman*, about ten leagues from the shoare, and West North-west from this Shoald foure leagues, wee saw the breach of another Shoald, which by Gods gracious prouidence we happily escaped. This euening at sixe of the clocke, we had sight of the Iles of *Tecoo*, and halfe an houre before eight, we anchored in fortie foure fathom streamie ground, the said Iles of *Tecoo* bearing East by North seuen leagues off. Tuesday, the five and twentieth in the afternoone, with the first of the Sea-turne, we weighed againe and steered in towards *Tecoo*. As we drew neere we descried three saile, standing to the Northwards of the Ile of *Tecoo*; which ships came to anchor faire by the shoare the same night; and we with all our fleet about a league without them. Thursday in the morning, they weighed anchor and came vp with vs, which were found to bee the *Palgrave*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Hope*; by these wee heard the dolefull newes of the taking of the *Dragon*, the *Beare*, the *Expedition* and *Rose*, by sixe Holland ships, as they were at anchor within the Iles of *Tecoo*; also of the losse of the *Starre* in the Streights of *Sunda*, taken by the *Dutch*. Moreouer, how they had sent foure great ships, double manned, in quest of the *Samson* and *Hound*, of the safetie of which ships wee are very doubtfull; so that the *English* ships which they haue taken, doe almost equall the number of our three Fleets, now ioyned in one.

Three saile of *English*.

The *Dragon*, *Beare*, *Expedition* and *Rose*, taken by the *Dutch*. The *Starre*, *Samson* and *Hound* taken.

Munday, the one and thirtieth of Ianuarie, we held a consultation aboard the *Iames Royall*,



Consultation. concerning our future proceeding, where it was with one consent agreed and concluded to goe to *Achin*, in hope to meet with our ships from *Surat*, that we might keepe our Forces together, according to the honorable Companies directions: The reasons mouing vs hereunto, were the want of Rice and other prouisions, which could not at this time bee procured at *Bantam*. Secondly, the consideration of the *Hollanders* forces, holding it no wisdome for vs to aduenture the whole estate, that the honorable Companie hath now in *India*, vpon such desperate termes; they hauing at this time foure ships for one of ours. And lastly (*Causa sine qua non*) the necessitie of careening of three of our ships, which may no longer be differred without imminent danger of all three, viz. the *Iames Royall*, the *Gift*, and the *Vnicorne*. And therefore we haue resolved, by the grace of God, to goe for *Iapan*, where we are giuen to vnderstand, that there are all 10 things necessarie for the careening of ships, and store of prouisions for the reliefe of our men.

The eleuenth, at night, Master *Mills* arriued in the *Bee* with three hundred sacks of very good Rice, and eleuen Hogheads of Oile, giuing vs great encouragement to send thither againe. Saturday, the twelfth, at night, the *Claw* was dispeeded againe for *Pedang* and *Cuttatinga*, to procure Rice, &c.

Tuesday, in the night, we returned the *Bee* to *Priaman* to prouide more Rice and Oile. Saturday, in the afternoone, the *Claw* returned with foure and thirtie bags of Rice, sixteene thousand Coquer-nuts, ten Goats. This night, the *Bee* arriued from *Priaman* with nine hundred and eightie sacks of Rice, procured by the great labour and industrie of Master *Mills*, Merchant of the *Elizabeth*. 20

Friday, the third of March, in the morning, we departed from the Road of *Tecoo*; intending by the grace of God, first to touch at *Nimtam*, for the dispatch of the *Bee* for *England*; and from thence, God willing, to goe for *Achin*, in hope to meete the *Charles* and the *Ruby* from *Surat*. This day afternoone, wee anchored in five and twentie fathom Ozie, the middle Ile of *Tecoo* bearing East South-east, about two leagues off. Saturday, in the morning, wee set saile againe and stood off West and West by South: This afternoone, we anchored againe in three and fortie fathom ground, the Iles of *Tecoo* being East from vs about eight leagues off, and the *White Rocke* West by North halfe North foure leagues off. This *White Rocke* lyeth West one third part North from the Iles of *Tecoo*, distant eleuen leagues. Sunday, in the morning, the wind at North, wee weighed anchor and steered away South-west, for that the Current (did then) set to the Northwards: we had not gone about one league this Course, but the wind veered vp at South-west by West, so that we could lye but South by East, and before we had run three miles South South-east, our men from the sprit saile top descried Rocks vnder the ship, at sight whereof wee brought our ship astayes, and shot off a peece of Ordnance for a warning to the Fleet. Before our ship was come about, we had but three fathom and a halfe; yet, I thanke God, we neuer toucht. Our ships being tackt, we stood to the Northwards, thinking the safest course to returne the same way we came: but we had not made about two miles North and by West, before we saw other Rocks againe vnder our ships head, vpon which we had but seuen fathom. The depth that we found all this day, when wee were free from these dangers, was fortie and two and fortie fathom: and therefore, seeing it had pleased our gracious God to free vs from both these dangers, we edged in againe a mile or little more within them, and there anchored againe vntill the next morning. 30

Vpon the highest of this Shoald our Boat found but three foot water.

From this Shoald the *White Rocke* did beare West North-west foure leagues: and the *Hay Rocke*, which is the flittiest of the three ham-mocks to the Northwards of *Teco*, did beare East North-east halfe East, nine leagues off.

Escape of danger from Rocks. *Samanca*. *Ballambeen*. *Anniar*. *Crackatow* and *Bece*.

The thirtieth of March, 1620. we all anchored in the Bay of *Samanca*, about a mile off the shoare, where we tooke in water and wood, and other necessaries. The last of March, our shallop was sent vnto the *Bee* at *Ballambeen* to call her away. The first of Aprill, wee sent the *Vnicorne* shallop for *Anniar*, to enquire of the *Dutch* forces, and how the *Pangram* stood affected towards vs. At eleuen, at night, two and twentie of our men run away with the Barge: In the morning, the shallop returned from *Anniar*, and brought newes of fifteene sailes of *Hollanders* at *Bantam* and *Iacatra*, whereupon we resolved to goe for *Bantam*, to treat with the *Pangram*, hoping that the *Hollanders* would not venture vpon vs. This afternoone also, the *Bee* arriued with our shallop from *Ballambeen*. The sixt, we set saile for *Bantam*: The seuenth, wee came in betweene *Crackatow* and *Bece*, where we met with a Prow, with some of our people, come from *Anniar*. 40

### ¶ IIII.

Newes of the peace betwixt English and Dutch: the mutuall congratulation: Voyage to Iapan, returne thence and home.



Aturday the eight in the morning, at foure of the clocke, we met with the *Bull come* from *England*, with the ioyfull tydings of peace betweene the *Dutch* and vs; which God in his mercie long continue, shee had a small ship in her Company called the *Flying Hart*, which was sent out with her, hauing Letters from their Generall; 50



to aduise vs or any of their ships of the agreement and uniting of both the Honourable Companies.

This afternoone we anchored all together neere the point of *Pallambam*. On the eleuenth of Aprill, in the morning wee descryed the *Dutch* Fleete, who came from *Iacatra* to meete vs, and to congratulate our arrivall: Generall *Coen* being there himselfe in person. So soone as the *Hollanders* Generall was come to anchor, we began to salute each other with our great Ordnances, to signifie vnto the Countrey people our great ioy, that we conceiue in this happy tydings.

Generall *Coen*.

The twelfth, we came into *Bantam* Road with both our Fleets; ours consisting of twelve  
10 sailes, theirs of fiftene; besides, two of their ships, which wee found in that Road. This day Master *Johnson*, Commander of the *Dutch* Fleet, came to visit mee with the *Fiscall* and diuers others: Master *Brockendon*, Master *Spalding* and my selfe were inuited aboard the Admirall shippe, where wee conferred with the Generall concerning our future businesse; and after we had compared the Articles and Letters, he was content that wee should proceed ioyntly according to the Honourable Companies instructions; but would not publish the same, vntill the arrivall of some ship from the Low Countries. Friday the fourteenth, in the morning, by a  
20 generall consent, we sent M. *Beaumont*, and *Philip Baduge*, with one *Dutch* Merchant ashore, to the *Pangram*, to make him partaker of our good newes; and that we being now vnited, desired onely a good composition and reasonable agreement that wee might remayne in his Countrey in peace, and enioy free Trade as we had in other parts of *India*. But the *Pangram* was so impatient at the newes, that he would afford no answer: but oftentimes demanded of them, why we would be friends with the *Dutch*, and so they were faine to returne without any answer. Saturday, the fiftenth, we sent the same message againe vnto him, but then they were not suffered to come on land.

*Pangrams* hate to the *Dutch*.

Wednesday, at foure in the morning, I departed from *Bantam* Road in the *Iames Royall*, hauing the *Vnicorne* in Company intending by the grace of God, to goe for *Iapon*; there to careene and trimme our ships: Master *Brockendon* the same time departing with six ships for *Iacatra*, hauing  
30 resolued about one moneth after our departure, to send fve good *English* ships, and fve good ships of the *Dutch* after vs to *Iapon*, \* that from thence wee might take the fittest time of the yeere to goe for the *Manillas*.

Voyage to *Iapan*.

\* The Voyage I haue set in a Paragraph or Section by it selfe: that the studious of Marine knowledge might make vse of that, which would perhaps to others seem to interrupt his more easie and delicate Muses, with a Sea-sicknesse. Here we found the *Swan*, and Expedition sent hither, as I suppose, to the disgrace of our Nation in those remote parts of the World.

They arrive at *Firando*, *Sasima*, *Nangasaque*, *Charles Cleauengar*.

A Tuffone or Tempest.

We arrived into a Port of *Ferando*, called *Cochee*, which is about foure *English* myles and an halfe to South-wards of the Hauen *Ferando*. Tuesday, the fve and twentieth of Iuly, Capitaine *Cox* sent good store of Funnies or toe Boates aboard of our ship to helpe vs. This day in the afternoone (God bee praysed) we arrived in the Port of *Firando*. This day, before wee got into *Firando*, the *Elizabeth* brought in a Frigat with her, wherein there were found certaine Silkes, Hides, and some Sugar; the Mariners were *Iaponeses* with certaine *Portugals*, whereof some were Fryers: the *Elizabeth* came into *Cochee* also, Capitaine *Adams*, Admirall of the Vnited Fleet, arrived in the same place about three houres after me in the *Moone*; likewise *William Johnson* in the *Trow*.

The fixe and twentieth, in the morning, a generall Councell of *English* and *Dutch* were assembled in the *English* house at *Firando*, where it was resolued that the shippes which lay neere the Coasts of *Sasima*, should be called in, because wee were certainly informed, that the Frigats of *Macao* were newly arrived in *Nangasaque*. Sunday, the thirtieth, the King of *Crats* came aboard the *Iames Royall*, and seemed much to reioyce to see such an *English* ship, demanding of the *Iurabassa*, if this were one of the *English* Frigats; whereby we supposed that the *Dutch* had giuen out, that we had none but small ships like vnto Frigats.

Tuesday, the first of August, a generall Councell was holden at the *English* house, concerning the choice of two men, the one *English*, the other *Dutch*, to carrie the Present to the Emperour, where (after it was considered, that I could not so long bee spared from the *Royall Iames*, nor Capitaine *Adams* from his Fleet) at length we made choice of Master *Charles Cleauengar* Com-  
50 mander of the *Palsgrau*, and *Ioseph Cockram* Cape Merchant of the Fleet, to goe in the behalfe of the *English*, and *Iasques le Febre* of the *Harlam*, with *Marthia de Brooke*, for the *Dutch*. On the sixth, the *Palsgrau* arrived in the Road of *Cochee*. The seuenth, the *Bu'* came into the Road of *Cochee*, hauing cut off all her Masts by the boord (as they say) to saue ship and goods; Capitaine *Adams* and I did visit the King of *Firando*, carrying with vs a small Present which was very well esteemed, and wee of our selues very courteously entertayned. Wednesday, the ninth, the King inuited the *English* and the *Dutch* to Dinner, where to shew his respect vnto our Nation, he caused vs to sit downe on the right hand, and the *Dutch* on the left; and the first Dish of euery course, was presented vnto vs.

Munday, the fourth of September, we had a great Tuffone with the wind Northerly, which  
60 forced the *Moone* on shore, and ouer-set the *Expedition*, so that she sunke downe suddenly. The *Trow* had likewise beene ouer-set, had not the Master of her soone preuented it, by veering of her sterne ashore. Tuesday, the fift, I caused many of our men to come aboard the *Moone*, to helpe hale her off, where we all strived along time to no purpose. The thirteenth, the *Moone* was got off againe, to the great ioy of vs all, hauing receiued no hurt at all by her lying so long



The *James* ca-  
reened.

on shoare. The nineteenth, the *James Royall* hauing all things taken out, but onely certaine bars of Lead, to helpe trimme her ouer was heaued downe almost halfe way to the keele. Thursday, the one and twentieth in the morning, the *James Royall* was brought downe so low, that wee saw part of her keele, and so began presently to sheath her. In foure dayes the Carpenters sheathed one side of the *James*, from the keele vp to the lower bend. Wednesday, the seuen and twentieth, I sent a Cooper, two quarter Masters, and a Butcher to *Nangasque*; to kill and sale such meate as was prouided for vs.

*Nangasque*  
burnt.

Thursday, the twelfth of October, we had the *James* downe to keele againe on the other-side, on this side we found foure dangerous places, where the maine planke was eaten thorow by the Wormes; in each of those places wee graued in a piece of planke, and in one of them we droue a trunnell, where there was neuer any before: also wee nailed a piece of Lead vpon the end of the bolt, which was formerly driuen through the keele to stop our great leake; our ship was righted againe both sides, being finished vp to the lower Bends. Saturday, the one and twentieth, the *Moone* was finished on both sides. Tuesday, the foure and twentieth, we had newes that *Nangasque* was burnt, that a fire beginning in the *Portugall* street, consumed foure or fife of the richest streets in the Citie.

Their depar-  
ture from *Firando*.

The seuenth of Dec. being Thursday, we departed from *Firando*: and the same euening wee anchored in the Bay of *Coches*. Saturday, the sixteenth, Captain *Cleauengar*, and Captaine *Le Febre* arriued in *Firando*, from the Emperors Court, with the ioyfull tidings of good successe in their businesse. Sunday, the seuenteenth in the morning, I tooke my leaue of them, and about noone, the wind being faire, and the weather cleere, we left the Road of *Coches*.

Comming to  
*Bantam*.

Thursday, the sixteenth of January in the morning, seeing foure ships in *Bantam* Road, we weighed and stood in, a little within *Pan-Iang*, at length there came the *Pepper-cornes* boate aboard our ship with the Master, one *Morton*, he told me that there were two *Dutch* shippes in the Road, and one *French* ship; to whom the *Pangram* had granted Trade, and that the *English* and *Dutch* had consoorted with him to share the *Pepper* in thirds amongst them. I also vnderstood by him, that the most part of our lading was readie for vs at *Iacatra*.

Arriue at *Iacatra*.  
*Vnicorne* lost on  
the Coast of  
*China*.

Wednesday, in the morning, I set saile for *Iacatra*, and the same euening anchored neere vnto *Antilaky*. Thursday, the eighteenth, at night, we arriued in the Bay of *Iacatra*, where we found the *Charles*, the *Gift*, and the *Cloue*, and two *Dutch* ships, viz. the *Leyden*, and the *Sun*, and at *He-Elor* Iland, the *Globe*, and the *Bee*. Here I met with the Master of the *Vnicorne*, and diuers of his Company, who came hither in a Iuncke: their ship being lost vpon the Coast of *China*. The *James* hauing discharged her lading, was readie to relade for *England*. Heere was at this time in the *Charles*, the *Cloue*, and the *Gift*, about six hundred tunns of *Pepper*, & the *Beare* daily expected from *Iambe* with two hundred tunnes more, which gaue vs good hope that wee should very neere make vp our ships lading with *Pepper*, *Beniamin*, *Cloues*, and *Silke*.

Returne for  
*England*.

Munday, the sixe and twentieth of February, in the morning, I departed from the Road of *Iacatra* in the *James Royall*, hauing taken in our whole lading of *Pepper*, sauing fiftie fife *Peculs*; also, certaine *Sapetas* of *Silke* and some *Cloues*. This businesse ended about ten of the clock this fore-noone, we set saile for *England*. I pray God in his wonted mercie to conduct vs vnto our Natiue Countrie in safetie, in his good time appointed.

*Soldania*.

Sunday, the twentieth of May, 1621. in the afternoone, wee arriued in the Road of *Soldania*, where we found the *Anne Royall*, and the *Fortune*, ships belonging to the Honourable Company of *London*, and three *Dutch* ships, viz. the *Gawda*, the blacke *Beare* and the *Herring*, all bound for *Bantam* and *Iacatra*. The one and twentieth, we romaged our ship. Tuesday the two & twentieth, we sent some Water-caskes on shoare, and set vp a Tent for our sicke men and Coopers, and sent fife and twentie men on land to guard them. This night, I ordained sixtie men to goe in company with sixtie *Dutch* in quest of Cattle, who returned the same night in vaine.

*Saint Helena*.

The second of Iune, in the morning, we left the Road of *Soldania*, with the wind at South South-east, South-east from the twentieth at noone, vntill the one and twentieth at six in the morning, West fifteen leagues at this instant (God be prayd) we descryed the Iland of *S. Helena*; the bodie of it (to our iudgement) bearing West, two third parts North, about fiftene leagues off. This euening, we got within fife leagues of the Iland, and there plyed it off, and on vntill fife the next morning, and then we did beare in about the North point of the Iland, and the same forenoone, about ten of the clocke we anchored thwart of the *Chappell Bay*, halfe a mile from the shoare in sixe and twentie fathomes. The North point of the Iland bearing North-east two third parts East, one league off, and the other point South-west by South one league and an halfe off: betweene which two points there are seuen Vallies, and the Southermost of the seuen, leadeth vp right to the Limon Trees. Munday, the fife and twentieth, wee weighed anchor againe, and road off the Valley, about halfe a mile from the shoare, in twentie seuen fathomes, blacke sand and small Corall, the Northermost picked point bearing North-east halfe East from vs two leagues off, and the Southermost point in sight South-west halfe South, two miles off, this is the best Valley for refreshing that I know in all the Iland.

*Chappell Bay*.

At this Iland we remayned seuen dayes, during which time we filled our water, and got at least



least fiftie Hogges and Goats, and aboue foure thousand Limons. Friday, the nine and twentieth of Iune, in the morning, at nine of the clocke, hauing very well refreshed our selues, (through the good prouidence of Almighty God) we departed from hence, and the same Evening at fixe, we had the bodie of the Iland South-east by South eight leagues off, the wind at South-east, the weather ouer-cast.

The sixteenth of August, at noone we saw the high-land of *Pico* East North-east about fifteene leagues off. The seuenteenth, at noone we had the top of *Pico* North sixe leagues off, being in the latitude of thirtie eight degrees, twelue minutes. Whereby I perceiue that the South-side of *Pico* lyeth in thirtie eight degrees thirtie minutes neereft.

10 The fifteenth of September, wee had the Lands end of *England* eight leagues off. Tuesday, the eighteenth, we arriued in the Downes.

The greatest variation on the Westerne side of *S. Helena*, which wee found was fifty deg. fifty six min. Easterly.

¶ V.

*The Voyage from Bantam to Patania, and thence to Iapan, with his returne to Iacatra; set by it selfe for the vse of Mariners.*

20 **T**he seuen and twentieth of Aprill, being Thursday, we tooke leaue of this Fleet, and steered away to the North-wards, borrowing within halfe a league of the Easter point of *Poolo Tunda*, and in the euening, came to an anchor about a league off the North-east point of it in twentie three fathomes water ozie, where we roade vntill the Westerne streame beganne to returne to the East-ward againe, which was about tenne at night.

The eight and twentieth at night, we anchored in twentie eight fathoms ozie, *Poolo Antekero* bearing North-east three leagues off. *Poolo Antekero* lyeth from *Poolo Tunda*, North North-east halfe East about eight leagues off. The depth betweene them from sixteene fathomes to six and twentie, and so to twentie two, twentie, eightene, sixteene, fourteene, and twelue fathomes ozie. *Poolo Antekero* is the West-most of all the row of Ilands, which extend themselves from the mouth of the Bay of *Iacatra*, to the West-ward.

30 Saturday, the nine and twentieth, to the euening, we were in fifteene fathome. *Poolo Kero* bearing North by East halfe East of vs, two leagues and an halfe off. *Poolo Kero* lyeth from *Poolo Antekero* North North-east neereft, distant fixe leagues from the time that wee had *Antekero*, North-east three leagues off, we had twentie, eightene, sixteene, fourteene, twelue fathomes ozie.

Sunday at noon, we had the *Poolo Kero*, South halfe East six leagues off. Our depth continuing thirteene, twelue, and eleuen fathomes the same ground.

40 The first of May, at noone, we had *Poolo Kero* South halfe west, nine leagues off, beeing as much as we could see it at our top-mast-head, the depth twelue fathomes. Here by obseruation of the Sunne we were in South latitude foure degrees forty five minutes from noone, vntill five, North North-east foure leagues. Here we anchored againe in twelue fathomes ozie, hauing *Poolo Kero*, by estimation South by West from vs, thirteene leagues off. This night at nine, as we were at anchor in the same place, by obseruation of the Croliers, I made the ship to bee in foure degrees, fortie minutes South latitude, allowing twentie nine, for the complement of the declination. Tuesday, the second in the morning, betweene foure and five of the clocke wee set sayle againe, and the same day at noone we had runne about six leagues North North-east. The depth continuing as before, thirteene, twelue, eleuen fathomes. From the second to the third, at noone we made an East by South way, five leagues, finding such depths as the day before. The ground from *Bantam* Road hitherto all ozie. From *Bantam* for the space of two dayes wee had Sea-turnes and Land-turnes. From thence, vntill the second of May in the afternoone, the winds betweene the East and the South-east, and then the wind came vp Northerly, and so continued vntill the third at noone. From *Poolo Peniang* vnto *Poolo Antekero* the Current did set vs to the West-ward, for the most part some-what strong, but from thence vntill wee drew neere vnto the Streights of we found but an easie Current, which did runne almost vpon all points of the Compasse, euery twentie foure houres. From the third at noone, vntill the fourth at noone North North-east eleuen leagues, the depth from twelue to ten, halfe a fathome ozie. From noone, this day till seuen at night, North five leagues and a halfe, where we anchored in ten fathomes and an halfe lesse.

60 Friday, the fift in the morning, we weighed againe, hauing little wind and variable, vntill halfe an houre after fixe, and then the wind came vp at South-west and blew fresh. From foure to nine we made North-east halfe Easterly three leagues: and from nine vntil noon North-west by North halfe a league, the depth ten fathom neereft. This day at noone, wee were in three degrees and thirtie minutes South latitude, where wee descried a little Iland North North-east halfe East foure leagues off, which appeared at first sight like a great Tree rising out of the Sea, from

*Iacatra Bay.*

*Poolo Kero.*

Latitude.

*Poolo Peniang.*  
Current.

A little Iland.



from noone to fixe North-west five leagues : here wee saw two or three Hummocks like Ilands North by West from seven leagues off. From hence vntill three after mid-night, West six leagues: at fixe we had nineteene fathom, which as wee stood to the Westward in the night increased to ten, eleuen, and twelue fathom; and afterward it decreased vnto eight fathom, where wee came to an anchor, the streame by night set South-east, by day North-west.

*Cheribon.*

Saturday in the morning, we weighed at fixe againe, and steered away West North-west one league and a third part: here we had sight of many Hummocks rising like Ilands, which at length we perceiued to be all one Land, as we drew neere to it: after wee had gone one league and a third part West North-west, as aforesaid, wee came into seven fathom a halfe lesse, and therefore tackt about to the North-eastwards, making a North North-east way vntill noone, about two leagues and a halfe; at which time by obseruation of the Sunne, wee were in three degrees and twentie minutes neereft South latitude, being gotten into eight fathom water againe; where we found the Current to set away North-west by West: here also about noone this day, a Iunck of *Iore* came vp with vs, which had beene at *Cheribon* vpon *Iana*, and was now returning to *Iore*. This afternoone wee steered in with the Easterne part of this Hammockie Land, and making our way as the Easterne Point did beare from vs, which was North North-east halfe North, in this our course we came againe to seven fathom, and so increasing to foure and twentie fathom, and from thence decreasing to seven fathom a quarter lesse, where we anchored againe the said Point of Land, bearing North North-east, one third part North foure leagues off.

*Many Ilands.*

*Sea full of I-lands twist Banco & Burneo.*

Sunday, the seuenth in the morning, we weighed and stood in neerer vnto the Point, in hope to haue passed through betweene this Point and an Iland, which lyeth three leagues to the Eastward of it, but as we stood in, we found the depth of the water first to increase from seven fathom vnto seuentene fathom; and from thence againe vnto fixe and foure fathom a quarter lesse. And about two miles of the Point in the faire way, we had but fixe foote water, which our shallop found as shee was founding of the Chanell. To the Eastwards of this place there appeared many small Ilands, and by the report of the people in the Iuncke, the Sea is full of Ilands betweene the South-east end of *Banco*, and the Ile of *Burneo*. Now this was the South-east end of *Banco*, which did beare North North-east, halfe North about two leagues off; and the Land from this Point vnto the entrance of the Streights of *Banco*, did lye West by South neereft about thirteene leagues: there as wee were at anchor, the foresaid Point bearing North by East halfe East two leagues and a halfe, we found (by obseruation of the Sunne) the ship to be in three degrees and eight minutes South latitude.

*Streights of Banco.*

*Current.*

*Lucepara.*

Munday in the morning, (hauing little hope to find a passage betweene the South-east end of *Banco* and the foresaid Ilands, by reason of the fearefull shoaldings which wee had alreadie found) we resolved by the helpe of God to goe through the Streights of *Banco*, and there with all presently came to saile, steering off as neere as we could iudge, the same course that we came in: in which course we found more dangerous shoalding in our standing off, then wee had done in our comming in before. After we had gotten about eight leagues off South South-west from the South-east point of *Banco*, we steered away South-west by West, the Current setting North west, which made a West by South way neereft; this course wee run five leagues, and anchored in eight fathom Ozie, about nine at night.

The ninth in the morning, we descried *Lucepara* North North-west seven leagues off, and steered in neere with it vntill we had it North two leagues. In this course we came ouer a spit where wee had but foure fathom and a halfe and five fathom a quarter lesse, but drawing neerer vnto *Lucepara*, we had five fathom and a quarter, and when it was North two leagues off al Ozie ground. And so all the way before, now, and after that we had brought it North two leagues off, as I haue said, we steered North-west by North, vntill *Lucepara* was North-east of vs, and had five fathom the same ground: and then we went West North-west, hauing alwayes Ozie ground till we were within two leagues of *Sumatra* shoare in fixe fathom. Here we had our Ile of *Lucepara* East South-east three leagues and a halfe off. And a Hill vpon *Banco* with a deepe swampe North by West neereft, being a sailes breadth open of the Point of *Sumatra*, which was then North by West halfe West from vs, about three leagues off: wee steered from hence away with the foresaid Point North by West, and had fixe and a halfe and seven fathom, soft ground, vntill we came within a league of the Point, where edging too neere the same, we had but five fathom and a halfe, and foure and a halfe in the Boat hard by vs: but had we kept a little further off that Point, wee might haue gone away in seven, eight, nine, and ten fathom, and so all the Streights alongst, borrowing carefully with our Lead vpon the *Sumatra* shoare; but hee that keepeth any thing neerer vnto *Banco* then vnto *Sumatra*, shall haue very vncertaine shoalding, sometimes deepe and otherwhiles shoald, and commonly foule ground, whereas on *Sumatra* side if you should come into shoald water, yet the ground for the most part is soft, ozie, and the founding farre more certaine; all which will more plainly appeare by my description of this place.

Friday, the twelfth in the euening, hauing brought the North-west Point of *Banco* North-east,



east, we opened two smooth Hills with a little Hummock betweene them, the Northermost of them being the Northermost Land of *Banco*, and bearing from the North-west Point aforesaid, North-east nine leagues off. This night we steered North North-east, to goe through the Channell betweene *Linga* and the North end of *Banco*, finding twentie three, twentie two, twentie, *Linga*, eightene, and sixteene fathoms ozie, vntill we came neere the entrance, and afterwards fifteen, fourteene, thirteene fathoms, going through the passage. *Linga* riseth at first in three Ilands, the Northermost being bigger then both the other, rising full of Hummocks, being neere two leagues in length. The Iles of *Linga* haue certaine fragments of Iles intermixt amongst them, shewing like Hay-cocks, which is a good marke to know them. From the smooth Hill, which  
10 is the South end of *Banco*, vntill the South Westermost Ile of *Linga*, North by West ten leagues, East North-east halfe North. From the middle of the greatest Ile of *Linga* (which is the North Eastermost of them) lyeth another smooth Iland nine leagues off, and about two leagues to the East North-east halfe North. From that there is another flat Iland, and off the North Point of the round smooth Iland, lyeth also a little fragment like a Rocke. In the way betweene this smooth Iland and *Linga* you haue fourteene and thirteene fathom water, also being in the mid-way betweene them, your course is North, to passe alongst by the Easter-side of *Bintam*. This day at noone wee were in one degree South latitude, the greatest Ile of *Linga* South-west five leagues, whereby we gathered that the great Ile of *Linga* stood in one degree and ten minutes  
A little Iland.  
neereft. This afternoone we saw a little Iland to the Westward of vs, about eight leagues off,  
20 which lyeth North North-west neereft from *Linga*.

Sunday, the fourteenth at noone, hauing made a North way foure and twentie leagues, by helpe of the Wind and Current, which did set North, we had sight of the high land of *Bintam*,  
*Bintam*, rising with two Hills and a deepe swamp betwixt, being to our iudgement twelue leagues from vs. At this time also we had sight of three or foure Hummocks, rising like Ilands, South-west by West eight leagues: here we founded and had ground in twentie fathom. From *Linga* vnto this place we had fourteene, fifteene, sixteene, seuentene, eightene, and twentie fathom, as wee supposed, streamy ground; for wee had not meanes at all times to trie it. From mid-day the fourteenth vnto the fifteenth at noone, North a third part West, seuen and twentie leagues. This foure and twentie houres, twentie one, twentie two, twentie three, and twentie foure fathom.  
30 This day from twelue to three, three leagues and a halfe. Here wee saw *Poolo Loar*, bearing  
*Poolo Loar*, North-west halfe North from vs, by our iudgement about twelue leagues off, at this instant we had seuen and twentie fathom, the ground like vnto Fullers earth; this night *Poolo Loar* being North-west by West eight leagues off, we had nine and thirtie fathom ozie. From the fifteenth at noone, vnto eight the next morning, we made a North North-west halfe West way fifteene leagues. The sixteenth at eight, *Poolo Loar* did beare South-west by South off vs fixe leagues, distant the very body of the Iland *Hermano de Lajo*, West South-west halfe West seuen leagues  
*Hermano de Lajo*, off: and *Poolo Tymon* the South end West halfe North ten leagues; and the North-east end West  
*Poolo Tymon*, North-west halfe west ten leagues off. This euening wee anchored within foure miles off the North Point of *Tymon* in foure and twentie fathom, streamy ground, the Point it selfe bearing  
40 West by South halfe South. This euening, I sent our shallop about the Point, where they descried a Towne and a Iunke, riding close by the shoare, and diuers Praws a fishing, whereof one came to them to enquire what Nation they were, and told them, that at the Towne there was good fresh water, and Buffels, Goats, and Hennes.

Wednesday in the morning, about foure of the clocke, wee sent the *Vnicornes* long Boat with ours to the said Towne, who returned in the afternoone with foure Butts of water a piece, not willing to fill more because it was brackish. At the watering place they found a Iuncke of *Ior*,  
A Iuncke of *Ior*, which was set out for a man of Warre, and hauing twentie small shot besides Lances and Iauelins; he reported to our people that he had taken a *China* Iuncke, and sold her on the Coast of *Ior*. And sent me word, that he would take my part against the *Portugall*, as long as his life did last. In the next Bay to the Southwards of the North Point of *Poolo Temon*, wee found very  
50 good fresh water, but we could not conueniently take it in with our long Boat, for shee drew five foot water being loden. Thus hauing spent our day in this place to little purpose: I set saile the first of the night, directing our course for *Patania*, steering away due North with little wind  
*Patania*, all night.

Thursday at noone, we were in three degrees and fortie minutes South latitude, hauing made a North halfe West way, by meanes of the Current, which did set a way North by West about a mile an houre. This afternoone at foure, hauing made a North halfe West way about eight leagues, we descried the Ile of *Tingoran* North North-west fifteene leagues off: This night wee  
*Poolo Tingoran*, passed along by *Poolo Tingoran*, about fixe leagues to the Easterward of it hauing twentie eight, thirtie and thirtie two fathoms soft ground.  
60

Friday, at fixe in the morning, we had *Poolo Tingoran* West South-west seuen leagues off: here we had fixe and thirtie fathom the same ground. This day at noone wee were in five degrees and thirtie minutes. *Tingoran* bearing South one third part East fourteene leagues off, whereby we conceiued that the Ile of *Tingoran* standeth in foure degrees and fiftie minutes. This day at  
noon.



*Poolo Rowdon.*

noone we had likewise the South-Ile of *Poolo Rowdon*, North-west by West seuen leagues off: and in the same night at eight of the clocke, I obserued the Crofiers, and made the ship to be in five degrees fortie eight minutes, the Eastermost (which is the greatest of the Iles of *Poolo Rowdon*, bearing West foure leagues off. From eight at night vntill noone the next day, our way was neereft North-west by West nine leagues; in this course the depth we had from twentie eight to seuentene fathoms: then the Northermost Iland of *Poolo Rowdon* was South, one third part East, foure leagues off; being a round Hummocke much like to *Pomo* in the Gulph of *Venice*, but somewhat higher, and more compleat: these Iles of *Rowdon* are good high land, and a faire depth from the one end to the other, on all the Easter side, and as I am informed a faire Channell betweene them and the *Maine*, there are in all, thirteene or fourteene Ilands great and small. Saturday from noone, vntill Sunday, eight in the morning, our way was West North-west nine leagues: here wee saw two hills by the water side, bearing West of vs five leagues off, rising like two *Tortugas*. From *Poolo Tingoran* vnto *Potania*, is very high land alongst vp in the Countrey, and low land by the waters side, with a sandie Strand at least twentie leagues to the Southward of the Point of *Potania*, and how much farther I know not; but so farre I haue seene. This Saturday in the afternoone, as we stood in West North-west to the two hills aforesaid, wee came from seuentene vnto fourteene and thirteene fathomes, hard ground; and as wee drew neerer the hills, the depth encreased againe to nineteene fathomes ozie, and thence to eightene and seuentene fathoms, the same ground.

A Rocke.

*Gurnets Head.*

Sunday the one and twentieth, from eight in the morning vnto seuen at night, our course was North-west three quarters West thirteene leagues, keeping for the most part, within foure leagues of the low sandie shoare, the depth all the way fiftene, fourteene, and thirteene fathoms: here at seuen wee anchored in thirteene fathoms and a quarter streamie ground, the Northermost point in sight (falling downe from a reasonable high land at the end of all the low land) did beare West North-west halfe North, neere three leagues and an halfe off. Sixe leagues South-east by South from this Point lieth a Rocke, as high aboue the water as the Hull of a small ship: we passed along about a league and an halfe to the Eastward of it, finding no alteration of our former depth: this point aforesaid I call, the *Gurnets Head*. From this Point, the land trendeth away West North-west, and West by North, vnto the entrance of *Potania* Road, being all low land from the *Gurnets Head* vnto the very Point of the Road, and lowest of all at the same Point. From *Gurnets Head* vnto the said low Point, the distance is sixe leagues; and all the way of faire depth, vntill you draw neere the low Point of the Road: but there you must giue a good birth, because there lieth a shoald from it halfe way ouer vnto the Wester shoare: therefore you must not bōfrow too neere it, before you haue the shoalding of the Wester shoare: and there you shall find the softest ground. From the low Point, as you range ouer the Bay vnto the Wester shoare, you shall not haue aboue five fathomes, and foure fathoms and an halfe, when you are in the Road; where you shall haue the low Point East North-east one third part East, and the highest mountaine on the Wester side of the Bay will then beare South South-west one third part West.

Anchor at *Potania*, or *Potania*.  
*Iambe*.

Racke, and  
Rack-apee.

Thursday, we anchored in the Road of *Potania*, where we found the *Samson*, and a Dutch Pinasse. The day before we came into the Road, I went alhoare to the *English* Factorie. Where I found Master *Adam Denton*, and Master *Richard Welding*, lately come from *Iambe* in a Praw with diuers *English* of the *Samsons* companie, who were all glad men to see such *English* ships in that Port. At my comming to the *English* house, I acquainted Master *Denton* with the cause of my comming, which was, for Racke and fresh Victuals, whereof wee stood in great need; whereupon he presently gaue order, to lay out for all things necessarie; that within six dayes we were furnished with sixteene Buts of Rack and Rack-apee, whereof three Buts of Rack-apee, we had from the *Dutch*; which *curtesie* they did vs, to hasten our dispatch: Beeues, Goats, and Hennes, we had here in plentifull manner. Here also we bought Dammar and Oyle for the trimming of our ships, because I vnderstood it was very deere in *Iapan*. Heere also I found a small Frigate, bought by the *English*, which being of no great vse in this place, by generall consent it was thought fitting, that shee with most of the *English* Sailors should goe along to attend vpon the *James Royall*.

A Rocke dangerous.  
*Camboia*.

The last of May, we departed from *Potania*.

The first of Iune, at seuen in the morning, wee descried a small Rocke, which appeared but little aboue water, lying very dangerous for ships that goe from *Potania* for the Head of *Camboia*: when this Rocke did beare North North-east halfe East, a league off, then the high-land ouer *Gurnets Head* was South South-west halfe West, thirteene leagues off, and by computation, the low point of *Potania* Road was eightene leagues off, West South-west halfe South from vs. After we were out of the Road of *Potania*, in seuen fathoms, the depth increased orderly to eight, ten, twelue, fourteene, sixteene, eightene, twentie, twentie two, and twentie foure fathoms, vntill we had sight of the Rocke; and about two leagues from the Rocke, five and twentie fathoms ozie: and such was all the ground from *Potania* to this place. This day at noone, this Rocke being West from vs about foure leagues off, we found the ship to be in seuen degrees twentie minutes.



From hence vntill the third at noone, East halfe North fortie five leagues, here we saw *Poolo Hube* East North-east halfe North, eight leagues off, hauing fourteene fathoms ozie: all this eight and fortie houres we had ozie ground, the depth from twentie seuen to thirtie sixe fathoms, and from thence decreasing againe to fourteene fathoms, which was the depth wee had when we saw this Iland. This *Poolo Hube* riseth first with one round hill, then as you come neerer, you shall see a shoulder of somewhat high land rising in hummockes: but not aboue two third parts as high as the round hill, being all one land with it, and then shall you see another lesser round Iland rise, which is neere about the highth of the hummockie land, and lieth close aboard the greater Iland. At the East end of this lesser round Iland, there are two little Ilands very neere it, and a mile to the Eastward of them lieth a long Rocke like the Hull of a Galley. This night wee anchored in thirteene fathomes and an halfe ozie, about three leagues off the greatest Iland, which was also the highest. The next morning wee weighed againe, and stood away East by South, and East by East, hauing but little wind. This euening at sixe, wee had the bodie of *Hube* West by North, foure leagues off. From hence wee steered away East by South, and East, vntill sixe the next morning, but the Current checked vs to the Northward, by which meanes we made our way to the Northward of the East.

The fift, from sixe at night vntill sixe in the morning, we ranne fifteene leagues, the course afore-said, and here we had sight of a very little round Iland, bearing foure leagues off; and to the Southward of it about a mile distant, a long flat Rocke a good highth aboue water. From *Poolo Hube* vntill we came three leagues off this little round Iland, we had thirteene, fourteene, fifteene fathoms, and fifteene, fourteene, and thirteene againe, all ozie ground. When we were within two leagues of this small Iland, we had thirteene fathoms sandie ground. Here we descried *Poolo Candor*, the Norther end of it bearing East by North, from this Iland about seuen leagues off. This day at noone wee found the ship to bee in eight degrees fortie two minutes North latitude, the highest land on *Poolo Candor* being East from vs sixe leagues off: from *Potania* vntill wee were in sight of *Poolo Candor*, the winds for the most part were at South South-west. This day at noone wee steered away North-east, North-east by North, and in the night North North-east; so that wee made North-east by North in all vntill the next day at noone, about foure and twentie leagues: In this course wee found thirteene and fourteene fathoms ozie.

Tuesday, the sixt at noone, we had sight of two Hummockes vpon the Coast of *Camboia*, bearing North by East, and to the Westward of that low Land. From *Poolo Candor* vntill wee came in sight of this Coast, we found the Current setting East by North: here also when wee saw those Hummockes bearing North by East nine leagues off, wee had twelue fathoms streamie ground. Wednesday the seuenth at noone, wee found the ship to bee in ten degrees fortie two minutes, hauing runne from the former noone vntill this present, North-east a quarter North five and twentie leagues: heereby wee found, that the Current setting East by North, had carried vs ten miles to the Northwards of our computation, our depths from twelue to sixteene, twentie, and twentie foure fathoms; and so to twentie, eighteene, sixteene, fourteene, againe, sandie ground. From the afore-said two Hummocks, as wee did coast it along within eight leagues off the shoare, and sometimes more, sometimes lesse, wee saw high Land all along vp in the Countrie, and in many places by the waters side, a smooth Land about the highth of the *Lizard*, with many plots of white sand vpon it, as well as by the waters side. The first white spots that we saw vpon the smooth Land, was vpon the very Point that is ten leagues to the Westward of the *Cape Cessier*, which at first seemed to bee a Towne with faire houses and white walls: this Cape did beare West North-west halfe West from vs, about sixe leagues off, this present day at noone, when we were in ten degrees fortie two minutes. Thursday at noone, we were in eleuen degrees thirtie minutes, hauing gone twentie leagues North-east halfe North, from the former noone. The night before, at eight of the clocke, we came to an anchor in twentie two fathome streamie ground, where the Current did set East halfe North, vntill twelue; and then finding that it had recourse to the Westward, wee weighed anchor againe, and steered away North-east, and North-east by North, all the night; and so vntill the eight at noone afore-said: in which course we had from twentie two to twentie eight, thirtie two, thirtie sixe, fortie, fortie foure fathoms; and a little before noone, fortie seuen, and after that wee had no ground. The cause why wee anchored that night was, that wee found very vncertaine shoalding, hauing had eighteene, twentie, twentie two, and twentie foure fathomes: and after noone on the sodaine we came into sixteene, fourteene, twelue, and the *Unicorne* being faire by vs had but nine fathoms and an halfe.

From the eight vntill the ninth at noone, wee steered alongst the shoare North North-east sixteene leagues, North by East six leagues, North six leagues, and North by West nine leagues; which made in all a North by East one third part Easterly way, thirtie six leagues: here we had *Cape Varrella* West South-west eight leagues off, being in the latitude of thirteene degrees thirteene minutes: this Cape is called by the *Chineses* (*Ientam*) which in their language doth signifie a Chimney, becaule it hath a sharpe Hummocke on the top of the hill, much like vnto a

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Chim-



Chimney on the top of a house. From the ninth vntill the tenth at noone, North two third parts West twentie sixe leagues, the latitude fourteene degrees thirtie minutes: here we were about ten leagues off the land; and the day before, wee came not aboue fixe leagues off Cape *Varrella*, by which I gather, that the land trendeth away North by West from Cape *Varrella*. Sunday at noone, we were in sixteene degrees ten minutes, hauing runne from the former noone thirtie three leagues and one third part, due North. Munday at noone, twentie sixe leagues North North-east halfe North, latitude seuentene degrees fortie minutes, the Current hauing set vs fixe miles to the Northwards. This euening at fixe, we descried the Ile of *Aynan*, the high land bearing North-west by North twelue leagues, wee hauing gone from noone seuen leagues North-east. From hence vntill noone the next day, North-east by East twentie two leagues: here we were in eightene degrees and an halfe. This morning, we chased a Portugall Frigat, but shee was of so light burthen that we could not come neere her. 10

*Aynan.*

The fourteenth day at noone, we were in ninteene degrees thirtie five minutes, our way from the former noone North-east twentie sixe leagues; whereby wee found that the Current had carried vs foure leagues to the Northwards of our account: and yet this day at noone, with our boats in seuentie three fathoms ozie, and found no Current at all. Here we saw many Ripplings like ouer-falls, as though there had gone some great Tide, but found none as yet. This afternoone at fixe, we anchored againe, with our boat in sixtie eight fathoms ozie sand, and found a small Current to the Southward. The fifteenth at noone, wee had runne seuentene leagues North-east by North: here we were in twentie degrees thirtie minutes, the Current hauing carried vs seuen leagues to the Northward, here we had fortie five fathoms sandie ozie. The sixteenth at noone in twentie one degrees and twentie minutes, we had sight of three Islands; the Eastermost bearing North North-east, the Westermost North-west, the neereft land nine leagues off: here we had twentie two fathomes ozie sand; we met with the wind here at East South-east, which blew very fresh: but from Cape *Varrella* vnto this place, wee had the wind alwayes, from the South South-east to the South-west. The next morning at eight of the clocke, we had twentie eight fathomes ozie, hauing runne from the former noone South-west eleuen leagues: where perceiuing the wind and weather to encrease, wee thought it better to anchor, then to runne backe the way that we came.

Current.  
Ripplings.

Sunday the eighteenth in the morning, the weather somewhat faire, we endeauored to weigh our anchor; but euen as our anchor was apeeke, the cable brake in the halfe, being new, and neuer wet before; by which accident we lost a good anchor. The *Unicorne*, as wee were almost apeeke, shot off a Peece, whereupon I sent the Shallop speedily aboard her, to know what was amisse; who brought me word, that shee had sprung agreat leake, which had almost tired all their men with baling: which as soone as I heard, I sent thirtie men aboard of her, to ease their men by spells, vntill it should please God to discouer the leake: this day the wind at South-east, which stood to the Eastward, making of a North-east way, vntill fixe at night, at which time we saw the former high Island againe, North North-east one third part East, ten leagues off, hauing twentie three fathoms. This euening, our men returned from the *Unicorne*, and brought vs newes, that the great leake was firmly stopt, whereat wee all reioyced. From fixe to twelue at night, we made a North-east way fourteene leagues, where we had twentie fathoms ozie. From twelue to five in the morning, wee stood to the Southwards, making a South-west way three leagues and an halfe; here wee had twentie sixe fathoms againe, ozie ground. 40

The nineteenth, from five this morning, we cast about to the land, the wind at South-east, wherewith we made a North-east way: and at fixe of the clocke were within eight leagues of the aforesaid high Island, bearing North by East from vs: and at eight this morning, Master *Roberts*, Master of the *Unicorne*, came aboard of vs, and told mee that they had another great leake broke out, and that they must needs seeke out some smooth place to ride in, the better to search their leakes, and to fit their fore-mast better in the step: hereupon I resolved to beare vp vnder the great Island, which was now North by East from vs, in hope to find a smooth Road, the more speedily to effect their businesse. There were many more llands in sight, both to the Westward, and to the Eastward of vs; but this being the neereft to vs, and the likeliest, we steered with it; being within three leagues of it, the wind began to duller, and the night was at hand, therefore we plied it to and againe, vntill the twentieth in the morning, and then the wind was so farre Northerly, that wee could not cease the place. This day I went aboard againe of the *Unicorne*, to know what they intended to doe; where I found them all very willing to stand it alongst, because the wind was faire; not doubting but that they should bee able to ouercome it. When I heard their resolution, I caused all my Laskayres to remaine aboard the *Unicorne*, to assist them as occasion should require, and so we stood away all that afternoone vntill midnight, with a faire wind, and faire weather; but then it began to blow so much wind, that wee were inforced to lie here a trie with her maine course all night. 50

*Unicornes*  
leakes.

The one and twentieth in the morning, we saw the *Unicorne* a league and an halfe afterne off vs; hauing a fore-saile and a sprit-saile out; which, as afterward I perceiued, was to flat her about



about for the shoare againe : I presently caused our fore-courfe to be made readie to flat our ship after her , although wee had little hope to assist her in any thing , because the sea was so farre growne, as our men were a losing of their fore-courfe, there came such a violent gust that they were faine to furl it againe : if not, our saile would haue beene blowne away. After the gust was ouer, we set our fore-saile , and to make her weare the rounder , wee braled vp our maine course, part of it being blowne out of the bould-rope before they could furl it, after that the maine-saile was vp, we put the helme hard aweather, thinking that the ship would haue come round, but all in vaine ; for shee would not weare aboue two or three points, and then come to againe. Now the sea was so growne, that we durst not let fall our sprit-saile ; and the wind so violent, that we could not loose our fore-top-saile : and this while the *Vnicorne* was out of sight, when we saw that our ship would not weare, we steered away, as neere as wee could lie South by East, vntill noone ; hauing made our way South by East thirteene leagues from the Southermost Iland in sight ouer-night, which I called the *Morocco Saddle*, by reason of a deepe Swampe on the top thereof. This *Saddle*-Iland aforesaid lieth in twentie one degrees fortie five minutes North latitude, it hath on the Westerside foure or five very small Ilands close by it, and on the Easterne side three Ilands in sight, lying all three next hand East North-east from it. From *Saddle*-Ile to the Westward, there are many Ilands ; some North-west from it, others West North-west, West by North ; and the Southermost of all those Ilands in sight did beare from this West, about fifteene leagues off. This afternoone, our ship waxed very leake, hauing on the sodaine foure foot and an halfe water in hold, which imployed both our Pumpes going a long time before we could free her. Towards the euening, it pleased God to discouer three or foure great leakes betweene wind and water, which when our Carpenters had stopped : wee found great ease and comfort, for then we could let the Pumpe stand still halfe an houre, and free her againe with one Pumpe in little more then a quarter of an houre. From this day noone, vntill the two and twentieth at noone, five leagues South South-west, with a paire of Courfers ; and nine leagues South-west by West a Hull : here we had twentie seuen fathoms and an halfe ozie. The two and twentieth in the afternoone, the violence of the wind began to decrease, and consequently, the furie of the waues allayed, which caused our ship to grow the thighter, whereby we plainly perceiued, that the most part of our leakes were betwixt wind and water, and therefore the first faire weather I caused our Carpenters to search the ships sides, where they found and stopped many bad places, some of a yard in length, where the Ocum was all rotten in the seame.

They lose sight  
of the *Vnicorne*.

*Morocco Saddle*  
or *Saddle*-  
Iland.

Leakes.

The foure and twentieth day, we had sight of a great Iland, bearing North from vs, about seauen Leagues off, hauing a high Hill on the Easterne end of it, which was the same Iland that did beare West from *Morocco Saddle*, fifteene leagues off or thereabouts. From hence vntill the six and twentieth in the euening, our way was South by West twentie foure leagues, the depth increasing from nineteene vnto six and thirty fathoms ozie ground : Here we had a little round Iland South-west by West two leagues off, which lyeth in twenty degrees and twenty minutes neereft. This Iland hath foure small Ilands in the South-west side of it, but none of them equall in height with this, wee saw it at least ten leagues off, rising like a *Chineses* hat. From hence vntill the seuen and twentieth at noone East by North, two third parts North, twelue leagues : Here we had one and forty fathoms, ozie ground. This morning at two of the clocke the winde veered vp at South South-east and about noone at South.

From twelue the twentie seuen, vnto twelue the twentie eight, East North-east eightene leagues, here we had almost one and forty fathoms ozie ground. This morning at two of the clocke the wind veered back againe at South South-east. From the eight and twentieth vntill noone the nine and twentieth, East North-east eighteen leagues : Here we were in one and twenty degrees and ten minutes depth, one and forty fathoms ozie. The wind, this twenty foure houres, from South to South-east by South, and very faire weather euer since the storme. From the nine and twentieth vntill the thirtieth at noone, East North-east eightene leagues latitude, one and twenty degrees and thirty minutes depth, six and fifty fathoms ozie, the winde South-east by South, somewhat guffie weather.

From the last of Iune vntill the first of Iuly at noone, East North-east halfe North, two and twenty leagues latitude, two and twenty degrees and ten minutes, the depth five and twenty fathoms black sandy ozie : Here from the top-mast-head we saw land North North-west halfe North, the winde in the night South South-east, by day South-east. This day from noone to seuen at night North-east by North, sixe leagues, twentie foure fathoms black and white sand with shels. From thence vntill two at noone South-west halfe South, nine leagues and a halfe, foure and twenty fathoms sandy ozie. The first of Iuly, at sixe in the afternoone when we were in foure and twenty fathoms sand and shels, wee saw three *China* Fisher-boates. The winde came vp this euening at East South-east, with which we stood off to the Southwards, and hauing crackt our maine top-mast but a little before, which was the cause that wee could beare but course and bonnet of each, and therefore made our way of no better then South-west, as I said before. From this second day at noone vntill eight at night, our way was South foure leagues,

H h h h 2

depth



depth seven and twenty fathoms ozie ground. From eight at night vntill noone the next day North North-west a quarter West, seven leagues five and twenty fathoms blacke ozie sand, like the former, the winde at East by North and East North-east; here wee saw the land from the North to the North-east about twelue leagues off, rising in certaine Hummocks, by which I coniecture that this land lyeth in two and twenty degrees and five and forty minutes neereft. From twelue this day to foure, North North-west three leagues five and twenty fathoms black sand. From foure to twelue the next day South-east by South, ten leagues five and forty fathoms black sandy ozie. From the fourth vntill the fifth at noone South-East by South six leagues no ground in eightie fathoms. This foure and twentie houres very little wind, for the most part at East North-east. From the fift to the sixt at noone North by East foure leagues, here we had no ground in eighty fathoms. This foure and twenty houres, it was for the most part calme, that lirtle winde that blew was at East and East North-east, when it was flat calme wee made diuers trialls with our Lead, and sometimes wee should haue sixty fathoms, otherwhiles fifty fixe fathoms, and then we perceiued that the ship was carryed to the South Westward with a sagging Current, and when the calme continued three or foure houres, then no ground in eighty fathoms, as aforesaid. This afternoone, it rained a downe-right showre, and after that, the wind came vp at South and South South-west an easie gale with fair weather. From the sixt vnto the seuenth at noone, North-east halfe North nine leagues; here we had twenty fixe fathoms black ozie ground: the winde continued at South South-west with faire weather. From the seuenth at noone vntill the eight at night, North-east by North three leagues and a halfe, twenty fathoms gray ozie sand, here by the *Scorpions heart* I found the ship to be in two and twenty degrees and five and thirty minutes. From eight to twelue, the eight North-east by North fiftene leagues, here the Sunne made vs in three and twenty degrees and sixe minutes. At this present we had sight of the high land of *Logosse* North-west by North eleuen leagues off, hauing nineteen fathoms, a grosse white sand with smal shels, the wind stil continuing at South-west & West South-west. This morning, we saw eight or nine Fisher-boats, whereof one came within hayling of vs, but we could not perswade them to come aboard. This morning, we came ouer a banke where we had but fiftene fathoms grosse ground, this afternoone, from twelue to foure North North-east halfe North five leagues, twenty fathoms sandy grauell and shels, the high land of *Logosse* bearing North-west by West nine leagues off. From foure to eight, North-east by North five leagues, two and twenty fathoms sandy grauell. From eight to twelue, five leagues thirty fathoms sandy ozie. From twelue to twelue the ninth, North-east twelue leagues thirtie foure fathome, blacke sandie ozie, the wind at South-west, faire weather, latitude twentie foure degrees, twentie minutes.

Logosse.

A banke.

Current.  
Small Islands.

Formosa.

China.

From the ninth at noone, vntill the tenth, North-east one quarter East, twelue leagues thirty five fathomes ozie, this night the skie was all ouer-cast, and the wind ouer-cast with raine. This forenoone it was calme, and we making tryall with the Lead, found that the Current did set vs North North-east. Here we had sight of certaine small Islands, one of them rising in forme of a Sugar-loafe, and did beare West North-west from vs at noone about eight leagues off. This afternoone we hoysed out our little Boat, which the Carpenters built vpon our fore-Castle: by her wee made tryall of the Current againe, and found it to set East North-east. This Euening, at eight we anchored in twentie eight fathomes, hauing made no way all this after-noone, but as the Current set vs, which was North-east about a mile an houre. Tuesday, the eleuenth in the morning, we set saile againe, and so droue away to the North-east-ward, by means of the former Current, hauing no wind at all: this day at noone, wee had sight of the top of *Formosa* aboue the clouds, the highest part of it bearing South-east by East, about eightene leagues off, and the neereft Island vnto vs on the Coast of *China*, was at the same time North-west from vs seven leagues: heere wee had sight of many great Fisher-boates almost round about vs, who sent certaine little Boats aboard vs with fish, for which we paid them double, the value at the first to encourage them to come againe. This Euening, at sixe, the wind came vp at North North-east, by means whereof, and a little helpe of the Current setting towards the North-east by East, which made an East way nine leagues to the twelfth at noone. Heere we had the highest Land of *Formosa*, South-east, the neereft land about eight leagues off, the neather point of it East by North ten leagues off our depth, fortie fixe fathomes ozie: the latitude twentie five degrees twentie minutes. From the high Land of *Formosa*, stretcheth out a lower Land to the water-side, being a white sandy shoare, and smooth sand Hills farther vp the Countrey, much like to the Coast of *Barbary*.

Wednesday, the twelfth, from twelue to three East two leagues, here we were in the same depths, that wee had at noone, viz. forty fixe fathomes, beeing foure leagues off the foresaid sandy shoare, and seeing wee could lye no slent this way, wee tackt and stood off againe, stemming North-west and North-west by North, and North by West, making North-west eight leagues, where we had forty fathomes. From hence we stood in againe vntill twelue, the next day our way East by East fixe leagues, here we had the Norther point of *Formosa*, East South-east ten leagues off, being in the latitude of twenty five degrees, fortie minutes, the depth fiftie fixe



six fathoms ozie: by this we perceiued that the Current had carryed vs towards the East North-east. The thirteenth, from noone vntill six, we stood in East by South, and East South-east vntill we had the foresaid point East South-east halfe East, sixe leagues off forty two fathomes. Here we tackt about the North-ward, lying North North-west and North-west by North, which made a North-west by West way, till two at night about one halfe league, then the wind came vp at North-west by West, vntill sixe in the morning, with which halfe a league North-east by North, heere the foresaid point was East South-east halfe South. From sixe to twelue, it was calme with a cockling Sea, setting in vpon the shoare, and yet by meanes of the Current  
 10 setting towards the East North-east, we had by noone brought the said point South-east of vs, about five leagues off, hauing forty foure fathomes ozie, the latitude twentie five degrees fortie five minutes.

Friday, the fourteenth in the afternoone, we perceiued that the former Current was done, and that our ship was driuing to the South-west-wards with a contrary Current, wherefore we anchored, hauing fortie two fathomes, a browne glistering sand, here wee rode vntill eight at night, at which time finding the Current to set towards the East North-east: againe wee weighed with a little breath of wind Southerly, and within an houre after, the wind veered vp at West South-west, and began to blow fresh. At eight at night, the fourteenth vnto the  
 20 fifteenth at noone, North-east by North halfe East, nineteene leagues, twentie sixe degrees thirtie minutes, the wind West and West by North. From the fifteenth at noone, vntill the twelfth, the sixteenth, North-east by North, twentie foure leagues, latitude twentie foure degrees thirtie minutes, depth fifty five fathomes, black, sandie, ozie, the wind at West by North. From the twelfth, the sixteenth, vntill the twelfth, the seuenteenth, North-east by North, seuen leagues, latitude twentie eight degrees eight minutes, by this I perceiued, that the Current had set vs North-east foure halfe leagues, the wind West South-west, depth fiftie fathoms, blacke, sandy, ozie. From the seuenteenth, vntill the eighteenth at noone, our way through the water, East North-east, ten halfe leagues, by the Current North-east one quarter East, five leagues latitude twentie eight degrees thirtie minutes, the wind North by West, and North North-west faire weather. From the eighteenth, vntill the nineteenth at noone, our way  
 30 through the water North-east by North thirty foure leagues, latitude twentie nine degrees forty five minutes, depth sixty fathomes, sandie, ozie. The wind at first North North-west, and North North-west vntill mid-night with faire weather. From thence vntill noone, the next day West South-west and South-west very foule weather with much raine. From the nineteenth vntill the twentieth at noone, North-east twentie eight leagues, latitude thirtie degrees thirtie five minutes, depth fiftie five fathomes, sandy, ozie, the wind for the most part South-west and West South-west, the weather showrie.

Thursday, the twentieth, from three to six North-east two leagues & a halfe, depth thirty seuen fathomes, blacke sand. From sixe to five, next morning, North-east by East nine leagues, eightie sixe fathomes, grosse, gray sand with some shels. From five to twelue, the one and twentieth, North-east nine leagues & a halfe, no ground in ninetie fathomes, here we were in one and  
 40 thirtie degrees twentie five minutes, South South-west South, and South South-east, here I found that the Current had carryed vs tenne miles to the North-wards of our computation in twentie foure houres. From twelue, the one and twentieth vnto twelue, the two and twentieth, North-east two third parts North, twentie five leagues, latitude thirtie two degrees fortie minutes, here the great found of *Langasake*, was East about nine leagues off, and the South-east of *Goto* West by North ten leagues off.

The three and twentieth, we arrived in a Port of *Firando*, called *Cochee*, which is about foure halfe English miles to the South of the Hauen of *Firando*.

## THEIR RETURNE.

50 The eighteenth of December, Munday at noone, the Iles of *Mexuma* bore North-west from vs foure leagues off. Our course from *Pomo* being South South-west twentie five leagues, the wind North-west. From the eighteenth, at noone to the nineteenth, sixe leagues South-west, little wind & variable, yet faire weather (as before) here we had the Iles of *Mexuma*, North-east by North nine leagues off, the latitude one and thirtie degrees thirtie two minutes, here we had seuentie eight fathomes, streamy ground betwixt with a peppery sand and small shels. From the nineteenth to the twentieth at noone South-west foure leagues, latitude one and thirtie degrees two minutes, the wind from the West North-west to the North North-east, the weather very faire. From the twentieth, to the one and twentieth, South-west by West thirtie leagues, latitude thirtie degrees twentie three minutes, by this we found that the  
 60 Current had set vs thirteene miles to the North-wards of our account, the wind at North North-east, the weather faire. Friday, the two and twentieth, (from the former midday) we had made a South-west by West way twentie seuen leagues, latitude twentie nine degrees fortie minutes, here our latitude course & distance agreed wel together. This day at noon we had thirtie five fathoms, smal sand & ozie, the wind North North-east and North-east faire weather.



From Friday, to Saturday at noone, South South-west thirteene leagues. This morning, we came vp with a Iuncke of *Nangasack*, belonging to *Ian Iowfson* a *Dutchman*, and bound for *Cambaya*. I caused the Captaine of her to bring his Pasport aboard, which I perceiued to bee a *Goshon* from the Emperour of *Iapan*; I thereupon gaue him leaue to depart. This day, about noone, we had one and fortie fathomes ozie. This twentie foure houres the wind was very variable, the weather close and some-what hazie; at foure in the afternoone, fortie seuen fathomes ozie. From Saturday to Sunday noone, South-west halfe South, forty leagues, the wind at North and North North-west, close weather.

From Sunday noone, vntill Munday noone, being Christmasse day, South-west halfe South fiftie two leagues, here we had sight of certaine Ilands, which lye off the Coast of *China*, the neereft vnto vs was a small Iland bearing West by South from vs, about three leagues off, and did rise in the forme of a *Cayman*, the wind North North-east, and North-east, the depth in this place about thirty three fathomes ozie. This forenone, wee came vp with a Iuncke that kept the same course as we did, she had the *Hollands* Colours on her Poope, whereby we conceiued that she had a Passe from them, but had shee beene good purchas, wee could not haue dealt with her, because there was much wind, a loftie Sea.

From Munday noone to Tuesday noone, South-west by South, fiftie three leagues, here we had sight of certaine Ilands, which lye off *Logaseo*, bearing North-west by West nine leagues off, here wee had one and thirty fathomes, blacke peppery sand. From hence wee steered in West South-west ten leagues, vntill sixe at night. At which time wee had the Rockes of the point of *Loamb* West fortie leagues off, our depth twentie two fathomes, and white sand mixt. From sixe to twelue South-west by South, eleuen leagues, twentie fve fathomes ozie.

From twelue to twelue, the seuen and twentieth, South-west halfe West, one and twentie leagues. This seuen and twentieth, it blew a faire gale at North-east as before, and the weather cleered vp, that we had sight of the Sunne, which we had not of a long time seene before. From noone vntill mid-night South-west halfe West nineteene leagues: here by the North-star and *Canopus*, we were in one & twentie degrees thirtie minutes, the depth fiftie fve, sandy, ozie. From mid-night the seuen and twentieth, vnto mid-night the eight and twentieth, South-west nineteene leagues: heere by the Sunne, we were North twentie degrees, forty fve minutes, the wind still at North-east, the weather faire. From the eight and twentieth, vntill the nine and twentieth at noone, South-west thirtie eight leagues, latitude nineteene degrees fiftie three minutes, the depth seuentie fve fathomes, sandy, ozie, the wind North-east, the weather faire: by this we gathered, that we had made our way to the West-ward of the South-west by West, by meanes of some Current setting to the West-ward. From the nine and twentieth, vntill the thirtieth, South-west halfe South, thirtie eight leagues, latitude eighteene degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at East North-east and East by North, the weather very faire, no ground in one hundred and twentie fathomes. From Saturday vntill Sunday at noone, which was the last of December, South-west by South, twentie seuen leagues and a halfe, latitude seuentee degrees twentie minutes, wind East North-east, weather faire.

The first of January, from the last of December vntill New-yeeres day at noone, South-west by South twentie eight leagues, latitude sixteene degrees ten minutes. Here the wind came vp at North-east by North, the weather faire. From the first of January, vntill the second at noone South halfe West, twentie eight leagues, the weather ouer-cast the wind at North-east by North. From this day noone, vntill two of the clocke in the afternoone, South South-west halfe South three leagues, here wee had sight of a point of Land, bearing West from vs eight leagues off.

From two in the afternoone, vntill twelue the next day, South halfe East, fortie leagues, here we had Cape *Varella* North-west by North eight leagues off. This twentie foure houres we had much raine and dirtie weather. From the third at noone, vntill the fourth at sixe in the morning, our way one with another vpon a straight Line South South-west halfe West, thirtie leagues, here we were in eleuen degrees, North latitude, of our depth twentie foure fathomes, as neere as I could ghesse. Here also wee had sight of *Poolo Cecir*, bearing South by East seuen leagues off, and the Cape *Cecir* North by West sixe leagues from vs. From sixe vntill noone, West South-west thirteene leagues. From the fourth at noone, vntill the fifth at noone, first South-west by West twentie two leagues, then South-west halfe West sixe leagues, and then South South-west halfe South one and twentie leagues, here wee were in nine degrees. The body of *Poolo Candor*, bearing South South-west about seuen leagues from vs. Our depths from the fourth at noone, were from eighteene to fourteene fathomes: from sixteene to eleuen, wee felt a Current setting our ship to the South-ward beyond our computation, this same night at Sun-setting, we found the variation to be one degree North-westing. This euening, at sixe of the clocke we had the South-east end of *Poolo Candor*, North-west foure leagues off, the wind North-east. From six this euening, vntill twelue, the next South South-west thirtie leagues, latitude seuen degrees ten minutes, the wind at North-east, the weather very faire. From the six vntill the seuenth at noone, South South-west thirtie six leagues & a half, latitude fve

*Canopus.*

*Cape Cecir, or  
Cecir.*

*Poolo Candor.*

*Current.*



five degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at North-east, the weather faire. From Sunday the seuenth, vntill Munday the eighth at noone South South-west halfe South fortie two leagues, latitude three degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at North-east by East and East North-east, the weather faire. This day at foure in the afternoone, we had the North point of *Poolo Timon*, South-west by South about seven leagues off, we hauing runne from noone seven leagues South South-west. From Munday to Tuesday at noone, South South-west seven leagues, South-east sixteene leagues, and South seuentene leagues; the latitude one degree twentie five minutes; by this we perceiued the Current had carryed vs sixteene minutes to the South-wards of our computation.

- 10 From this twelfth day vntill foure in the afternoone South sixe leagues, our depth twentie foure fathomes (streamy ground: here we saw *Poolo Pengran* South-west by South sixe leagues, and the head-land of *Iore* West South-west eight leagues off. From hence vntill foure leagues off South South-east fourteene leagues off, eightene fathomes, the same ground: from hence till noone, the tenth, South twelue degrees, here wee had seuentene fathomes. The tenth at noone, we had sight of Land. The Northermost high hummocke bearing West from vs about sixe leagues off. This day at noone by our iudgement, we were ten minutes to the South-ward of the Line.

- Thursday, the eleuenth at noone, we were in one degree sixteene minutes South latitude, our course from the tenth at noone, South halfe West twentie two leagues. Here the Souther Ile of *Poolo Tayro*, was due East from vs three leagues off: our depth fourteene fathomes, ozie. This *Poolo Tayro* consisteth of seven or eight Ilands and Rockes mixt together, the longest tract of them is North North-west, and South South-east, the Northermost Ile is farre longer and larger then any of the rest. From this Northermost Ile vnto *Poolo Pan*, North-west halfe West nine leagues, the depth from the tenth at noone vnto this present, was from seuentene to fourteene fathomes all alongst *Poolo Tayro*: when the Northermost Ile of *Poolo Tayro*, East North-east halfe East three leagues from vs, then the three hummocks on the North end of *Banco* did beare South-east ten leagues off; And the high Land of *Mannapin* South by East halfe East. From this day noone vntill mid-night, South South-west halfe South tenne leagues: here we anchored seuentene fathomes soft ground, where we rid all night. The next morning, we had the Hill of *Mannapin*, South South-east halfe East, the low Land by the water side three leagues off, the next head-land to the North-wards, which riseth in three hummockes, when you are to the North-wards of it East North-east halfe North. About six leagues off, the twelfth at noone being at anchor in the same place, by our obseruation wee were in one degree one and fiftie minutes neereft, the wind at West North-west, weather faire. This afternoone we weighed and stood in towards the Coast of *Sumatra*, and at mid-night anchored in twelue fathomes of the Riuer of *Pallimbam*, finding nine, ten, and twelue fathomes ozie, as we ranged along.

- Saturday, the thirteenth in the morning, we weighed againe (the wind Northerly) and steered along by the *Sumatra* shoare, through the Streights of *Banco*, vntill wee came betweene the first and second point, which was at eight at night, where we anchored in sixteene fathoms about two leagues off the *Sumatra* shoare. From the Riuer of *Pallimbam* vnto this place, we had nine, ten, eleuen, twelue fathomes within two halfe leagues off the *Sumatra* side, all alongst vntil we came vp neer the second point (which maketh the narrowest of the Streights) & there we found about twentie fathomes water. Sunday, the fourteenth, we set saile againe and borrowed faire aboard the *Sumatra* side in eight, seven and sixe fathomes vntill wee had *Lucepara*, South-east by East, and then we haled away South South-east, South-east by South and South-east finding all the way five fathomes ozie, vntill wee had brought *Lucepara* North by West about seven leagues off, and then the water began to deepen, hauing five fathomes & a halfe, sixe fathomes. Munday, the fifteenth, wee were in foure degrees fiftie eight minutes, wee being distant from *Lucepara*, thirtie sixe leagues South by East from it. From hence vntill foure in the afternoone South South-west foure leagues. Here we saw a shoald aboue the water, about foure miles from vs, West South-west. The two Ilands on the Coast of *Sumatra*, bearing vpon the same point seven leagues off. Also *Poolo Keero* did beare East South-east halfe South. From this shoald five leagues off, and the high Land of *Marrough* was South-west from the shoald afore-said. This Euening, the wind did hearten in at North-west: by which meanes we got in neere vnto *Poolo Peniang* after mid-night, and there came to anchor vntill the next day.



## CHAP. VIII.

WILLIAM HORES *Discourse of his Voyage in the Dragon and Expedition, from Surat to Achen, Teco and Bantam; and of the surprising the Dragon, Beare, Expedition, &c. in a Letter to the Companie.*

To the Honorable Gouvernour and Right Worshipfull Committees  
of the Companie of the English trading in the  
EAST INDIA, &c.

Honorable and Right Worshipfull Sirs.



He passages of your businesse, in Captaine *Bonnors* Voyage, to and at *Surat* (till then and long after very hopefull) you haue by many aduises from themselves, and severall relations from others, largely and particularly vnderstood. Wherefore I shall therein be purposely silent, intending according to my poore meanes and abilitie, (the one being lost with your ships, and the other hauing alwayes beene very small) to acquaint you onely with such accidents as vntill the said ships taking hapned. Wherein I shall humbly beseech, that you would be pleased to pardon my presumption, in offering to your view these imperfect and vnworthy Lines, not doubting but others better able, will more accurately performe (what is by me omitted requisite your knowledge) then my insufficiency (especially at this time) is able to expresse, and poore employment in your seruice afforded not to be made partaker of.

*Dragon parted from the Anne 17. Febr. neere Surat before Dabull. A lunk of Dabull, laden and bound for the Red Sea.*

*Kind entertainment at Dabull. The Dabull vs desire Trade with vs. Store of refreshing at Dabull and good cheape. Promising to buy quantities of cloth hereafter & Lead, but we could not put off any of the Lions remnant. The Captaine of the lunk desired an English Bible, to cause to be translated into Arabeck.*

*The Historie of the offered Pepper at Battacula.*

The *Dragon* and other ships of that Fleet parting with the *Anne*, the seuenteenth of Februarie, 1618. the one and twentieth following, anchored before the Road and Towne of *Dabull*, (it being formerly ordered by consultation to touch there) and not long after came a Boat from the Gouvernour-Deputie, to learne what and whence we were; whereof being certified, hee againe returned ashore: and toward night, a graue man, Captaine of a lunk, then in the Road, laden and bound for the Red Sea, with his sonne came aboard, bringing ten Oxen, ten Goats, three hundred Hennes, with great store of Rice, Fruits, &c. for a Present, to conferre with our Captaine about such things as should be propounded; and that night they lodged aboard. The morrow after (they remayning for pledges) Master *Sailbanke* and Master *Furstrand* went ashore to the Deputie (the Gouvernour himselfe being then at Court, eight dayes iourney distant) The Chiefes of the Towne, as they affirmed, entertained them very kindly, professing likewise that they were much contented with the *English* arriuall, and had long desired to haue commerce with them, and to that end intreated to haue a Factorie left, or the ships to ride, till notice thereof might be giuen to the Gouvernour, because without his approbation they could not conclude of any thing. We had at this place great store of very good refreshing, indifferently cheape, large Bees for fixe Rialls a piece, and Fruits, &c. great plentie for small prices: but none of the old remnants in the *Lion* could vend, yet vpon future hopes, they promising fairely to deale hereafter for large quantities of broad Cloth, Lead, and other *English* commodities, Captaine *Bonner* deferred enforcing, aduising thereof to *Surat*, that the next yeeres Fleet might doe to them as occasion required. The sixe and twentieth, the aforesaid *Noghoda* landed, to whom was giuen a faire in-laid Musket with the furniture thereof: He also earnestly desired an *English* Bible, which being giuen, he said, he would carefully keepe till some *English* were there resident, and then with their helpe would haue it translated into *Arabeck* for his owne vse.

It hath beene, I presume, long since related vnto your Worships, how that during your Fleets abroad at *Swally*, two *Malabar* Frigots put themselves vnder command of your ships, affirming themselves subiects to a *Ragia* of *Echaree* neere *Goa*, and pretending to be sent by the King their Master, to capitulate with the *English* about establishing a Trade with him for Pepper, his Countrey, by their report, yeelding yearly sufficient to lade two great ships, the triall whereof being by consultation assented vnto, they both attended the Fleet to this place; and here one of them desired leaue to depart before to the King to aduize of our coming, that his Pepper might be in more readinesse against our arriuall, and that an *English* Merchant might accompanie him to view the commodities, and cut price with the King, for whom sufficient Hostage should be left aboard the *Dragon*. Which was likewise agreed vpon, Master *Wight*, Merchant, and *Leo Tucker* with him for Linguist, were dispeeded with him, and eight of the Prime men in both Frigats left for pledges.

The *Lion* being formerly disposed of for the Red Sea, it was ordered that shee should keepe the other ships companie to *Dabull*, there to vent, if possible, part or all those remnants brought from the Red Sea, for readie money, or to force them Trade, and the proceeding thereof to be toward lading the *Expedition* with Pepper at *Battacula*: but the vnfitness of those commodities for



for the *Dabulleers*, their faire promises and kind vsage, procure their quiet this yeere, for which cause the *Lions* companie being iudged needlesse any further. The seuen and twentieth, shee was dispeeded vpon her voyage: but before her departure, sixe hundred pounds sterling intended to be transported to *Surat*, was detayned for speedier lading the *Expedition*: hauing left Letters to be sent to *Surat*: toward night the *Dragen*, &c. set saile, intending next for *Batachala*. At *Dabull* enquirie was made for *Tho. Sprage*, who was sent from *Brampoore* into *Gulcandame*, to recouer a debt due by a *Persian* in that place, and at *Surat* it was reported, that the said *Persian* was forceably taken from him at this Towne, and *Sprage* also very much abused. But they denie euer to haue seene or knowne any such men, but tooke notice from vs to apprehend both or  
10 either if they should at any time happen on them.

The *Lion* dispeeded for the Red Sea. Sixe hundred pounds detayned for the lading of the *Expedition*.

*Sprage* not heard off at *Dabull*.

The fift of March, we anchored at *Batachala*, shooting three Peeeces to giue notice of our arriual: and the next day about noone, Master *Wight* with the other *Mallabar* Frigat came aboard, by whom we vnderstood, that at the Kings Towne, some three dayes iourney thence, was Pepper to the quantitie of one hundred and fiftie Tunnes or vpward, but the price was held hard at fiftie Rialls of eight the Candee, and would not be brought lower then fortie segen; the Pepper worse then that of *Tercoo*, and in all likelihood he had no intent for to sell it, but to keepe it for the *Portugals*, with whom he hath continuall Trading, and this to bee but a deuice of those Rowers to free themselues from command of the *English*. The Candee at this place contayneth neere fise hundred pounds.

The price of Pepper at *Batachala* at fiftie Rialls the Candee. The Candee fise hundred pound.

Our hopes of this place prouing no better: the third present, we set saile thence. Running along this Coast, we saw and met with many Iuncks of the *Mallabars*, and not finding ought in them, saue Coco-nuts and such trash, presently dismissed them, one excepted, belonging to the *Samorine*, which Captaine *Bonner* caused to returne with him, the sooner to procure satisfaction for goods and debts, left there by *Peter Needham*, &c. which Iuncke certified of another of the *Samorines* laden with Pepper, riding at *Panana*, some twelue leagues to the Southward of *Calicut*, and bound for the Red Sea, at which place also the *Samorine* then kept his Court, where arriuing the tenth *dicto*, a Messenger was sent to aduertise the ships arriual, to require satisfaction for his debts, &c. and to renew a Trade with vs; all which motions hee seemed willing to entertaine, promising the twelfth following to meet and confer with Captaine *Bonner* vpon the shoare neere the Sea-side, and after an end made of the old, to begin a new businesse. The King came at the time prefixed, hauing the day before drawne alhoare and vnladen his Iuncke, she riding within a Riuer, at the mouth whereof was a great Barre, hindring our seizing her, whom Captaine *Bonner* (attended with a Guard of fiftie small shot, &c.) met, deliuered our Kings Maiesties Letter with a Present to him; and after long debating, it was concluded, that in regard we knew not the summe due by goods left with him and others, not hauing any notice thereof; the payment should be deferred till information from *Needham* might be procured, and with aduice of his Merchant consented to sell vs Pepper: at present, seuen or eight hundred Candees or more, at thirtie Rialls of eight, free of all charges. The Candee we found by triall thereof, with our *English* weights, to contayne fise hundred and two pounds nete; whereupon resolving, it was  
40 concluded that the next day Master *Wight* and my selfe should view the quantitie and qualitie of the commoditie, which wee were to certifie Captaine *Bonner* (then aboard the small *Pinasse* neere the shoare) who would thereupon haue landed, money, &c. and gone to weighing.

A Iuncke of the *Samorine* detayned.

At *Panana* is the *Samorines* country twelue leagues from *Surat*, was Iuncke of the *Samorine* laden with pepper, bound for the Red Sea. Satisfaction of our debts demanded of the *Samorine*.

The *Samorines* cunning. Pepper offered by the *Samorine* fraudulently.

The Candee fise hundred and two pound weight.

The *Samorines* dissimulations: large discourse.

But that night the Kings mind changed, and we landing early next morning, were refused sight thereof vnlesse the King gaue expresse order thereto, to whom also going, hee demanded when our Captaine would land, which wee certified him would not bee till wee had seene the Pepper, and could iudge of the quantitie, and that then we should make signe for his comming. He then sent vs backe with one of his Kinsmen to the Merchants house, willing vs there to stay till he either came himselfe, or sent order for dipatch: but there we attended while past noone, and then not hearing ought returned to the King, who by his *Iurabassa* fell to discoursing of our Countrey manners, had Tumblers playing before him, and with such trifling delays put off the time till neere foure after noone, when we entreated him to giue vs an answer, that we might returne to the Captaine, who all this while expected our comming. Whereupon taking vs aside into a roome from sight of his people, he told vs, that he had many matters of import whereof to conferre with the Captaine, which he would not haue his owne people to take notice off, and to that end had appointed a priuate house to be prepared for his entertainment not far from his Court, and therefore willed that Master *Wight* should carrie and accompanie him presently thither, and that I should returne to the Captaine and bring him to the place assigned. I desired to see it, but he refused, appointing one of his attendants to goe with me to the Sea-side, there to carrie Captaine *Bonners* landing, and conduct him to the foresaid house. But by the way considering, how indiscreet it would seeme, to motion his going to a place I had neither seene nor knew, especially in such a treacherous place, I told my Companion, that vnlesse I might first see where the King intended to meet, I would not aduise the Captaines landing; he perceiuing me resolute, left me, and directed one of his Slaues to shew it me; who lead me neere two *English* miles vp into the Countrey, and at length brought mee to a little house (but handsome enough)  
60 fited



sited in the midst of a small Wood, about which was a faire plaine a quarter of a mile every way, and without that, round enuironed with thicke and high Woods : which place ministring iustly great cause of suspicion. I returned to the King, whom I met vpon the way with fortie or fiftie attendants comming thither, with him also Master *Wight*; to whom I shewed my opinion of the place, and that it now grew late, and therefore nothing to be done that night.

The Samorine denyeth to performe with vs according, to his promise vnder fortie Rialls the Candee.

Bonner threatned the Samorine, to take his Luncke, and pay our selues.

A Pinnasse ordered to be sent from Achen from Rob. Bonner vnto Teco and Bantam.

The Pinnasse arriue among our ships neer Bantam, the 23. Aprill.

Cap. Iordain in the Samson and Hound went for Iambe, Patania, Syam, to visit those Factories about the 9. of Aprill.

Comming to the house, the King sate a good while musing without speaking, when we desired leave to depart, it being now neere night and past time for the Captaines landing, and that if he pleased we should againe returne on the morrow, as also to certifie his desire of priuate conference with the Captaine, but withall intreated, that we might lose no more dayes, but that according to his former conclusion, we might dispatch our businesse. After a little pause, he commanded all his owne people out of the roome; leauing none but Master *Wight*, *Ino. Tucker* Linguist, and my selfe. The doores being shut, hee beckned vs, and then readily finding his Portuguese tongue (till then concealed) told vs resolutely, that he could not performe at the price contracted for; the Pepper being none of his but the Merchants of the Towne, and that vnder fortie Rialls of eight the Candee he could not accomplish; and if they or any other would sell cheaper, he gaue licence thereto, but if none, then at that price himselfe would furnish, and that he would satisfie his debt when we could certifie how much and wherefore it was due: Also, that he had other businesse to confer with the Captaine, which he said should not be mentioned, vnlesse himselfe were present: with which answere we returned aboard to Captaine *Bonner*, who sent him word ashore by one of his seruants who came with vs, that the *English* should largely pay themselves vpon his Luncks, both for the goods he detayned, and for this abuse also.

The fourteenth of March we departed thence, the nineteenth anchored at *Brimion*; where failing of refreshing or water, the people by the *Portugalls* instigation, refusing to let our Caskes be filled vnder eightie Rialls of eight: the twentieth, altogether that night set saile, and that night doubled Cape *Comorine*.

The two and twentieth of March, a consultation was held aboard the *Dragon*, wherein was propounded and concluded, sending the *Portugall* Pinnasse for *Bantam*: and by the way to touch at *Teco*, to learne the estate of that Factorie (if any were) to stay there foure dayes, and at *Bantam* ten, and then vnlesse by Captaine *Iordaine* detayned longer, to make all haste possible backe to *Teco*, there to attend the *Dragons* arriual from *Argin*, to informe the Companies affaires at *Bantam*. In her was appointed *William Ricker* Master, with twentie other, and my vnhappy selfe also, that Factorie being likeliest to want attendance, and I willing to my best seruice, though in so meane a condition, as it hath pleased your Worships to dispose me.

The foure and twentieth *dicto*, about foure after noone we parted with the ships, they standing away for *Achen*, and we for *Teco*, of whose proceedings there I am altogether ignorant, and shall therefore presume to referre your Worships to Master *Nichols* his aduice (if as I much feare hath hapned) the rest from the Factors there haue with your ships miscarried.

The sixt of Aprill, 1619. wee arriued at *Teco*, and hearing nothing at this place, saue what your Worships haue long since beene acquainted with, hauing watered and sent aduice to Captaine *Bonner*, of our arriual, &c. The eleuenth following, we set saile for *Bantam*. Hauing had diuers dayes calme, and sometimes the wind contrarie: the three and twentieth *dicto*, wee anchored twixt the salt Hills in the Straights of *Sunda*: and the seuen and twentieth toward night, a small gale blowing, we weighed and intended to haue put into *Bantam* Road before day, but the vnuall calme forced our anchoring some foure miles short of *Poolo-Paniang*: and in the morning, readie to set saile, we descried ten ships and foure Luncks, riding vnder the foresaid Island, who with that breath weighed and stood toward vs, we knew not what to conceiue of them, little expecting to haue found so many *English*, especially those ships in that place; the better to make them, we hoysed out our Prow and in her three men, to row vntill they could make their Colours; and if *Dutch*, to repaire backe to vs; if *English*, to goe aboard them, the latter whereof they did. Ere long the Admirall was thwart of vs, whom Master *Ricker* saluted with three Peeeces, he answered with one, and sending his Skiffe aboard, willed our Master to weigh and stand after him to *Morrogh*, and me to come aboard his ship, and bring such Letters as I had with me, which I presently did, where I haue related all those miserable and lamentable accidents, which, I presume, your Worships long since vnderstood by the *Iames*, safely arriued home.

The nine and twentieth *dicto*, the Fleet anchored *Morrogh*, and the next day Sir *Thomas Dale*, Captaine *Pring*, &c. came aboard our Pinnasse, and dispeeded her for *Bantam*, if possible to get some prouision for the shippes, as also to learne if any *Flemmish* shippes were at *Iacatra* or thereabouts: but speeding of neither, we returned to the Fleete the second of May. The ten ships then at *Morrogh*, were the *Moone*, *Cloue*, *Globe*, *Pepper-corne*, the *Iames Royall*, *Gift*, *Vnicorne*, *Aduice*, *Rose* and *Bee*: Captaine *Iordaine* being some foureteene dayes before our comming gone with the *Samson* and *Hound*, for *Iambee*, *Patania*, *Syam*, and other places, besides the foure Luncks, three whereof were from *China*, the other from *Patania*, and our Pinnasse newly also by Sir *Thomas Dale* ordered for to attend his Fleete.

The first of May, the *China* Luncks began to be Romidged, and their goods taken into your ships,



ships, for debts owing by the *Chineses* to your Worships. After which, cutting downe their masts, yards and sayles, to preuent their lading the Pepper at *Bantam*, left them there ryding: the quantitie and qualitie of those goods exceeds my knowledge to aduize, I being both a stranger, and by your Worships order not to meddle in businesse of that nature.

The foure and twentieth of May, *Owen Bodman* was executed at the yard arme in the *Moone*. This day the Fleete fitted to sayle, and the *Rose* in stead of the *Pinnasse*, was intended for *Teco* and *Achen*, to aduize Captaine *Bonner* of proceedings there with a Cargazon of Rice, Steele, &c. Confined to Master *Furstrand* at *Achen*; In which ship also it pleased Sir *Thomas* to appoint my  
 10 returne. One of the foresaid Iuncks being of *Patania*, and most of her lading Rice, belonging to the *Flemmings*: so much thereof as was thought fitting, each ships prouision was taken out, and she this day dismissed. The five and twentieth *Dicto* the Fleete set sayle, Sir *Thomas Dale* with the *Moone*, *Clone*, *Globe*, *Pepper-corne*, *Aduice* and *Pinnasse*, standing for *Ingano*, to recouer (if possible) part of the Monies lost, in the *Sunne*, and to releue those men left there, if any were aliue; and Captaine *Pring* with the *James Royall*, *Gift*, *Vnicorne* and *Bee* for the Coast: intending there all to meete, and to come with their ioynt strength to *Priaman*, there to meete with the ships from *England*, and also Captaine *Bonnors*, and altogether to goe to *Bantam*.

The fifteenth of Iune we arriued at *Teco*, where we made little stay, but hauing watered, &c. and left letters for Captaine *Bonner*, of the past proceedings at *Bantam*, and future purposes  
 20 for this place, departed thence the nineteenth *Dicto* from *Achen*, going betwixt the Mayne of *Sumatra* and the Shoalds, which from *Teco* lye foure degrees or more of North latitude, and stopping euery night: The ninth of Iuly, about sixe in the euening, a storme began at North-west (we being then anchored some fifteene leagues to the Northward of *Barrous*) which increased in great extremitie till about mid-night with very fearefull Thunder, Lightning, and terrible Raine, we had but one anchor aground, hauing the Shoalds and the Mayne on euery side of vs within two leagues. In this extremitie, not knowing what course to take, but onely to attend Gods mercy in our deliuerance, our Cable brake, and we bare roome backe ouer these Shoalds in an exceeding darke night, with which formerly we durst scarce deale at noone-day; yet the neuer forsaking mercy of the Almightye preserued vs from all those dangers, and with  
 30 day-light also sent vs faire weather, when necessitie enforced determination to beare backe againe for *Teco*: it is said we were the first ship that euer went this way, and I thinke no man that dare depend vpon his skill, to aduenture without sight of land, will euer saile that way againe.

The one and twentieth *dicto*, we had another great storm, which began about two after noone, with very much Wind, Thunder and Raine, which lasted about foure houres, split our maine saile, and blew away our sprit-saile; *Rich. Crane*, one of our companie, being then vpon the yard arme, the braces, lifts, and all the rigging of the sprit-saile yard at once broke, and hee with his head downewards hung (at euery set of the ship couered with the Sea) about a glasse space, no  
 40 man being able by any meanes to succour him, till at last, faintnes & wearines made him let goe, and as he droue by the ships side tooke hold of a Rope, by which meanes, next to the Almightyes mercy, his life was beyond expectation miraculously preserued; another, named *Price Hawks*, standing in the waste, was by a flash of Lightning strooke dumbe and lame ouer all his body, lying in most lamentable plight for many dayes, yet, God be thanked, his speech is a little returned, but a kind of dead numbnesse in both his legs and armes, maketh him still continue a very miserable man, distressed as aforesaid.

The three and twentieth *dicto*, we returned to *Teco*, and by reason of our wants, both of Cordage, Sailes, and Ground-tacke, of which there was no more in the ship then was at that time in vse, no more then one Hoghead of flesh, no bread but Rice and that not sweet, no other drinke for sicke men, &c. but water; but nineteene men in the ship, whereof five very sicke, and diuers others lame: It was resolu'd through importunitie of the companie thereto, to  
 50 remayne there and attend reliefe from the *Dragon*, or other *English*; but in the interim, a rumour of *Flemmish* ships comming from *Bantam*, forced vs change resolution: and the sixt *dicto*, with our weake crew put to Sea, in hope either to meet the ships from *Achen*, or to get our intended parke, and by that meanes to ease our selues of some of those miseries. Hauing had since our departure from *Teco* a very faire gale: The tenth *dicto*, to our great comforts we met the *Dragon* and *Expedition*, betwixt the Ilands *Nimtam* and *Batta*: so soone as we came neere, Captaine *Bonner* sent his Skiffe aboard, to whom I went and deliuered his Letters from Master *Spalding*, Master *Ball*, &c. Sir *Tho. Dale* by reason of his sicknesse hauing also referred him to them for aduise. The next morning at a Consultation it was concluded, that the *Rose* should returne backe  
 60 to *Teco*, in regard of her vnfitnessse for any Voyage, as also for that the goods in her would vend so well here, or better then at *Achen*, the Invoice whereof was inclosed in a Letter, sealed and directed to Master *Rich. Furstrand*, which I then likewise deliuered: By Captaine *Bonner* I vnderstood of two moneths Trade granted at *Teco*, of about one thousand and three hundred Bahars of Pepper, then in the *Dragon*, and of more then one thousand and five hundred remayning

Foure China Iuncks taken by our ships, their goods laden in to the *James*, &c. the 1. May 1619.

*Owen Bodman* was executed the 24. May 1619.

Our ships set saile out of the Streights of *Sunda*, the 25. of May.

A Iuncke of Rice belonging to the Dutch.

Our Fleet, Sir *Tho. Dale* being Admirall with all the rest of our ships did set saile out of the Streights of *Sunda*, 25. May, 1619.

Some went to *Ingano* to weigh the money and ordnance left in the *Sunne*.

Our Fleet purposed to returne againe to *Bantam* by the last of Sept.

The *Pinnasse* sent backe againe from *Bantam* to *Teco*, *Priaman* and *Achen*.

The *Pinnasse* passage from *Teco* to *Achen*.

*Rich. Crane*, miraculously saued.

*Price Hawks* stricken with lightning, but partly recouered.

The *Pinnasse* driuen backe againe to *Teco*.

The *Dragon* & *Expedition* goe to *Teco*.

Two moneths Trade obtrayned at *Teco*.

1500. Bahars remayning at *Achen* vn-bought, for lack of meanes;



at *Achen* vn Bought, for lacke of meanes. To the end that so little as might be of our short time should be lost; the fifteenth in the night, Captaine *Bonner* sent off his barge with Master *Nichols* and my selfe, to goe ashore, and acquaint the King &c. with our licence for Trade; as also to take an house, and so much as might be, to set each thing in a forwardnesse. The King seemed very willing; appointing, as we desired, a very conuenient house close by the sea side, next to the Custome-houle, and promised so soone as he saw the Kings Letter, musters of our goods, and had concluded of the price; order should be giuen for present weighing.

The nineteenth, Master *Nichols* went aboard the *Dragon*, riding two leagues without the Road, and brought the Kings Letter ashore with him, which seene and read, Proclamation thereof was presently sent into the Countrey, and many in the Towne had good quantities of Pepper, which they would not sell till the King had first begunne. The one and twentieth, the *Dragon* &c. came into the Road, and musters of goods landed, the greatest part whereof was Cainkeenes, blue Selas; and the price was concluded, fiftie Selas, thirtie five Cainkeenes, sixteene blue Byronnes, red Selas thirtie two, and of Baftaes according to the goodnesse, eight, ten, and twelue Pieces for a Bahar, which valued according to the rates worth in readie money, twentie Rials the Bahar; and it was agreed, that the next morning the King should beginne to weigh (the Custome of goods not to be payed in kind; but to land whatsoever wee would, and to pay fourteene the hundred Custome, in Rials of eight: for all the Pepper should be payed, either with goods, or money; a very hard condition and wondrous vnadvisedly consented to, by those formerly there employed; but now it is continued, and little hope to get it euer reclaime. Some goods were this day landed, being first opened aboue, and sent ashore in bags, to preuent wetting; and small quantities at once, for feare of fire and treacherie, both which are very vsuall here (but especially the latter) more then in any part of *India*.

The two and twentieth *dicto*, the King &c. returned to the *Balley*, refusing their former Contract, and would not himselfe sell vnder fortie Cainkeenes, and sixtie blue Selas the Bahar; but gaue free leaue to any other that would; which was nothing: for till he began, none would sell a Catee, so that necessitie inforced our assenting. The sixe and twentieth our trade began, and this day weighed the first Pepper, the contents whereof, and of the succeeding dayes, I forbear to recite, hauing collected it together in a note herewith vnto your Worships. Master *Nichols* &c. being aboard the *Dragon*, this day Captaine *Bonner* discoursing of the businesse past at *Ban-tam*, and his owne at present in the *Dragon*, fearing lest at the Fleets arriual, the Pepper in her should be taken out, and sent home vpon some other ship that had bene long in the Countrey, as also dreading the *Flemmings* arriual (of whom hee was alwayes wondrous suspicious) affirmed, he had no intent to lade more Pepper in the *Dragon*, till he knew certainly how he should be disposed of; but would take it into the *Expedition*, whereto he said shee should be presently fitted, and the *Dragon* kept cleere and prettie for a Man of Warre, in case the *Flemmings* should come: his reason was, that he could not at any time after take it into his ship, of which if he could dispose, hee could likewise by the same power command the *Expedition*, and goods therein: in which determination he seemed to be firme; and gaue order for the *Expeditions* fitting roomes. But the next day after, arriued *Henry Bate* Merchant, from the ship *Beare*; who the day before anchored at *Priaman*; and the eight and twentieth of August aforesaid, arriued at *Tecoo*: at instant of whose comming, but vpon what presumption or reports I cannot certainly determine, Captaine *Bonner* changed resolution, and proceeds to lade the *Dragon*, filling each place with lumber, romaging her bread-roomes, and so cloying her deckes, as was not possible to vse her Peeeces in greatest extremitie; by which vnhappy accident, Wee your poore Seruants haue with losse of liues, or goods, or both, indured excelsse of most base, and past compare, contemptible viage, from an ingratefull and vnciuill Nation, with many other neuer to be satisfied or forgotten iniuries.

The seuen and twentieth, all night being very tempestuous, fearefull thunder and lightning, and abundance of raine, we had vnder our house, in a roome for that purpose, some small store of Steele Bettel boxes, and such like; where also lay two men, appointed by Capt. *Bonner* to watch the house, the boat being left behind them ashore. That night *John Cocket* (alias *Tucker*) a youth, who had long liued at *Surat*, and he also lodged there: about midnight came theeuers to open the doore, which one within perceiuing, with crying out scarred them away; two houres after, they returned; and one of them putting in his arme, was stricke at with a sword, but missed, fled away the second time; and they within made the doore so fast as they could (which was but hurdles.) About foure in the morning, comming againe, & opening the doore, one went in, taking some Braffe Bettel boxes, our men being all fast asleepe; and in returning, rubbed against *Tuckers* legs, who starting vp, caught hold of him, and cried, *A theefe, I haue him*; which scarce pronounced, with a pitifull accent, cried out againe, *Oh, hee is gone, and hath stabd mee with his Creeze*: which was so sodainely done, as those who lay by him had not time to rescue him. There was at that time aloft the Surgeon of the *Dragon* &c. who presently ran downe with a light, but too late; the villaine hauing with a knife giuen him two wounds, one whereof to the heart, who without speaking more words then, *Lord haue mercie vpon me*, presently died.

Pepper bought at Teco.

The price of Pepper, and of Surat goods.

Fourteene per centum custom at Teco.

Little hope euer to haue the great Custom abated.

Fire and treacherie vsuall in Teco.

Alteration of the price of Pepper.

*Bonner* is very suspicious of the *Hollanders*, and disposed himselfe for a Man of Warre.

Vpon the Arriual of the *Beare*, *Bonner* altered his resolution of fitting his ship for a man of Warre, and lade her into *England*. The *Dragon* pestred.

The *Dragon* vaciull.

Discourse of theft in Teco, the seuen and twentieth of August.

*John Tucker* slaine the seuen and twentieth of Aug.



Wee in vaine searched each bush and place about our house, and I went to call the Cowals (or Waiters) who euery night till this, kept watch in a Balley within twentie paces of our house; misting whom, I went instantly to the *Pongolo Cowallas* house, and calling him, asked him where was the Watch; he said, at the Balley; which I denying, he affirmed to haue charged one that night. Then I told him we had a man slaine, and willed him to search narrowly, if any suspicious person could be apprehended, he forthwith went and acquainted the King therewith, who presently came downe with the Chiefe thereabouts, saw the dead bodie, and affirmed, he would doe what might be, to find the murtherer: Master *Nichols* charged the Cowals to bee actors, or authors hereof, and required to haue them all sent for, and one after another to touch the Corps, whereto the King gaue order: and when each one had taken him by the hand, and no cause to suspect any, appeared; Master *Nichols* demanded if there were no more Cowals; it was answered, no more saue one, who was sicke, and kept his bed; him the King commanded to be sent for, whose very lookes and demeanour condemned him in the opinion of all, to bee the villaine sought for, the King commanded to take the dead man by the hand, which with extreme quaking, and many distracted gestures and answeres he did, but would not hold it any time. Master *Nichols* vrge this to be the man, and required Iustice. The King caused him to be bound, and professed in his conscience that was the man who kild him, but that hee must be tried by their Law also, whereto the fellow assented.

A story of trial  
of a Malefa-  
ctor in a  
strange manner

And while preparation was made thereto, wee sent word to Captaine *Bonner*, who came ashore to see the euent hereof: presently after whose comming, a fire was made, and an iron pan with a gallon of oyle set thereon; which leasurely boyled till it came to such a degree of heat, that a greene leate but dipped therein was sodden and shuiered. The prisoner then called, and persisting in deniall of the fact, was in testimonie of his innocencie, to take out of the said oyle a small ball of brasse, little bigger then a Musket shot, with his naked hand; and that if any burning or scalding appeared thereon, hee was contented to die: which hee addressed himselfe to performe; stripping vp his sleue about the elbow, and taking a kind of protestation, desiring that as he was cleere thereof, so he might prosper in this act; dipped his hand to the wrist in the burning oyle, tooke out the ball, held it fast, and crying, *Olla Basar*, or, great is the Lord, toft it vp, caught it againe, and then cast it on the ground; shewing his hand vnto all that would, which had no more signe of hurt, then if hee had experimented the same in cold water. The Deuill, it seemes, being loth at that time to lose his credit. The fellow was instantly released, and within an houre after returned in his holiday apparell, and none so lustie as hee, though but a little before he had bene sicke, and so weake, as he was faine to be brought vpon mens shoulders to his triall: and this was all the iustice we could haue, for our murdered man; though in all likelihood, and their iudgements also, he was the actor.

Twentie two  
Rials a Bahar  
of Pepper at  
Tecoo.  
The Dragon  
went out of  
Tecoo Road in-  
to deeper wa-  
ter.  
Diuers Boats  
laden with  
Pepper aboard  
the Dragon.  
Our men wea-  
ried about the  
Pepper.  
Six Hollanders  
comming into  
the Road, were  
adiudged Eng-  
lish ships shew-  
ing no colours  
Found by their  
Hulls to be Hol-  
land ships.  
Set vpon the  
Dragon vnpro-  
vided, and her  
men wearied  
before.

This businesse ended, the King propounded to Captaine *Bonner*, that our time of Trade began now to be short, and that there was great store of Pepper yet to be had, which might speedily be bought for readie money: the people being vnwilling to deale for any more Cloth, in regard the Iunkes from *Argin* were daily expected with great store from the King, who would force their taking thereof; and that hauing sold before for readie money, they would make the better shift: which he said was alike to vs, our commodities being as vendible in other places; and the new ship (the *Beare*) hauing brought good store of mony, which might be wel employed: whereto consent being giuen, the price was cut, twentie two Rials the Bahar, and the assemblie dismissed. That night good store of Pepper was brought downe to be weighed the next day, many of the Chieffes affirming, that there was in and about *Tecoo*, about a thousand Bahars Pepper, which so fast as could be weighed, would be brought in. The King gaue vs leaue, that if in the night we saw any about the house, we should detaine them prisoners till the next day; and in case they refused to come vnto vs, being called, we should shoot them, and the perill to lie vpon their owne heads. The nine and twentieth *dicto*, Captaine *Bonner* perceiuing the *Dragon* to bee already deepe, and hoping ere long to haue her full lading, weighed out of the Road, by the Iland, and anchored without, attending a wind to goe to the Southward of those Ilands, there to ride, and take the rest of her lading.

The Admirall  
and Vice-Ad-  
mirall laid her  
aboard, and all  
the other foure  
ships dischar-  
ged at her as  
they passed by;  
she being alto-  
gether pester-  
red, no Peece  
free but one, &  
could come by  
no powder or  
shot.

The first of October, about foure in the morning, the *Dragon* weighed, and neere eight, with the Breeze set saile, and came into the foresaid Road; not long after, all the boats and Skiffes of the *Dragon*, *Expedition*, and *Rose*, came ashore to fetch Pepper, who laded so fast as they could; but before all were laden, fixe Saile were descried, standing with a fresh gale at South, toward the Road of our ships. The Boats forthwith put off, and had very much labour to row to windward, the men being much wearied before, with mooring the ships, and carrying the bags of Pepper: Captaine *Bonner* iudged them to be Sir *Thomas Dales* Fleet, who had determined to arrive there, by the fine of September; and therefore, till they came within lesse then a league, that their Hulls shewed who they were, no Colours being abroad, not suspecting them: and then before any prouision could be made for defence, the Admirall and Vice-Admirall layed the *Dragon* aboard, all the other as they went, by shooting so many Peeces as could be brought to beare vpon her, who had that day taken in about an hundred Bahars of Pepper, had all her men



The three other ships also taken without shooting one peece.

Hollanders most sterne insulters and incompassable cruell Enemies.

If the Infidels had not bene more mercifull then the Hollanders, three hundred men had perished. The Hollanders put our men in Irons, in their ships all night in open ayre, in a most raynie and tempestuous night neither respecting sicke nor maymed.

The next morning turned them ashore with ragges, amongst were fortie sixe of the *Stars* men, euen till now kept Prisoners. *Rob. Bonner* was sent ashore, offering to carrie away the bed he lay vpon, which for triple the value was redeemed. His death with commendation, 9. October. God moued the Heathen to fauour our people.

The King did visit *Captaine Bonner*, and furnished him with needfull, and offering all courtesie.

The names of the *Holland* ships departing from *Tecoo* to *Priaman* and *Bantam*, where they had thirty five saile besieging *Bantam*. The *Pangram* at *Bantam*, and the *Hollander* veying for slaughter one of anothers people.

*Diego Fernandes* beheaded, being taken for an *Hollander*.

euen spent with labour, and was at that time so cloyed as was neuer poore, all emptie and full of caske, bread, and other prouisions then vpon her deckes, and all her lower Gunnes so stowed vp with lumber, as that in so little time, as was then to prouide, not more then one could be cleered, and that but once discharged; powder, and shot in that extremitie not to bee come by. With those Ordnance which were cleere, the Fight was maintained very hot about three glasse, or more; till *Captaine Bonner* (his worthie resolution approuing his zeale to doe your Worshippes his vttermost seruice) receiued a mortall wound, with a shot in the right side, which remained in his bodie, who being carried downe, the ship fired, in foure or five seuerall places most pitifully torne, and many men slaine, shee became a Prey, rather then a Prize vnto them.

The other foure Dutch ships stood in to the *Beare*, *Expedition*, and *Rose*, who seeing, as is said, the *Dragons* disaster, yeelded also the two first without shooting a shot. Worthie Sirs, I was not at present an actor at this surprize, though I shall haue alwayes cause to bewaile what I then suffered; and therefore must beseech your fauourable acceptance of this small recitall, till others therein employed, of farre better abilitie then my selfe, shall largely acquaint you with euery circumstance: neither dare I persist in this subiect, lest iust passion, caused by remembrance of so late felt, and (vnlesse by your Worships clemencie relieued) neuer to bee recovered miserie, should transport mee beyond those limits, wherein I must now willingly containe my selfe. But thus much I may truly professe, if (as is a common Maxim) contraries hold the same reason of proportion in change of qualitie, they may be expected to be most kind friends; for alreadie, we haue found them most sterne insulters, and beyond compare cruell enemies: and had not more true compassion, pitie, and reliefe, bene extended to vs from Infidell *Moores*, then from these Dutch Christians, three hundred of your Seruants (vnhappy men) a great number of whom, would not, a few houres before, haue changed fortunes euen with the chiefeest and vnworthiest of that Crew, had left their dead Carcasses a prey to beasts and fowles, and subjected their liuing bodies to miserable seruitude, if a greater chastisement for our sinnes had not bene inflicted.

Being possessed of our ships, they straight way sent the *English* aboard theirs, and for refreshing after so great labour, as they had that day sustayned, set them in Irons vpon the gratings, in such a night of wind, raine, thunder and lightning, as either before or since I neuer saw; without respect to either sicke or wounded: many of whose liues shortly after payd for that nights barbarous entertainment.

The next morning early, they turned all ashore with such poore ragges, as they would suffer them to weare on their backs vpon the mayne at *Tecoo*, beeing the foresaid foure shippes Company, and fortie sixe of the *Stars* men, till then also kept Prisoners, there beeing then a shoare in the Factorie, *William Nichols*, *Henry Bate*, and my selfe; where so good order was taken for the sicke and wounded, as the times Confusion, and poore meanes then there would permit.

The third day following, *Captaine Bonner* was sent ashore with a Gardian, attending him to the house sent by the Dutch Admirall, to carry backe euen the poore bed he lay vpon, which for triple the value was redeemed, where Griefe and Anguish adding a violent Feuer and Spasme, to his former deadly wound: hauing heretofore well deserued the repute of a Worthy, now shewing no lesse a Christian man, and with a resolution well fixt on the merits of our Redeemer; yeelded his soule into the hands of the Almighty, the ninth of October, leauing vs distressed iustly to lament his losse, who were before enough sorrowfull afflicted with remembrance of passed misery, and expectation of more and greater ensuing calamitie, whose bodie as he desired, was buried vpon the little Iland at *Tecoo*, so neere his Brother *Thomas* as could be ghesse.

Somewhat to comfort vs in this distresse, it pleased the Lord to giue vs fauour in those peoples fights, who vsed vs fairely and well, as could haue bene expected in any Christian part of the World. The King would diuers times visit *Captaine Bonner*, and each day present him with such Cates as were there esteemed fittest for so sicke a man, desiring him also to bee comforted, and that both they and Countrey should bee readie both to protect and relieue vs, which was well performed: for so long as the *Flemmings* rode there, one thousand men armed lay within a quarter of a mile of our house ready vpon any occasion; and a continuall Market for victuall was kept at our doore, wherein all prouisions sold cheaper then before our ships were taken.

The fifth dicto, the *Hollanders* hauing taken in their Pepper at *Tecoo*, set sayle with these ships following, viz. The *Vapan van Sealand*, Admirall in her; *William Johnson*, Commander of the Fleet; the *Huerlam*, *New Zeland*, *Neptunes*, *English Starre*, *Post-part*, the *Dragon*, *Beare*, and *Expedition* for *Priaman*, intending thence for *Bantam*, to the rest of their Fleet, there consisting of thirtie five sayle besides them, and were then besieging *Bantam*. The *Pangram* and they Vying for dead mens heads, one for *Hollanders* and the other for *Ianas*, giuing Rewards; and in which deadly difference, it was unhappy *Diegos* destinie to bee a sufferer; who after his being taken



taken in the *Starre*; and kept Prisoner, making an escape in a Prow from *Jacatra*, intending to haue secured himselfe in the *English* house at *Bantam*, was by the *James* apprehended and be-headed instead of a *Dutchman*; leauing the *Rose* in the Road, hauing first taken out all her Ordnances, Powder, and Munition; and in her twelue Hogsheads salt flesh, two Buttes of Wine; and some few bagges of bread, and a very small proportion of water-caske, for the foresaid number of men, except such as in the interim ranne away into their seruice, to transport our selues whithersoever we could.

10 About this time there arriued at *Tecoo* a man (as himselfe said) belonging to *Monanchabo*; who reported confidently (but whether by the *Flemmings* instigation, or his owne knowledge I cannot determine) that at the place whence he came, two ships and a Pinnaße were said to be taken at *Iambee* by foure other ships, which is much to be doubted of Captaine *Jordan*, &c. The *English* on the *Starre* likewise, affirming they had heard of foure ships which were double manned, and maruellously well fitted, sent purposely to take them, which the Lord, I trust, in his mercy hath preuented. The foresaid *Blucke* was thirtie dayes from *Monanchabo* thither, and though not commonly yet sometimes aduise from *Iambee*, commeth hither ouer-land.

20 During our abode at *Tecoo*, before the *Rose* could be fitted to sayle, it pleased the Almighty to take compassion on our distresse, and to deliuer vs from the many ineuitable dangers, yea, euen confusions, which were likely presently to light vpon vs, by sending in thither Captaine *Charles Clifingham* with the *Palsgrane*, *Elizabeth* and *Hope*; who by consultation at the Cape, were intended for *Priaman*, and arriued at *Tecoo*, the three and twentieth of October, aboard whom the men ashore were forth-with disperfed. *M. Nichols*, and *Henry Bate* sent in a small Prow to *Achin*; and the *Rose*, in that poore and weake state shee then was, and no otherwise concluded, to be dispatched for *England*; to aduise of these accidents and proceedings. Concerning the intendments of the three foresaid ships, as also the end of sending those mentioned to *Achin*, I am ignorant, and therefore shall humbly referre your Worships to their owne aduices. The fore-said ships with the *Rose*, set sayle all together from *Tecoo*, the tenth of Nouember, & at *Nimtam* parted the fourteenth *dicto*, & the Lord of his mercie vouchsafed vs so faire a passage, that with the losse of but one man, who also was sicke before we left *Tecoo*; (notwithstanding our hard allowance, most of our Bread, and much of our Rice beeing consumed and spoyled with Wormes and Vermine) was arriued at the Cape *Bona Spei*, all in sound health, the eight and 30 twentieth of Ianuary 1619.

Going ashore at *Soldania*, we found Letters left by Captain *Adams*, (the Copie whereof is herewith inclosed) also of two *Dutch* ships departed thence home-ward, left by an *Englishman*; passenger in one of them; the Copie whereof is herewith likewise inclosed. We had our Sayne ashore to fish, and the Countrey people demeaned themselves as formerly they accustomed, but the next day returning againe ashore to fish and water. The most tragicall and wofull accident befell vs, that euer happened to any *English* in these parts: eight of our men going to the Riuer by Land, carryed the Sayne with them to fish, and were all by the Saluages either miserably slaine or kept away from vs; we hauing found the dead bodies of but foure of them. The cause 40 which should excite them to such an horrid and vnheard of attempt I cannot conceiue, vnlesse (as is most probable) some wrong offered by the *Dutch* lately gone hence, haue moued them to practise and exercise this Treachery to vs now, and to bee doubted, will bee indeauoured to all that shall hereafter arriue.

Hauing watered our ship, buried so many of the slaine men as could bee found, and left Letters for any that should arriue after vs, we set sayle from *Soldania*. The second of February, about noone, past the Equinoctiall, The fifth of March, and the of arriued at in *England*. The Almighty hauing of his inestimable clemencie protected and deliuered vs, from the exceeding many and eminent dangers of a most miserable Voyage, and vouchsafe vs safe returne into our Native Countrey, for which and all other gracious fauours from our beginnings to this day extended, his great and glorious Maiestie be extolled and magnified, both now and for euermore. Amen. Amen. 50

Your Worships poore Seruant in all dutie and  
seruice euer at your command,

WILLIAM HOARE.

The *Rose* left  
vnto the *Eng-  
lish* in *Tecoo*  
Road with the  
particulars in  
her.

A man of *Mo-  
nanchabo*, re-  
ported Capt.  
*Jourdain* to be  
taken at *Iambe*.

The men  
taken in the  
*Starre*, doe re-  
port that the

*Hollanders* sent  
out ships dou-  
ble manned to  
take *C. Iordaine*

The *Palsgrane*,  
*Elizabeth* and  
*Hope*, arriue at

*Tecoo* very hap-  
pily, who tooke  
in all our men.

*Will. Nichols* &  
*Henry Bates* go  
to *Achen* to the  
King, to com-  
plaine of the

*Hollanders*.  
The *Rose* orde-  
red to be sent  
for *England*.

The three  
ships and *Rose*  
depart out of  
*Tecoo* Road the

10. of Nouem.  
The *Rose* arriue  
at *Soldania*, the  
18. of Ianuary.

They found  
Capt. *Adams*  
Letter and of  
2. *Dutch* ships.

The Saluages  
at the Cape  
haue slaine

eight of our  
men. Thought  
to be prouoked  
thereunto by  
wrongs done  
the *Dutch*.

Come from  
*Soldania* the  
second of Feb.



## CHAP. IX.

*The Iournall of Master NATHANIEL COURTHOP, his Voyage from Bantam to the Ilands of Banda, being chiefe Commander of the two Ships, the Swanne, Admirall; Master DAVIS, Master: and the Defence, Vice-Admirall; Master HINCHLEY, Master: together with his residence in Banda, and occurrents there; contayning the differences in those parts betwixt the English and Hollanders contracted.*

10

## §. I.

*English kindneses to the Dutch: the surrender of Poolaroon to His Maie Heie, and the fortifying there by the English: Dutch Hostilitie, their taking the Swanne, Salomon and Attendance, and keeping the Defence betrayed by Fugitives, with other wrongs.*

20

Let none accuse me for tediousnesse, or being too punctuall in this Relation: seeing the Dutch pestilence grew principally from hence: and hence may his Maiesties right to these Ilands beeknowne to future Ages: for which I adde this witness after Spurway.

The English kindneses to the King and his Captaine Bonner, and furnished him with needfull, and offering all courtesie.

The names of the Holland ships departing from Tecoo to Priaman and Bantam, where they had thirty five saile being Bantam.

The Panayam at Bantam, and the Hollandaine veying h, p. 516 slught, ne re- of sed to his persiaestie.

Fortifying there. Three Holland ships to disturb the English.



WE set saile from Bantam the last day of October, 1616. and arriued at Macassar, the seuenteenth of Nouember, with the Swanne: the Defence came in the nineteenth, where I went on shoare to get readie our preuision of goods and Rice, hauing no goods as then in Bantam, to serue those places; but had commission to take them here: where I found small store; the chiefeest being one hundred Quians of Rice.

30

The fift of December, I spyed a boate alongst the shoare, being a Skiffe of the Hollanders come from their ship (which was in the offing) thinking they had had a Factory here: but I soone certified them, it was dissolved, the people their enemies. Whereupon they intreated me to stand their friend: and I forthwith \* went to the King and intreated him to dismisse them in that they came ignorantly, who at my request let them goe, giuing them warning not to attempt the shoare a second time. So being night I wished them to goe aboard my ship to refresh themselves, and to depart at their pleasure. That night their Pinnasse went out to Sea, but missed their ship which came the next day into the Road, and not vnderstanding the newes, sent their long Boat towards the shoare, which the King of Macassar perceiuing, sent a number of Prowes which surprized her, and slue euery man of them being sixteene in number.

40

The ninth of December, we set saile for Banda, with the Hollander in our Company, and being cleere of Macassar, relieved them at their request with fresh water, and sold them two Quines of Rice, with some few Hennes and racke, keeping company as farre as Amboyne. Hence we proceeded, and the three and twentieth of December, being neere Polaroon sent my Skiffe ashore to vnderstand the state of the Ilanders, who were glad of our comming, as beeing not able to hold out longer against the Hollanders oppression, keeping them from reliefe of Victuals.

The same day we came to anchor at Polaroon, the Orankayes came aboard, and I enquired of them whether there had beene any former contract betweene them and the Hollanders: who certified me, there had beene none at all. Then according \* to my Commission, I required them to surrender their Land to the Kings Maiestie of England, which they presently did: and drew Articles of Trade and Conditions to be obserued betwixt vs; which being agreed on, we spread Saint George vpon the Iland, and shot off most of our Ordnance.

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The five and twentieth of December, we saw a Holland ship comming from the West-wards, and forthwith vpon Councell landed three Peeces of Ordnance out of the Swanne, and mounted them on a Cliffe fittest for that purpose, and made what haste wee could to fit a platforme for them. We landed three other Peeces of Ordnance, and mounted them on a point of Land which commanded the Road: thus fitted, I landed most of the goods and settled a Factory.

Vpon the third of Ianuary, there came three Flemmish ships into the Road, flourishing with their Trumpets and came to anchor by vs. Wee fitted our shippes for fight, and I sent Master Muschamp aboard the Admirall, to certifie them of the surrender, as also to demand if they could lay any clayme to the said Land. They answered, no. I further offered them water or any thing the Iland afforded; but they plainly told me, they came for no such thing: whereupon I told them the Countrey people would not suffer them to ride there vnder their noses; and that

60



that they had beene doing, but I caused them to forbear: and perceiuing their intent to surprize vs, and fearing they would lay vs aboard in the night, I told them I could not stay the Countrey people any longer, if they were not gone before two Glasses were runne. They thereupon weighed and departed. The fourth, there came a *Holland Boat* and sounded all alongst the little Iland, at whom Master *Hinchley* shot from the Land, but hit her not, and they departed.

Master *Sophonie* Cozack.  
The *Swan* taken by the *Dutch*. See the manner of their vnmanerlinesse in *Spurway*. *Dutch* pccuissness.

*Quis tulcrit*  
*Gracchos de*  
*ditione querentes*  
*John Davis* his Letter. This and other Letters I had whole, and haue taken that which I thought most fit, leauing the rest: which are to be seene perused in Master *Cort. Iournall*. I had about 60. Letters belonging to this and Master *Hayes* Iournall to peruse: some of which I here haue from the originall transcribed.

*Neylackey* a little Iland by *Polaroone*. Fortified. The *Defence* betrayed by perfidious Knaves to the *Hollanders*. *King, Christmas, Howes, Harris, Bridges, Rockwell, Carter, Taylor and Woodlocke*. See what a *Dutch* prison will doe; together with lying pretences of the *Hollanders* and fugitives. The *Deuill* was also a *Lyer* and Murtherer from the beginning. Thus did the *Dutch* with *Generall Kill, Wey and all*; I dare not lay lye all, in pretence of Commission and the Kings Letter. Take this as the fugitives and *Hollanders* reports.

The *Swan* being deliuered, Master *Davis* would goe water at *Wayre*, obstinately contrariying my command. I being then very sicke came aboard the *Defence*, and sent *Sophonie* aboard the *Swan*, which departed Jan. 18. I after had vncertaine newes, that the *Hollanders* had taken her and sent the *Sewes* ouer to *Lantore* to heare the newes, which brought word that the *Swan* was in *Nero Road*. On the seuen and twentieth of Februarie, I sent *Robert Hayes* to the *Hollander* with a flagge of Truce, to demand the reason of taking her. Their reason was, we came yearly to make our voyage and lade our ships, and be gone; they had the brunt of the Warre, and wee came sneaking to doe them iniurie. And further, they said, that the States of *Holland* and the Lords of the Councell should conferre of this businesse: and being demanded the manner of her taking, they said, *Time should bring it forth*. And further, threatened to fetch the *Defence* out of the Road. They asked what men wee had at *Wayre* and *Rosfing*, and said, they would fetch them out of those places. They also sent a writing, the effect whereof was, that the wrongs we offered them could no longer be indured, and that they would haue one sent ouer to come to composition with them. Hereupon by councell it was agreed for the safetie of our ship, liues and goods, to land all our prouisions on the small Iland, with most of the men to manage the Ordinance: which being subscribed by *Corthop, Spurway, Hinchley, Hayes, Stacy, Helmore*, and the second of March to be put in execution, none else of the ships companie would yeeld thereto, but would keepe the ship to death. The seuenth of March, a Letter was brought from *Nero*, by a *Hollander*, with a flagge of Truce from Master *Davis*, part whereof I haue transcribed: Master *Corthop* commendations, &c. The Admirall and the rest haue settled their resolutions to haue you off from *Polaroone*, according to their Commission, and I know, that vnlesse you doe talke together, there will be much slaughter about it. For they are all double manned from their Castles, and must fight it out as I haue proued already. For they did shoote at me twice before I began, although I was in the Sea eight leagues off when they chased me. We fought almost boord and boord for the space of one houre and an halfe, untill they had killed five men, maymed three, and hurt eight. And when wee began we had not thirtie men able to doe any thing, nor no wind to worke withall, &c.

I answered by a Letter to them, that we doubted of their Message and Letter, except they would send an *Englisb* man, one of the ships companie, to notifie things vnto vs: that we heard they had murdered our men in cold blood: and as they pretended commission to beat vs off, we had commission to maintayne the Kings Maiesties right of *England*. We thus sought to prolong time for our better fortification: and the same night sent Ordinance and Munition to the little Iland of *Neylackey* which maketh the Road; and if they had planted there as they pretended, they would haue beaten all our ships out of the Road, and haue kept all reliefe from the great Iland, so that we must haue beene gone for want of food. The tenth of March came a *Hollander* with Master *Davies* Boy and a Letter from him, to signifie, that after the Flagge was furled not one man was meddled with: *Sophonie* was the first man was torne in pieces with a great shot, &c. This Letter came with other *Dutch* Letters: but we now being almost readie for them, wrote them an absolute answer, that if we should come into their subiection as they desire, we should shew our selues no true subiects to his Maiestie: and that our resolution was to stand to all hazards whatsoever, March 11.

On the fourteenth it was concluded by councell, to bring ashore our Prouisions; and to bring the ship about, her Cables twice cut in two with the Rocks, and now hauing but two anchors to Sea-boord. But finding her leake and vnlkely to be brought about, wee agreed to bring her ashore vnder the *Defences* Fort. Master *Hinchley*, on the eighteenth came to an anchor neerer into the Bay, leauing aboard *John King* Boatson, with some twentie more. And on the twentieth in the morning, the ship was driuen almost as farre as *Lantore*; which when they which were a sleepe in the ship perceiued, and asked the reason, the King answered; Tell the Master I had the Watch, and being asleepe, the ship droue! Thus some went into the long boate, the rest which were compacted stayed behinde, and when the long boate was come away, they set their fore-course and went into *Nero* Roade, and deliuered the ship to the *Hollanders*.

The first of Aprill 1617. the *Flemmings* sent ouer letters with a flagge of truce; one from Master *Davis* to vrge a composition, aduising very passionately, If I lose any more men by your arrogance; as here I haue lost by sicknesse already, their liues and blouds shall rest upon your heads and your faction, and this I will write with dying hand, God giue me leaue: for what they doe or haue done, their Commission will beare them out in: and are contented to let the Law decide betweene our Masters and theirs, or will come to any reasonable matter of friendship, that no more bloud may be spilt on either side: For I plainly see how you carry it. You haue caused the Master of the *Defence*, to land his peeces ashore from his ship and make wracke of her \* to drine up and downe. Is it in our hands to defend



an army that haue order for what they doe? He proceedeth to an inuēctiue, that they would defend trecherous *Bandanefes*, who are at *Banda* daily to make a peace with the *Hollanders*, that they may haue time to cut your throates, &c.

I made answer to the *Hollanders*, promising vpon such two stayes to come and conferre, with all redemanding the *Defence* with her men and goods. Those pledges came not, but two others; and on the sixt went to *Nero*. Where the next day the generall and Councell offered mee restitution of ships, goods, men and all losses whatsoever, on condition that I should take off my Ordnance from *Polaroon* and *Neylackey* and leaue the Iland: to which I answered, I could not vnlesse I should turne Traitor vnto my King and Countrey, in giuing vp that right which I am able to hold; and also betray the Countrey people, who had surrendered vp their land to our Kings Maiestie; but promised to conferre with my Councell and send him an absolute answer. I returned the eight, and sent him his pledges: The next day I called a Councell, shewed my Commission, where it was resolved to send word to *Bantam*, and a resolute answer to the *Hollanders*, that we could not giue away the Kings right without treason; and to betray the *Hollanders* his subiects were both vnchristian falshood, and vnreasonable folly to incurre their fury. But if the *Dutch* would restore the *Defence* with men and goods, and helpe to conuay them to *Bantam*, giuing vnder their hands, that no attempt should be made against the two Ilands, till it be decided in *England* or *Bantam*, then &c. They returned the messenger to aduise mee by writing, to consider of it, and send my full resolution in three dayes, or else hee would bring all his forces and take vs perforce. He not comming, we fitted a Prow to send newes to *Bantam*, and demand ayde, wherein went Master *Spurway*, Master *Hinchley*, Christopher the *Flemmish* fugitive, whom doubting, I gaue order to leaue at *Macasser*. I wrote a letter of Occurrents to *Bantam*; signifying also the *Dutch* brauadoes (which they had made Master *Davis* belecue) as that they had our Kings Letters to take any of vs to the East of *Celebes*: He offered, \* If they could shew such letters, he would giue vp all, or if they could shew any Surrender made to them by the Natives, or if they would carry vs to *Bantam*, and not meddle till there, or in *England*, things bee decided: that the *Hollanders* are hated of all Nations in those parts: that they vaunt they haue the Copies of the *Companiss Commission* before any ships come forth: that no English Generall hath the Kings Commission: that they bring Letters from petty Kings (which are reputed as their slanes) as of *Amboyna* and *Hetto*, with the like: that if the *Bandanefes* will haue their Countreyes in peace, they must submit themselves to the *Hollanders*, for that no Nation can compare with them: with request of supply the next winds: that he could haue had all *Lantore* Ilands deliuered him, but did not thinke it fit, hauing no goods nor victuals for them; which if it come, in two dayes will bee done, the small league they enter with the *Hollander*, being but to sustayne their hunger; all of them being agreed to haue no other peace with them, &c.

The fift of Iune, the *Holland* Generall *Laurence Ryall*, in a small ship, came within shot of our Fort, vpon *Neylackey*, hauing heard by the *Defence*-fugitiues, that most of our men would runne away, if they had opportunity: but he expecting them in the Skiffe, was welcomed from me with foureteene shot, that a man was not seene to trimme the sailes, but they bore vp the helme and departed. I sent another Prow with aduice for *Bantam*, lest the former might miscarry by Master *Stacy*, which departed the eight of Iuly.

The foure and twentieth of December, we had newes that the men of *Lantore* had detayned seuen *Hollanders* of their chiete and their goods, killing one of them in the taking, the other ransomed for eighty fve *Bandanefes*: and so the league was broken. The three and twentieth of February, I had newes that the Prow in which Master *Stacy* went, was cast away, and the King of *Botton* lent them another for *Macasser*. The twelfth of March, we felt a terrible earthquake.

The fve and twentieth of March, 1618. we saw two of our ships about some fve leagues from *Polaroon* comming from the Westwards, with the very last of the westerly windes, and as then being taken with an Easterly winde, which brought the foure *Holland* ships (these we had seene looking out from the twentieth day) vp with them, the great *Bantam*, the *Trow*, the *Star* and the *Swanne*: These fought with them from two of the clocke till nine at night. The fight was in sight of *Polaroon* some three leagues off. And at midnight came the *Attendance* Skiffe ashore at *Polaroon* with foure and twenty *Bandanefes*, who told vs of three ships, the *Solomon*, the *Thomas*, and the *Attendance*; and how the *Thomas* had left them in the Streights of *Desolam*, and neuer was seene after; and that the ships could no longer endure the fight, because the *Solomon* could not vse her lower Teere, and their Powder was naught. The sixe and twentieth, we lost sight of all the ships, and in the nine and twentieth, all six came into *Nero* Road, where the *Hollanders* wore our Colours vnder their ships sternes in all disgracefull manner.

New proffers.  
Rialls threats.  
\* The Copie  
of the Letter  
for the length  
I durst not  
transcribe: a  
great part be-  
ing the same  
that before  
you haue read.  
\* Reasonable  
offers made, if  
to reasonable  
men: but when  
conscience is  
remoued from  
the hart to the  
hilt, and reason  
from the brain  
to the point of  
the Sword,  
Reason and  
Religion shall  
be no better  
dealt with then  
the *English* and  
*Bandanefes*  
here were.  
And note that  
the *Hollanders*  
can shew no  
right to the I-  
lands, but ius  
in armis.  
Fight of the  
*Hollanders* with  
the *English*, and  
taking two  
ships more, the  
*Salomon* and  
the *Attendance*,  
deepe laden  
with Rice,  
Clothes of di-  
uers kinds, &c.  
as appeareth  
by the Inuoyce  
which I haue  
seene of Ma-  
ster *Balls* hand.



¶ II.

*The manner of taking the Salomon and Attendance, in diuers Letters described,  
Dutch abusive deuises by lyes to delude and dis-hearten our men:  
diuers Extracts of Letters of Master CORTHOP,  
\* with other Occurrents.*

\* In Master  
Corthops Jour-  
nall are Co-  
pies of Letters  
sent by him or  
to him.

10 **H**e first of Aprill, Robert Fuller brought newes from Lantore, that the Bandanefes were most of them slaine by the *Hollanders* (in taking the ships) and that they fezed the *Hollanders* twice ouer boord and slew many of them, but were oppressed with number. On the foureteenth, a *Hollander* with a flag of truce brought mee a letter from Master Cassarian David, Commander of the three ships aforesaid, in these words.

*Pooloway, the fourteenth of April, 1618.*

20 **M**After Corthop, my loue premised vnto your selfe, and the rest of your good companie, I wish you all health and prosperitie. Having at this time (through the Generalls permission) gotten oportunitie to write vnto you, I thought good to let you vnderstand of that, which I thinke, you doe already know too well, that is, of our being surprized by the *Hollanders*. The Generall and his Councell doe allege, that these Ilands Pooloway and Pooloroan with the rest, is their right, as you haue formerly heard them say, and that if any of the English came there for Trade, they haue a Commission to make lawfull prize of them, and so late experience hath taught vs here. For my part I cannot resolue the Generall of any determinate course, for want of your aduise, but I wish you were all safe from thence.

False pretence  
of Commission.

30 It rests that you doe aduise with the Merchants and the rest, residing with you, and (if you thinke good) write downe your determination, and send it me by this Bearer, that I may the better answer to the Generalls Propositions, which I cannot doe, till we vnderstand each others mind, as for my consent it shall be grounded vpon your knowledge and experience of the Iland, whether you bee able to keepe it, or bee willing to leaue it.

Our ships, the Salomon and the Attendance, ride at Nero, and our men shared amongst the Dutch ships, being stripped out of all money and clothes. My selfe with one English Boy to attend me, remayne vpon Pooloway, where the Generall and his Councell doe abide, at whose hands I doe daily find much fauour and kind vsage, though watched and looked vnto as a prisoner. The Thomas, which was my Vice-Admirall, we lost in the Streights of Delalon, and by all iudgement; shee is there cast away, yet we haue no absolute certaintie thereof.

40 I would be glad to haue your presence here for our better proceeding in the businesse, and the Generall is willing to send to Pooloroan a man of fashion to stay there as a pledge in your absence, but alwayes provided, that you enter into a condition with the Countrey people, that the said pledge haue no wrong offered him in your absence, but as you shall returne in safetie to Pooloroan, so hee may returne in safetie to Pooloway againe, of this, I pray you, consider, &c. and conferre with the Orankayas, and send it me in writing by this Bearer, whether you may doe so or not: If you thinke good that it shall be so, faile not to aduise me thereof, and the Boat shall come for you againe, and bring the Generalls pledge. And so I commit you to the safe tuition of the Almighty: And rest

Your euer louing Friend,

CASSARIAN DAVID.

50

*Aboord the Trow in Nero Road, the twentie sixe of April,  
1618.*

60 **M**ost louing and kind friend, Master Nathaniel Corthop, I heartily salute you, and beseech God to send continuance of health vnto you all there: Your Letters, yesterday being of vs safely receiued here, ministred much ioy vnto vs all in middest of our lamentations for you, vnderstanding thereby the Flemmings notorious lyes, who can doe little else, reporting you all to be in all manner of wants and miserie by the Bandanefes, against whom they are speedily bent to make an assault vpon either Lantore or otherwise Polaroon (but I hope you mistrust the worst) with fine hundred Souldiers at least, now they haue here eight saile of ships of their owne, and within two or three dayes expect them.

Lies of English  
distesse.

It



It pleased Master Geo. Barkley, the twentieth of Februarie, 1616. to send mee with Ric. Hunt, (who died at Bantam) upon the attendant to your selfe, but the Monson being spent wee could but fetch Macassar, where I stayed but eleuen moneths, in expectation of our Fleet for Banda, which was a hot one when it came (to encounter with such an Enemy) being but three ships, and the best of them run away afore-hand, I meane the Thomas, Master William Hakeridge leaving my selfe and his Mate Tatten, and Purser, with five more of his companie aboard the Salomon, and God knoweth what is become of them, which had we bene together, doubtlesse we had gelded them of their great Bantam, but being as we were so deepe ships, hauing upwards of two hundred quoyes of Rice, besides Arack six hundred latres, thirtie foure bales of cloth with other provisions, as neuer was Poolaroon so fitted, if it had pleased God, wee had all safely here arrived, for that wee were 100 100 much euer-matched by their great Forces. 10

Sicknesse at Bantam.

There hath bene this yeare a great mortalitie in Bantam, the chiefe Factors there, with Generall Pepwell and the rest kept the ships there so long, that there dyed aboue two hundred of our men there before their departure from thence.

French arrived at Bantam, and how welcomed by the Dutch.

The Frenchmen that arrived at Bantam, these Flemmings tooke their Dutchmen out of them perforce, to the ouerthrow of their Voyage, and for any farther matter not worthy the writing thereof.

Now to come to our selues, and our taking the Bantam being nearest vs, of the Flemmings foure ships, yet some distance off, and the five and twentieth of March last past, about noone shot at vs, whom we soone answered againe with shot for shot all that afternoone, but our Powder was naught, and could not carrie the shot home, when theirs came euer vs, but neuer tucked vs to the setting of the Sunne, 20 soone after the wind comming Easterly, we were in the midst of our foes, and being so much over-matched, were by them surprized and taken, but the Bandanezes eight of them fought very valiantly, and killed the Flemmings, three men out-right, and hurt them three more: but the tall man of Pooloway, and another little man with him, played their parts excellently, for they drew the Flemmings over-board, by fortie at once; some up into the foure shrouds, some one way, and some another, that they had scoured the Deckes of them all. I thinke if the Bandanezes had had them upon plaine ground, they would haue put the Flemmings to the sword euery man of them, for that they were exceedingly fearefull to deale with them, but by their Boats and subtiltie, they killed the Bandanezes, and tooke senen or eight Boyes prisoners, whereof one or two of them is runne away and escaped from hence out of their hands, and I hope got safely to you there by this time. Now, after that wee came to a parley with the 30 Flemmings, they killed vs three men basely, both against the Law of Armes and all good manners besides, bringing vs afterwards to Nero, where they made pillage (by the Dutch Generall his order) of all that we had, keeping our men in Irons, these Flemmings being so close in all their doings, that their owne Skippers cannot know their determination; and yet their Generall is bound with them in companie, or else I thinke little would be by them performed, what I can I will aduise you, though I cannot perswade you, but I beseech God blesse you, and all with you.

Braue spirits of the Bandanezes.

Base dealing of Brutish Dutch.

Master Cassarian Dauid is kept by the Dutch Generall at Pooloway, being sent by the chiefe Factor and counsell at Bantam, Cape Merchant of the Fleet upon the Salomon, and my selfe his second upon the Thomas, consigned all by Commission unto your selfe and is referred to your appointment. The first present I writ Master Cassarian at Pooloway, aduising him to acquaint you with all Occur- 40 rences what hath passed, that you might not be ignorant of any thing, nor frustrate your hopes in expectation of what now cannot be, I say, the more to blame them at Bantam, so carelesly to keepe these ships there so long, unto the eight of Ianuarie, last before, they sent them away from thence, which hath brought upon vs all this miserie. The shippes arrived at Macassar the second of February last, and through extremitie of foule weather it was the senenth of March, before we could set saile from thence. I pray you returne my hearty commendations unto Master Muschampe, Master Hayes, and Thomas Foord, with all the rest of our louing friends, there likewise Master Lane, Master Churchman, Master Kellum, and Thomas Fowle, commend themselves heartily unto you all, I cannot yet heare from Master Cassarian, I thinke hereafter we shall goe for Amboyna, where Master Davis is and twentie 50 men more, the rest are at Ternate, I pray you excuse my not formerly writing to you, because I doubted the deliuerie, and thus much at present shall for this time suffice, and with my kindest commendations unto your selfe, I beseech God to keepe you out of the hands of all your enemies, and make our meeting ioyfull to each other, and so in haste I rest,

Want of conueyance maketh a long passage.

Your euer louing friend here now Prisoners, Geo. Jackson, in the behalfe of Jacob Lane, Bartholomew Churchman and the rest.

This was a Lie, for it arrived safe at Poolaroon.

These Flemmings report that the day after we were taken, their other three ships tooke vp the Attendants Skiffe, halfe full of bloody water, and thinke those Bandanezes that went away in the Skiffe, killed one another; and got not to Poolaroon. Wherefore in your next, I pray you write the certaintie of it, likewise, they report that our men did not runne away with the Defence, but would haue carryed her for Ceyran, but that the Flemmings manned out two of their long Boats, and tooke the Defence, and brought her into Nero. 60

Pro idem GEO. JACKSON.



A Letter from Master Lane Master of the Salomon. From aboard  
the Trow of Amsterdam, in Nero Road the twelfth  
of Aprill.

**L**oving Friend Master Nathaniell Corthop, I heartily salute, these are to certifie you, the seventh  
of March we departed out of Macasser Road, with the Salomon, the Thomas and the Atten-  
dance, Master Cassarian Davis being our chiefe Commander of all the ships, the thirteenth of the same  
moneth, being neere the Streights of Saler, we lost company of the Thomas, which wee never heard of  
10 since all of vs being bound directly for Poolarooke: the five and twentieth of the same moneth, being  
break of the day, the Salomon and the Tendance being within foure or five leagues of Poolarooke,  
we saw foure sayles of Dutch ships, three of them being to the Easterne of vs, the other being their Ad-  
mirall, was neere unto the Iland of Poolarooke, that day being calme with little wind Easterly, wee  
towed with our Boats and made the best meanes we could to get the Iland, the Dutch ships having the  
wind of vs, bore with vs at two a clocke in the afternoone, the great Bantam Vice-Admirall got within  
shot of vs, and plyed her best to vs, and we requited her to our power at foure a clocke; the Starre which  
tooke the Swanne, and the Swanne likewise got within shot of vs, at eight a clocke at night. The Ad-  
mirall got within a ships length of vs, and plyed their great Ordnance upon vs, killing three men, and  
hurt thirteene or fourteene men, but would not boord vs, commanding the chiefe of vs to come aboard  
20 their Admirall, and to strike downe our Sayles, and to take in our Flagge, which Master Cassarian  
caused to be done, and commanding the Skiffe to be manned to goe aboard of them, and likewise Master  
Jackson, in another Boat to goe aboard another of them, they being there, I could heare no answer from  
any of them, the Dutch having our two Boates aboard with our chiefe Commander, send their foure  
large Boats full of men, to the number of one hundred and fortie, or one hundred and fiftie men to keepe  
our ships, and to take the Bandaneses which they killed, the Arankayes to the number of twelue of  
them, the rest they saved alive, and carry them ashore to Nero, for Master Cassarian hee is and hath  
beene at Pooloway since we came in here, but for my part with my Mate Churchman, and Ma-  
ster Jackson, with thirteene men more, are aboard of the Trow in Irons; but we three, for Master Vil-  
les which was Master of the Attendance, he is aboard the Starre with many of his men, for the rest of  
30 our men they are aboard the Bantam, and the Swanne not suffered to goe to one another, but lye and  
fare more like slaves then men, which I thinke will kill many of vs. For our things they have taken a-  
way all that every man had to their clothes of their backs; Sir, I understand, that your wants are great  
at the Iland, and that the Countrey people have got the Castles from you, and that within short time they  
meane to send you all over here unto the hands of the Dutch, which I wish you could rather get for Ma-  
casser, then to come in their hands. The Dutch hath no ships at Buttone, three ships they have now in  
the offing, or at Amboyna five ships, they have heard if, the three ships get in here, they purpose to come  
all for Poolarooke, otherwise I thinke not this yeare, yet I heare within this seven or eight dayes, the old  
Horne a ship of seven or eight hundred tunnes, with the small Gally and other Boats are to come for  
Poolarooke, where they understand that the small Castle shall be delivred up unto the Dutch, for the  
40 rest of their ships that be here, I heard within this three weekes they are to goe for Amboyna. Sir, I  
have saved these two Letters which Captaine Ball delivred me for you, which I used the best meanes I  
could to save them for you, and to send them to you with the best meanes I could to save them for you,  
and to send them to you with the best meanes I could use, which I desire you may receive, and to  
send me answer how all businesse standeth with you in this case, and I will be glad to pay the Coat off my  
backe to the bearer for an answer, other Letters we have for you and the rest of your company on the  
Iland, which if I can shall be sent you.

Sir, the Salomon was deepe layd with Rice, the Thomas laded with Rice and Racke, and other pro-  
vision, the Attendance laded with Rice, Fish and Racke and other provision. Thus with my love unto  
you with the rest of your company, I cease, beseeching God to blesse you in your proceedings, and deliv-  
50 us out of the hands of these Tyrants, and send us all a ioyfull meeting.

Your Friend to his poore power to command,

JACOB LANE.

Sir, the Generall of the Dutch had giuen expresse authoritie vnto the Commanders of those  
ships, that if they meet vs, either to sinke or burne vs before wee should recover the Iland, or else  
60 he would hang them that should be the occasion.

Adie



Adie in the Prison of the Castle Pooloway, Iuly the  
fifteenth, 1618.

The Copie of  
a piece of M.  
Jacksons Letter  
to M. Ball from  
the Prison in  
Pooloway Ca-  
stle, Iuly 15.  
1618.

Perfidious  
Dutch.

**H**owsoever William Hakeridge hath dealt with me, yet I rest much bound to your selfe for your  
loue to me, that thought so well on me, whose thankefulnesse should undoubtedly haue turned to your  
credit, had it not beene by these arrogant theewish Flemmings, and Master Hakeridge: otherwise  
preuented, which mischiefe grew from a Molajo Letter, written by a Flemming Whore in Maccasser,  
and sent in a Trunke to Amboyna, aduising of our comming: otherwise wee had beene at our Port be-  
fore that the Flemmings had heard of vs. Hereupon the Flemmings layed waight for vs, with foure of  
their best ships of Warre, and three more readie to second them if need required. Now the Thomas  
being lost out of our Company: we plyed our Voyage with the Salomon, and the Attendant sayling  
to the South-ward of the shoalds that are off a Buttone. And the five and twentieth of March last, by  
day breake we had sight of Polarroone, about five leagues off, presently upon this we descried three sayle  
of Flemmings to the North-ward, and one to the East-ward, to say, the Bantam, the Trow, the  
Swanne, and the Starre that tooke the Swanne, which of these shippes the Bantam came somewhat  
neere vs about noone, and had we here had the Thomas in our Company, wee had surely Gelded them  
of their great Bantam for that ship was some distance from her Consorts, and seeing our weaknesse, be-  
gan fight and shot at vs, whom we soone answered againe with shot for shot, but our Powder was naught  
and could not carry the shot home, when the Flemmings shot ouer vs, thus wee continued but no hurt  
done of eyther side to the setting of the Sunne, for that we were some distance off, and being sent to  
too late: the Monson fayles vs, the wind comming now Easterly, and in the night brought our ene-  
mies round about vs, at which time of being sent by Master Cassarian aboard their Vice-Admirall.  
The Bantam to know their intent which was according to their protest made at Bantam against vs, then  
the Trow their Admirall very basely shot: the Salomon twice thorough and thorough, killed  
there foure men, and hurt vs ten men more, thus were we by the Flemmings surprized, taken Pri-  
soners, and pillaged; who kept vs first in their ships at Nero, and now close Prisoners in Pooloway  
Castle ten of vs, the rest are carryed for Amboyna, and the Moluccas.

Now if our three ships had beene sent sooner, we had not onely arriued safely at Polarroone with two  
hundred and fiftie Quens of Rice, for that I know there was no lesse provided in Maccasser, but also  
we had gained the whole commoditie of Nuts and Mace, with both Countrey of Banda, and people  
likewise; and the Flemmings could not haue bought two hundred Suckles of Mace whereas now they  
haue bought at least two hundred Tunnes. The neglect of which thus much importeth, though it prone  
not the losse of both commoditie and Countrey hereafter.

The five and twentieth of May last, the Flemmings marched with seven hundred and fiftie Soul-  
diers against Lantore, but the Bandanezes gaue them such a repulse, killing them foure men, and  
hurt them sixteene more, that the Flemmings came off againe, and neuer beate their Drumme. The  
Dutch Generall would not be intreated of us to shew us any kindnesse, neyther would he ransom us for  
any money, it may be that he thinketh the English will take so many of his men, and so ransom one  
man for another.

Thus not willing to be ouer tedious, I beseech you good Sir, to consider our misery, and doe what may  
be for our Releasement.

Your euer louing Friend to command,

Pooloway, the 18. of September.

George Jackson.

I sent an answer offering vpon pledges to come ouer to Pooloway, in the Vessell which they  
should come in.

M. Courthops  
Letter to M.  
Ball.

The seuenteenth of Aprill, the Orrenkayes of Lantore came ouer to me to conferre about kee-  
ping the Iland another yeare, which they promised to keepe out the Hollander from trading  
with them, onely relying vpon our Forces the next yeare. Wee agreed to hold it out till the  
next yeare. The eighteenth, by a Praw that went to Bottoone, I sent a Letter for Bantam, to  
be conueyed by that King to our Factorie at Maccasser, signifying the taking of these ships, the  
vnadvisednesse in sending them so vnseasonably (for one day sooner had brought them in) neither was  
there about halfe a day of Westerly winds to bring them to Nero) that many poore men were slaine,  
maymed, or held in slauerie worse then Turkish slaues; and had not foure or five Iaua lunkes come  
in, for want of victuals we must also haue giuen up, and still liue on Rice only with a little fish, which in  
foule weather is not to be had; daily expecting an assault from the Hollanders, and wish it not so much  
able to stand out, as willing to make them pay deare, &c. He sent another also for refreshment to the  
Factor at Maccasser.

The twentieth of Aprill, we were aduertized that within two dayes the Hollanders would  
assail



assailed vs, but they came not. The thirtieth, they trayned their men, about seven hundred. I sent another Letter to Master Ball (where, in relating the fight these words are used.) *The Attendance before they yeelded gaue the Bandanezes their small Boat; so they escaped to Poolarooone. But the Salomon was so belayd: that the Bandanezes could not goe out of her. Master Cassarian yeelded in that manner that if I had beene in his place, before I would haue done it, I would haue sunke downe \* right in the Sea. That was in this manner: After they had fought from two till nine at night, being almost boord and boord, the Dutch called vnto him to take in his Colours, strike his sayles and come himselfe aboard, which all hee did, they detayned him and his Boat. So our men in the ship played a good and wise part likewise: for they perceiuing their Commander kept aboard the Dutch shippes, went*  
10 *and got the Bandanezes Swords, and hid them from them: only two of them kept their Swords privately: nineteene had no weapons, and stowed themselves in the ship, and some eight or ten of them with their Creezes and two Swords, at the Hollanders entring of our ship killed the Hollanders at least forty of them, and hurt diuers more of them; most of this slaughter being done by two of the Bandanezes only. For at their entring our men kept themselves in the fore-castle apart, whilst the Bandanezes fought; but at last being taken, the Hollanders killed some twelue, and saved seven of the youngest. So farre as can I perceine, they neither respect right or iustice, but stand altogether vpon force of Armes. I haue but thirtie eight men to withstand their force and tyranny, our wants extreme: neither haue wee victuals or drinke but only Rice and water, they haue at present eight ships here and two Gallies, and to my knowledge all fitted to come against vs. I looke daily and howerly for them, &c.*  
20 *He signified also both to him and in a Letter to the Factor at Macassar, that he had not, since first hee came into these Ilands, receiued one Letter or aduise from any English.*

\* Thus he did fore-tell his owne death in the cause and manner.

In a Letter from Master Lane to M. Courthop, is written that he had sent away the Bandanezes, but one Richard Tanton Masters Mate of the *Thomas* would not suffer it, for feare of the Dutch seueritie: and that they seeing no remedie, shot *William Shoply*, after Master, and cut the eare off of the Gunners Mate neere off; another they ranne thorow the backe. This is like to be the cause of taking away their Swords. The seventh of May, the *Salomon* went from *Nero* laden. The five and twentieth, the *Hollanders* gaue an assault on *Lantore* landing eight companies of Souldiers, contayning about five hundred men, but were repulsed with losse of foure of theirs and one *Bandaneze*. The two and twentieth, for further certaintie I sent another Letter to Master Ball.

The eight and twentieth of Iune, I had a Letter sent mee from Master Cassarian David, wherein he signifieth the Dutch threats of perpetuall imprisonment; if I came not to better consideration: which I answered, refelling the *Hollanders* lyes touching the Attendants Boat taken up by them with bloud; and another, that I should send the Generall a Letter to surrender the small Iland; and that I haue but ten English here: also that the *Blackes* had possession of my Ordinance, &c.

Dutch lyes to scare the English, and sawce their imprisonment.

The last of Iune, Master Balls Letter was sent me by Master Lane, which is as followeth.

40

Master Courthop, my heartie commendations to you, and all the rest of your companie, with my prayers for your health, and happinesse, &c. Yours of the eleuenth of Aprill, by Master Thomas Spurway, and the thirtieth of Iune, by Master Stacy, I receiued vnderstanding thereby of the Occurrences happened in Banda, which, albeit in many things contrary to our expectation, yet as now not to be auoyded, nor by any faire course hoped to haue it amended, was it to be doubted that surrender being made to his Maiestie of England, of those places, and his subiects in possession, that in so apparent and iust cause; the Flemmings durst haue fallen out into open Hostilitie with vs, in taking the Swan, and making themselves Owners of the Defence, with the imprisonment of our men, but now we haue too manifest a prooffe of their insolencie, and that they dare doe any thing, that is not above their  
50 *force, and make the best shew of a bad meaning.*

They pretend contracts with the King of Ternate, for defence of his Countries, and with his subiects for their Epices, and all Trade whatsoeuer, euen to the exclusion of all other Nations, Iustice is too weake to deale with force, and consequently, no pleading with them without force, which I hoped wee should haue beene able this yeare to haue effected, albeit that it falls out to the contrary, but the next I doubt not, but we shall haue force to make them know, that free gift and possession is better then contracts, and that they are not to conquer Countries to themselves, vnder pretence of defending the King of Ternate, being to them in nature of a Prisoner; that are in no command of him, in the meane time our indeauour must be: for the right of our King and honour of our Countrey, to make good what wee haue; Master Spurway in his returne was charged into Botone by the Flemmings, and so belaid for, that had not the King of that place stood his very good friend, hee, and his companie had fallen into their hands: but by this meanes while the Flemmings waited before the mouth of the Riuer for their coming out, they were conueyed over a necke of Land, and so escaped for Macassar, where  
60 *meeting*



meeting the Attendance they tooke passage, and came hither, Stacie that Owle, blind in his selfe will, cast away his Praw upon Botone, the goods all lost, the men only saved, where he left the Bandanezes, who chose to stay there, in hope to saue something for themselves: and by the Kings fauour got a Praw, and came thither by the way of Maccaffer, all the Billes of exchange, only the hundred Rials of Peter van Loare: I payd also the Honourable our Employers, lose one quarter thereby, the Cattee of Macc taken there at a Riall, worth here not three quarters of a Riall, and for him the said van Loare, as he came to you an effie in that place, so at his best oportunitie hee left vs here; leauing, though very loth, his money behind him.

Captaine Iordane departed hence in the Cloue for England, Christmasse last a yeare, and Captaine Barkley our Chiefe, departed this life the first of March past: here arriued the Fleet of Captaine Ioseph, but not himselfe, being slaine about the Ilands of Comora, in fight with a Carracke; who hauing no meanes to escape, ranne ashore and fired, there was in her besides goods of diuers Fabriques, three and twentie hundred thousand pieces of eight, a prettie Cargazon, and would haue done well in our Factories, but it is fallen out, a lasse, to the Portugals, and no gaine unto vs, neither in purse nor credit, as you may understand by others.

It is giuen vs to understand, by Letters from our Honourable Employers of a second ioynt Stocke, subscribed for twentie hundred thousand pounds; It began the first of this yeare, the first ioynt Stocke ended in the Fleet of Captaine Pring, consisting of senen shippes, whereof two, to say, the Hope, and Hound came directly hither, the other five went by, by off Surat, I pray God to blesse them, and that performing effectually there, they may arriue hither in safety, the Gouvernour of the Flemmings hath beene here, but we conferred not together, the cause proceeding of pride in them, and no submission in me: but to be short, as they began, which you see they haue continued unto vs in Hostile manner. The fixe and twentieth of Nouember, the Speed-well, Robert Iackson Master, bound for Iacatra, was taken, and the men all (but one that was slaine in the entring her, and one that is since dead) are in Chaines, the Gouvernour after the taking of this Pinnasse came with sixteene ships into Bantam Road, to braue vs which we were content to suffer, in respect of their too much aduantage. And now you may understand I haue dispeeded these two ships, the Salomon and Thomas for Maccaffer, to lade Rice already provided for them, with a good Cargazon of goods, besides of cloth, of diuers sorts for Banda, according to the Inuoyce here inclosed sent you, whereof not doubting your care and diligence for Sales and Returnes, I omit in that respect to insert to your memory. For other Newes and Occurrents here passed since your departure, I commend you unto the Bearers hereof, and so for this time, I commit you to the might and mercifull protection of the Almighty.

Bantam, the seuenth of Ianuary, 1617.

Your euer louing Friend,

GEO. BALL.

The seuenth of Iuly, I sent Robert Hayes to Lantore, to view the Road, what conuenient place our ships might ride in, free from shot of Nero Castle, and what place wee might plant Ordnance to defend our ships, and endamage the Hollanders, which returned with a draught of the Roads there, on the eighteenth. The two and twentieth, I wrote againe by a Iana luncke to Master Ball (touching the taking of the ships, the Hollanders proud wearing our colours at their sterne, and a long time neuer ceasing shooting day nor night, as though they had taken halfe the goods in the World. The third of this present, the Generall with five ships set saile to the Westwards, sending me word some foure dayes before, that he would come by me, and send me some flying Messengers to know how I did: but like a bragging, lying, &c.

The second of August, I sent Master Muschamp in a Banda Praw, with the Sabandar of Pooloway and Inche Tungull, to giue intelligence at Bantam: by whom I writ (touching the intolerable pride and tyrannie, that the Hollander vsesh in these parts upon vs both, in bodies, and name, and that with a good conscience we may proceed in regard of the great outrage and infamie they haue offered vs in these parts, both in disgracefull speeches to our King and Nation, and in their barbarous tyrannie they haue vsed to our weak forces, being captinated by them: hauing written how we may offend them by planting Ordnance at Oretaton, &c.

\* M. Courthops magnanimous mind is not more scene in withstanding the Hollanders wrongs, then in bearing the impatience of his Countrey-men impotently vrging right.

The thirteenth of August, there came fiftene Portugals borne at Goa, which had beene surprized by the Hollanders, from Nero in a Praw, and I gaue them entertaynment. The fiftenth, I receiued a Letter from Master Cassarian David, in the name of the English at Pooloway, vrging to right what was amisse, \* and to call conscience to the Barre (words shewing what a hard imprisonment and faire glosses may doe with impotent and impatient spirits) which I answered the next day, both with best reason, and sending them reliefe. I receiued also a Letter from Master Willes, as followeth.

From



From Pooloway, the fifteenth of August, 1618.

**L**oving Friend, Master Courthop my loue remembred to you and to all the rest of our good friends, &c. Master Courthop, the urgent occasion at this present is to let you understand, about sending the Blackes ashore was this, first about ten of the clocke the same day, we being chased by three sayle, for my part I went aboard of the Salomon, to see what they were minded to doe. Master Cassarian willed me presently to goe aboard againe, and to be readie to defend our selues, and to keepe faire by him, which indeed I did, and also I could haue gone from them at first sight if I would, but I could not haue gotten to the Iland if I had gone at ten of the clocke at night, we were faire by the Flemmings, the Salomon being within call of vs. The Blackes that were in the Salomon, were got into the ships Boate for to goe ashore, then was I called to to haue our Blacks, for to make themselves readie to goe with them, which I did, and looking when the Salomons Boate would come, thinking they had beene gone. I gaue them our small Boate to carry them: and for my part faine would I haue sent you a Letter or some other thing, but being at that time so employed, that I had not time to do as I would: Faine would I haue writ more at large, but that time will not permit. So I rest, praying to the Almighty to blesse you to in all your affaires. Yours to command, I pray commend mee to Master Iones. Vse to his power the Chirurgion,

Matthew Willes.

30

**L**oving and kind Friend, Master Courthop, heartie commendations vnto you and the rest of your good company, with all health & prosperity to you in all Affaires: for to relate of our crosse Voyage and misfortunes, it is no newes. But I hope to see the proudest of them pulled downe one day, although we indure the miserie of it in the mean time: I am glad to heare of your good prosperitie and wel-fare; the which, I much doubted, long since of your wants: but God will provide for his Seruants, although he giues these Horse-turds leaue to domineere awhile, whosoeuer lues will see their Pride abated. I must needs say they doe vse vs well. For I doe not know to compare it neerer then to Ludgate, or Newgate: not an inch libertie nor allowance more, then the worst Prisoner they haue in keeping, which was commanded at the receite of your last Letter to the Generall, in the which case I wish you were able to doe vs any good: but in the mean time I hope God will provide for vs. There is this yeere to come to Bantam the best fleet of ships that euer came out of England, one Martine Friend is Generall. The Horse-turd that tooke vs was at the Cape with them, in all five ships: the Royall Iames a new ship Admirall, the Ball Vice-admirall, the Gift reare-Admirall, with two ships more which went to Surat: wee had the last yeare eleuen ships at Bantam, but the reason of no more coming this way, as I heare was by Master Lucas his coming from the coast, and setting Captaine Ball and Captaine Pepwell together by the eares: because Lucas must haue a ship to goe home: for afore Lucas came Captaine Pepwell was minded to come this way, but time will not permit to write any more, so in haste I take my leaue.

I had a Box of stones of yours which I did imploy for your vse in Rice. Some of them, and the Remaynder I brought backe, but all is lost: for I had some necessaries for you, as linnen and some clothes, but all is gone, and not able to helpe my selfe: you shall receiue a Letter from Captaine Ball, which I got out of the Salomon after she was taken, but it was opened. I pray commend mee to Master Muschampe, Master Hayes, and Master Ford, Thomas Miller.

Yours to my power,

Kellum Throgmorton.

The nineteenth, Master David sent me a Letter from Master Ball, bearing date the sixe and twentieth of Ianuary, expressing his cares and endeouours for furthering the Banda businesse; that it falleth out so late in the yeare before I send vnto you hath beene caused through discord betwixt Captaine P. and my selfe, who of himselfe weake and extreame couetous, and instigated by his proud and insolent Masters, did obstinately insist to crosse our Designes, thinking to bring vs under his command. If this Captaine and his Masters had beene, they had this yeare come for Banda, to haue made further tryall of these Flemmings, that threaten fire and sword; but haue sent only two or three shippes that are worst able to hold out; which if not catched up by the Flemming, will be sufficient. But if taken, the losse will be the lesse vnto vs. I shall not be able to send you Beefe, Porke, or Powder for your reliefe, because I can get none from these new-come ships, how much it doth grieue vs, that wee are able to doe no better, &c.

Disagreeme-  
of the English,  
aduantageous  
to the Dutch: I  
had the whole  
Letter, which  
being long I  
haue expressed  
this onely.

The Commander Captaine Derickson vsed the English Prisoners with some kindnesse, and more would, but for Rials strict command: him therefore I did write vnto, with thanks, &c. who also passed on the three and twentieth of August, by the Iland of Neylackey, and strooke

Some of the  
Dutch kind to  
the English.

K k k k

his



Dricksons  
kindnesse.

his mayne top-sayle; and there was shot in kindnesse betwixt vs on either part some fiewe or sixe Peeces; he going for the *Moluccas*. The six and twentieth, the *Hollanders* Frigat fetching water at *Salamon*, were beset by *Lantore* men, one killed and diuers hurt, and had beene all taken but for discouery by *Salamon* men.

The Captaine  
his kindnesse,  
to the English.

English dissen-  
sions & vanity

The tenth of September, I sent *William Newbegin* with supply of two Goates twelue Hens, Mackerell, Oranges, and other trifles to the *English* at *Pooloway*. The Messenger returned with a Letter from Master *Cassarian David*, commending the vsage of the Captaine since the departure of the Commander, in what he might be bold without offending orders prescribed vnto him, that the *Salomon* and *Thomas* were sent away with goods and victuals, and one and twentie dayes after the Attendance, wherem I was to shape my course directly for *Poolaroon*: but by reason the *Salomon* and *Thomas* both ware their flagges in the mayne-top, and that in fight, in going out of the Road of *Bantam*, the President thinking it done in pride by the two Ship-masters, as also shaping a forbidden course for water at *Pontang*: therefore it was decreed that I should first goe to *Macassar*, there to take the gouernment of the three ships and dispose them after the order of a Fleet. If it had not beene for strining for authoritie betwene Captaine P. and Captaine B. You should haue beene visited last yeare with the *Charles* and the *Vnicorne*, and other good ships. But multitude of Commanders maketh a confused gouernment, which is the only cause of ours, and your faring the worse this yeare, &c.

Here followeth also a Letter from the *English* at *Amboyna*,  
to Master *David*.

Captaine, I heartily commend me vnto you and to our Master and his Mate, and all the rest of the Company, this is to let you vnderstand, that I am in good health, and all the rest of our Company, only *Andrew Keele* and *Thomas Sweet* is dead, but all the rest are in good health, but vsed very basely: for we are kept in Irons night and day, and if we haue not a Releasement the sooner, I thinke it will make an end of vs all. I maruell much we could not heare from you by the Frigat, which made me the more forgetfull to write vnto you. No more at this time, but the Lord haue you in his keeping. From *Amboyna*, this third of October, 1618.

Your Friend to command to his power,  
*Richard Nash*.

Petitions of  
the English  
Prisoners to  
the Dutch Ge-  
nerall cruelly  
reiected.

I receiued Copies of certaine notes, The first a petition of the *English* for shift of clothes and to be freed of Irons in the day time; which was in some sort granted. The second, that each man might come before the Generall to speake for his libertie, which would not be granted. The third, that the Dutch Generall might giue vs an old ship, *Pinnaffe* or *Praw* to carrie vs to *Bantam*; or that hee would set a ranfome on the *English* Prisoners, which he would neither grant nor heare of; but answered, that he would keepe vs Prisoners so long as any *English* were vpon *Poolaroon*. The seuenth of Iune we were sent for *Pooloway*. The fourth humble petition of the Prisoners in *Nero Road*. The fourth of Iune, 1618. Humbly shewing vnto your good Lordship, that whereas your Lordships poore Petitioners and Prisoners, being altogether doubtfull of any speedie Releasement, and desirous to auoyd the dangers of sicknesse and mortalitie, incident to all men in these vnwholsome Countreies, do therefore beseech your Lordship, that it may stand with your Lordships pleasure to grant vnto your Lordships said Petitioners, license & fauour to go for *Holland* this yeare in your Lordships ships. And so your Lordships poore Prisoners shall doe our best endeuours to doe your Lordships seruice in our passage, wishing there may be a good end of all these differences; and thus hoping of your Lordships fauourable charitie herein towards vs poore Prisoners; we will pray for the prosperous successe of your Lordships Affaires. The Petition would be granted. The fifth, on the second of Iuly, Humbly sheweth vnto your Lordship, that we poore Prisoners now in this Castle of *Pooloway*, doe petition vnto your Lordship, that we may be allowed such victuals as may sustaine our bodies without famishment, and that your Lordship will be pleased to spare vs money to buy such things as are needfull for vs: for our clothing at this time is but very bare. Wherefore we beseech your Lordship to take some course for vs before your Lordships departure from hence. Likewise we beseech your Lordship, that we may be suffered to walke abroad at seuerall times, as your Lordship shall be pleased to giue order. And so your Lordships poore Prisoners shall pray for the good successe of your Lordships Affaires. Which would not be granted.



§. III.

*Other Acts of the Hollanders in diuers places of the Indies: Encouragements from Sir THOMAS DALE, Master IORDAN and others, and various euents in those parts till his death.*

10 **H**e seuen and twentieth of September, I sent Robert Hayes with a white flagge to visit the English Prisoners, and to carrie such refreshment as Poolaroone affoordeth, who being kindly vsed by the Hollanders, returned that night. The eight and twentieth of October, I likewise sent Arthur Atkinson to Pooloway with refreshing. The tenth of Nouember, the Hollanders made an ambushment alhoare at Oretaton, but caught one slaue only whom they cut to pieces. The thirteenth of December, heere arriued a Keydupa Prow laden with Coco Nuts: she brought newes that the Thomas was gone for the Moluccas. The fourteenth of Ianuary, I had prouisions from Lantore; with Abraham that went with Master Mustian for Maccasser, who by the vnskilfulnesse of the Pilot fell with Rosinging an Island fixe leagues to lee-wards to our great troubles, to fetch prouision in small Boats. He brought diuers Letters, one from Master Stanerton, in which is mention of the Hollanders, that through their brutish vsage and rapine, taking of Iunckes of all places, they haue excluded themselves  
20 all Iaua, and the Rice Countries, except where they hold by force: for Bantam, Iacatra, and Iapara, I referre you to the Presidents Letter.

Newes of the Thomas.

M. Stanertons Letter.

The two and twentieth of Nouember last, here came three of their great ships brauing, to this place, and first came to an Anchor off Tennacooke Castle, without shewing any Colours. And at night, it being faire Moone light, they came neerer into the Road: and one of them went and road under the Island under point Iantaua. And in the morning, they commanded two Iaua Iunckes of Iacatra, hauing in them some fiftie Quoine of Rice, and by the Iaua Nochoda, sent a Letter ashore to the King, and great men of Maccasser, pretending Debts and required satisfaction for their mens liues murdered two yeares since, which they would balance with so many liues of men of qualitie at Maccasser. The King sent an answer, what I know not, and they writ againe, but hee answered not. They burnt  
30 one of the Iaua Iunckes, and on the sixe and twentieth, set sayle as we coniecture for Amboyna. The last yeare I wrote what prouision I laded on the ship Salomon, one hundred and one Quoine, three hundred seuentie seuen g. of Rice: on the Thomas seuentie five q. eightie foure g. On the Attendance sixteene q. five hundred seuentie sixe g. (one hundred ninetie three q. two hundred thirtie seuen g.) eight hundred sixtie five Iarres of Aracke, most upon the Thomas: also sundry other prouisions diuided upon the ships, which with Racke and Rice amounted to three thousand nine hundred and sixteene Mas. What prouision was laded from Bantam and Iacatra, I know not, &c. The last year, happened great mortalitye; there dyed out of the Hope, Captaine Newport that worthy Seaman and Commander, also Henry Rauens Master, and fortie more of that shippes company. Out of the Iames, Captaine  
40 Childe, &c.

The goods in the ships which the Dutch took. But for prouision I had added the In-voyce of goods from thence which I had written by M. Ball. Death of many of Captaine Newport. Spaniards and Portugals at Iordan, kill M. Iackson. Iapara spoiled Iacatra abused. Bantam frightened.

He sent to me Master Balls Letter to him (wherein is relation of Master Iacksons losse with Iuncke, goods and slaues, except three which saued themselves by swimming, as by writing from his Father appeareth. For wanting Rice and necessaries he put in: o Iordan to the number of three and twentieth, under colour of bringing prouisions aboard, entred the Iuncke, and killed him and all his company but three which lept ouer-board, and carried the Iuncke away: the rest of the Port remayning ashore are Prisoners to the King to answer for their fellowes. The Flemmings landed at Iapara by night, fired the Towne, and seuen or eight Iunckes in the roade. The people fled to the Mountaines, they haue forcibly built a Fort upon the mayne at Iacatra, and another upon the Islands ouer against the warring place, which makes the Pangram of Bantam, looke about him.

The seuen and twentieth of Ianuary, here arriued a small Pinnasse called the Francis, with  
50 aduice from the Fleet and reliefe, Master Robert Iackson, Master.

Sir Thomas Dales Letter, as followeth.

60 **M**aster Courthop, as unknowne I remember my loue, which I will alwayes be readie to expresse, in respect of your worthy service, for the honour of our Countrey, and benefite of our Honourable Employers: and doe desire you to proceed in your good resolution, with the rest of your honest Companie; nothing doubting, but that the Company will recompence your deserts to the full. I haue sent you by this Bearer, only to supply your present wants; the particulars are enclosed in the Presidents Letter: and will, if God spare me life, shew the follow: my stay being only, to reuenge in part the abuses receiued from them, hauing now an oportunitie by a difference betwixt them & the King of Iacatra, to put them from thence, if God giue the blessing, which I intend forthwith to put in execution: If it shall please God to giue good suc-  
Kkkk 2 cesse.



cesse, I shall leaue all safe behind me, and may proceed with the better resolution: if otherwise, yet I must aduenture forward to affront them there, although I leaue an ill Neighbour behind me. I haue already giuen them a taste of twelue hundred great shot from six of our ships within the space of foure houres, betweene Bantam and Iacatra: which they did so much mislike, that they left vs in the plaine field, and fled before vs to the East-wards thorow the Bay of Iacatra, in sight of their Castle Reall. For other newes I referre you to the Presidents Letter, not doubting but that he hath satisfied you at large. And thus with my best wishes for your health and safetie. I take my leaue untill I come.

Remayning your assured Friend,

THO. DALE.

10

### The PRESIDENTS Letters.

**M**aster Nathaniel Courthop, we heartily salute you with the rest, wee haue thought it good as present to send you this small Pinnaffe, the Little Francis, as an Aduiser with such provisions as she is able to carrie, thereby to comfort you and your Company in the interim, not doubting but as you haue begun, so you will continue with a constant resolution to defend the place: when you are also to incourage the Countrey people of Pooloway, Poolarooone and Lantore, and for the better satisfaction of the Countrey people we haue sent in the Pinnaffe one or two of the Bandanezes; to relate vnto them the iust wars that we haue with the Dutch. For shortly after our arrivall at Bantam, the two and twentieth of Nouember, with five ships, wherein is Admirall for the Sea, Sir Thomas Dale Knight, wee understanding so many iniuries and insolencies done to our Nation, aswell in those parts as in all other places of the India, we tooke one of their ships called the Red Lion, laden with Rice, Pepper, and other Commodities. Whereupon out of their great pride they imprisoned two of our Merchants at Iacatra, and chayned them in their Gate-house, to the view of all the Countrey people. And not content herewith, their house being strong fortified with much Ordnance in it, shot at our Goodoung, and set fire to it and burnt it to the ground: as also they shot into the Iaua quarter into the Kings house, and killed many Iauas, and razed the China quarter to the ground with their Ordnance, and with fire. And the King hath shot some Ordnance against their house or Fort, and hath had many Skirmishes with them, so that of both sides there hath beene slaughter, but most of the Iauas. Now the King of Iacatra seeing himselfe in a strait, sent a Messenger to Bantam, desiring ayde of vs. And calling here a Councell, concluded to send a fleet of eleuen Sayle of ships, wherein goeth Sir Thomas Dale, and Captaine Pring Commanders, not only to surprize their ships, but also to destroy their Fort, if it please God to giue a blessing thereunto. Which being once effected, by Gods grace, we determine to proceed for Banda and the Moluccas, hoping in God that we shall be able to lay some part of their insolent pride. If not altogether this yeare, yet the next we expect a farre greater fleet thereby at once to finish all. And whereas the proud Laurence Reall (the Dutch Generall that was) hath falsly reported that he hath Letters Patents from his Maiestie of England to surprize vs in those parts of Banda, and the Moluccas, we takenotice therof, and will put it in print amongst the rest of their lyes, out of whose mouth there commeth not a true word. We like very well of your former proceedings, and of your large aduise concerning those parts, praying you to continue therein, and with a stedfast resolution, notwithstanding the Hollanders threatening, to defend the place untill we send further ayde. And no doubt, but the Honorable Company will highly reward you and all those that faithfully and truly doe their endeuour in their affaires. Thus leaving further to insert at present, referring all things to our next, in which God willing, we will write you more at large, praying God to prosper your proceedings to his glory, and your hearts desire.

Bantam, the three and twentieth of  
December, 1618.

Your louing Friends,

John Iordan, Augustine Spaldwin, George Ball.

Post-script of  
Master Iordan.

**T**He Iames and the Bantam arrived at Bantam from Iambe, the one and twentieth dicto, by whom we understand of the death of Master Richard Wellly, murdered there by the Dutch, they inviting him to their house, to giue him his soy, he being bound for Bantam in these ships, and there ended his life. The three and twentieth dicto, I set saile in the Iames, Hound and Petty France from Bantam, towards the Fleet, which lay about the Ilands of Iacatra neere the Holland fleet, hoping to haue beene with them before they had begunne any fight. But the very same day in the morning, the Fleets had a very hot incounter for the space of foure houres, our men valiantly fighting, and they no lesse defending

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our Fleet, having shot about twelve hundred shot to the Hollanders; so that they have had such a breakfast that they will not abide a second, but flye before us, as we suppose, only to draw us to the East-wards from their Fort, supposing that wee shall not bee able to come up this Monson. But wee have not followed them further then the Easter point of Iacatra, whereas wee have lost sight of them, and know not as yet which way they are gone either to the Eastward or to the Westward.

Your loving Friend,

John Iordane.

The second of February, we by councill ordered that the *Francis* should ride vnder the Fort, to releue such Iunckes as should come thither for reliefe: diuers of which with some Praw or Curracorra they had intercepted, so to starue the Inhabitants. The fift, came a Praw from Pooloway with Letters from the *English* Prisoners, deploring that lying in misery and irons many of them have lost their liues, who if they had beene at libertie might have beene alive, and have done their King and Countrey good seruice, and praying to supply their wants by that Praw with money and what else could be sent, not knowing whether they might bee suffered hereafter to send or no: which I answered with Certificate of the newes and prouision.

Letter from the Prisoners complayning of many of them dead by misery of imprisonment.

20 The thirteenth of February, there were three ships in *Nero* Road, one whereof had her beak head shot off, and shot thorow in fortie places. I ghesse it one of the ships which were in the skirmish at Iacatra.

The eighteenth, I receiued a Letter by a Praw from *Wayre*, from *Bartholomew Churchman*, wherein with thanks for things sent, he certifieth that the *Angell* came from *Amboyna* that night, where they left their Generall to get all their forces together, which will bee fourteene or fiftene ships with the old Generall too, that commeth from *Ternate*: and shortly they looke for their Fleet from the *Maneelos*, which is ten ships. And they say they will goe all to *Iaua* together, and where they had the ouerthrow, there againe they will set upon our ships to reconer their former losse and disgrace in sight of all the *Iauas*. But I thinke they will be hanged before they meet upon equal tearmes. Three dayes after wee had receiued your Letter, they brought us all to *Nero*, where they doe allow us now more victuals and libertie, then they did before (God be thanked therefore) and within two or three dayes we are to goe for *Amboyna* in the *Angell* &c.

Dutch preparation.

The two and twentieth of *Aprill*, 1619. I did write to Master *Stauerton* at *Macasser*, and also to Master President, certifying that at that time there was neither *Holland* ship nor Gally in *Banda*: and had the *English* ships come as they promised, I verily thinke there would not at the end of this Monson beene left one *Hollander*, enemie to vs in *Banda*, by reason, I know, the World was neuer so hard with them: their wants being extreame, both for men and victuals: likely that few of their Souldiers but would haue fled to vs: wee hauing neither stocke nor victuals, but bare encouragement of words, &c.

40 The eight of Iune, the Pinnasse set saile for *Seiran*, and returned the fourteenth of Iuly, with fiftie thousand Cakes of *Sago*.

The three and twentieth of *August*, I sent her thither againe. Shee returned the five and twentieth of *Nouember*, so full of leakes, that the third of *December* we haled her on shoare, and found her so rotten that we saued what we could, and set fire on the rest.

The fift of *December*, there came a *Lantore* Coracora, which brought newes that foure dayes before they had taken a *Holland* Praw rowing from *Nero* to *Pooloway*, there being foure *Holland* Prawes in company, bound for *Pooloway*, who came by *Lantore* daring the *Banda* men to come forth: who manned two Prawes, and followed them almost to *Pooloway*, and tooke one of them, and killed all the men, being twentie *Blacks* and nine *Hollanders*. The *Lantore* men are now in heart: and now I haue gotten the *Banda* men to repaire the Fort at the Iland, beeing much out of reparations. The foure and twentieth of *December*, heere arriued a Iuncke from *Macasser*, which brought vs some prouision, but no newes from the West. That day Master *Jackson* misse-behauing himselfe to the Captaine was censured.

50 The twelfth of *Ianuary*, an *Holland* Coracora which came from *Amboyna* with Letters to the Captaine of *Nero*, put off by a gulf, was taken by the Ilanders. The Letters contayned their losing of *Bachan* to the *Spaniards*, and their troubles at *Amboyna* and *Luho*, but no newes from the West. The thirtieth, I sent ouer *Robert Hayes* with the Priest of *Pooloway* to *Lantore*, to conferre with the *Orancais* there about the surrender of their Land to the Kings Maiestie of *England*; to which they all agreed, that the *Sabandar* of *Lantore* should be the man to come ouer and agree with me about that businesse. And that whatsoeuer he should agree vpon, the whole  
60 Countrey would affirme vnto. Also I sent to them concerning their making Illams of all such *Hollanders* as came running from *Nero*, which caused so few to come. They promised it should be no more so: but hereafter, as they should see cause, they would either kill them or send them to mee.

Surrender of Lantore talked of.

Making Moores of Christians.

The eight and twentieth, went by a *Holland* ship, and neuer touched at *Pooloway*, nor *Nero*;



only a Boat came aboard her, and whither she went I know not. I ghesed, they brought no reliefe, and therefore would not stay for feare of Mutinies amongst the Souldiers, they being in great want and distresse for victuals. Whiles Master Hayes was ouer at *Lantore*, the *Hollanders* brake league with the *Solamon* men, taking three *Prawes* of theirs.

Holland Fleet  
reported thir-  
tie foure Saile.

The thirteenth of February, came in a *Iana* Iuncke, and a *Praw* of this Iland, with *Sago* from *Buro*. The *Ianas* could tell vs no certaine newes of our shipping, but they reported that thirtie foure *Holland* ships were at *Bantam*, and that fiftene *English* ships were gone thorow the Straights of *Sunda*: and thought that no *English* ship would be here this yeare: which was cold comfort to me, which had neither direction nor stockes. Many Iunckes arriued which could tell no other newes, one a *Portugall* Frigat, and in her *Matthews* a *Blacke* whom I had sent the last Easterly winds to *Macassar*, which brought Letters from thence, but Iuncke and Letters were cast away. He came in this Frigat which was bound for the *Moluccas*, but hauing stricken on a Rocke and leake, was perswaded to come to *Poolaroon*. I tooke vp all his lading, God make mee able to pay him.

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Seuen English  
ships taken in  
diuers places  
by the *Hollan-  
ders*.

The twentieth of March, I receiued a Letter sent from Master *Stauerton* at *Macassar*, dated the seuenth of February, wherein is mentioned the report of the *Hound* and *Samson*, taken at *Patania* by the *Dutch*; the *Beare*, *Rose*, *Hope*, and *Dragon* at *Tecoo*; and at *Bantam*, a ship called the *Starre*, new come out of England: complayning also of wants there, by neglect at *Bantam*. The two and twentieth, here arriued a *Praw* from *Macassar*, with one *Guilliam Gualtier* a *French-mans* goods sent me to sell for him. The losse of the ships aforesaid, I thought good to adde out of a Letter of Master *Muschamp*, to Master *Courthop*.

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*Laus Deo in Iacatra*, this ninth of March, 1619.

Worthy and respected friend heartie salutations: my hope was to haue beene my owne Messenger, but there was an unfortunate change, and time spent to little purpose, the manner I referre to future relation, not being desirous to censure my superiours, only to cleare my selfe of the trust you imposed vpon me, which I prosecuted with all my endeuours, and to performe my promise in returning, freed my selfe from the chiefe Merchants place in *Bantam*. After all hope was past of coming to you I was appointed chiefe for *Siam*, and went with the President for *Patania*, where we fell in the hands of our Enemies, and in the defence of our ships and goods, performed what we were able: but the Elements fought against vs; for contrary to the common course, we had neither wind nor tyde to thwart the ship to bring our Ordnance to beare, and they breathed themselves to our great disadvantage, which wee might haue helped ouer-night, if the President had not stood too much vpon points of honour in the sight of the Countrey people, which in his owne person he endeuoured to maintaine, with as much resolution as euer did any Comma:der, and most part of vs seconded, with our best endeuours as long as we were able, untill many of vs were killed and hurt. Then the President souned a parley, and in talking with *Henrike Iohnson*, receiued his death's wound with a *Musket*, and they presently surprized our ships, made pillage of all we had, but gaue most part of vs our libertie, by reason of our wounds, where I continued foure monethes in miserable torture with the losse of my right legge, (shot off with a Canon) for want of Medicines to apply to it. Afterwards we came to seeke our Fleet in three *Prawes*, and left two of them with Master *Weldin*, and fortie men for the defence of our *Factorie* at *Iambe*: the residue being sixe and twentie with my selfe, came for *Bantam*, thinking to haue found our Fleet, where wee were surprized with their ships and boats, and now remayne Prisoners with them, which is more grienous to me then the rest, by reason of the want of my legge, and vrgeth me to sollicite to goe home in their ships, which will be an unseasonable and discontented passage at this time, but in the case I am in, I doe not much value my life, and haue euery day lesse comfort and courage to remain in these parts for either you or my selfe, howsoeuer I make no question, our honourable Masters will truly vaine your deserts. God send you well home, to receiue the guerdon thereof, and the comfort of your friends, who as I heare are very desirous to see you, and your elder brother wished the Purfers Mate of the *Starre* to tell you, that you should come home with the first, and that while he had a peny you should not want to receiue it.

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His name Ro-  
bert Holdings  
now at *Iaparra*.

The newes since our taking, as followeth.

The *Starre* come out of England, taken in the Straights of *Sunda*: the *Dragon*, *Expedition*, *Rose*, and *Beare* taken at *Tecoo*, with sixe of their ships, they came vpon them vnprouided, and the Deckes of the *Dragon* was so pestered with *Pepper* and other things, that they could not vse one quarter of their Ordnance, so that they were taken without any great resistance: the residue of our Fleet are at the Coast: viz. ten ships, where it is supposed they stay to ioine with seuen ships that are at *Surat*, and three of the King of *Denmarkes* ships, which will be of force sufficient to reuenge our iniuries, if God be of our side and that they haue no new force out of *Holland*: they haue now not aboue fourteen ships before *Bantam*, and the *Pangram* continues their mortall Enemy, all the forces they haue (which was thirtie saile at one time) cannot bring him to any composition, but wholly relyeth vpon our Fleet, and his owne strength, which will much aduantage the Companies Trade, if they be of force to make their owne way, and assist him according to expectation.

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Excuse



*Excuse my vnperfect aduise, for I haue neither time nor place to write as I would, when occasion shall serue, you shall find me alwayes readie to deserue your loue and friendship, remember my loue to Master Hayes, Master Iones, Iohn Elmor, Thomas Dobins and all the rest, with my dearest affection to your selfe: I rest now and euer*

Your faithfull friend to his power,

*George Muschampe.*

10 The eight and twentieth of March, 1620. here arriued a Iuncke from *Iortan*, laden with Rice. The third of Aprill, three *Holland* ships sayled into *Nero Road*.

This yeare I had no Letter nor any aduice from our Commanders at *Bantam*, nor any supply: and am enforced to take vp all my mens goods, to buy victuals, to pay fiftie per cento, per annum interest. The thirtieth, I sent a Letter to the President and Commanders signifying my wants, and if the *Portugall* Frigat had not come in, I must haue giuen ouer the place, whom yet I am enforced to send to *Bantam* for his payment on my Bill. God grant mee good getting out of these Countrie peoples hands: for they haue spent their Gold and estates, begging themselves: and diuers of them losing, some their liues, others their liberties in holding out in expectation of the English forces. Can the Heathens saile to and againe, as also all other Nations, French and Portugals, and only the English feare to aduenture the Companies goods, passing ouer the matter with rub out another yeare? we haue rubbed off the skinne already, and if we rub any longer, shall rub to the bone; I pray looke to it, &c.

The third of May, the long expected *Iurotinge* arriued with his Iuncke, Master *West* dyed of the Fluxe.

The twentieth of Iune, I sent Letters to *Macasser*, with a Letter inclosed to the President and Commanders, aduising to send a ship with prouisions, and of the *Lantore* men holding out still in expectation, and that except some such course be taken, they should see mee before they should heare any further from me.

30 The three and twentieth of September, *Iurotinge* set saile for *Macasser*, whom I sent to fetch Rice: and with him three *China* men, which ranne from *Nero* to the *Blackes* at *Lantore*, which but for me would haue forced them to turne *Slammes*.

## CHAP. X.

The continuation of the former Iournall by Master ROBERT HAYES, contayning the death of Captaine COURTHOP, succession of ROBERT HAYES, 40 surrender of Lantore to His Maiestie, newes of the peace, and after the peace Lantore and Poolaroone seized by the Dutch, with abominable wrongs to the English.

50 **T**He eighteenth of October, 1620. Our Captaine Nathaniel Courthop came to me Robert Hayes, and said that he heard say, there were two Prawes gone into *Lantore* yesterday, which were Key Prawes as hee thought (yet were not) and in regard of former abuses to *Iurotinge*, hee would goe and reuenge the same. I prayed him to stay till he heard from thence whether it were so or no: But hee refused saying, if they were not of Key, it were but so much labour lost, & now he might go with the Priest. Thus went he ouer that night with his Boy *William*, wel fitted with Muskets and weapons; promising to returne in fise dayes, and bidding me send for water on the three and twentieth, which I did, but he came not, and sent me word hee would come the sixe and twentieth at night. Hee came accordingly part of the way, the Priest staying at *Lantore*, because it was a great Feast with the *Blackes* the next day. There were one and twentie persons in the Boate with sixe Muskets and Fowling Peeces of the Companies, and goods of the Captaine to the value of one hundred and fiftie Rials of eight or vpwards. Comming thwart of *Pooloway*, about two or three a clocke in the morning, they met with the *Hollanders* *Coracora* and one Praw more with some fortie small shot, and comming vp with them fought with them: where 60 the Captaine behaued himselfe couragiously vntill diuers of the *Banda* men were slaine. And the Captaine also receiuing a shot on the brest fate downe, and with all his Peece being cloyed threw it ouer-boord, and then leapt ouer-boord himselfe in his clothes, the Praw being too hot to stay in. And what became of him I know not: but the *Blackes* say surely he there funke, by reason of his wounds and his clothes all about him. There came of those one and twentie persons,

This *Iurotinge*, M. *Stauerton* in a Letter of his which I haue, calleth an vn-luckie fellow (as heere hee proued) seeing a blacke Saine, being a blacke Deuill.

Captaine *Courthop* wounded, leapes ouer-boord.



sons, seven ashore, who had not been wounded, and were strong to swimme, the space being some five miles. The same night *Riall a Dutchman* (formerly turned *Moore*) ranne away to the *Hollanders* with a small Prow.

Master Hayes  
succeeds.

New agree-  
ment betwixt  
the new Cap-  
taine and the  
people.

The seven and twentieth of October, I went to the Fort at *Neylackey*, and calling the Company together, demanded of them their purpose: and they all promised that as formerly they had been ruled by the Captaine, so now they would be ruled by me *Robert Hayes*, as knowing before that I was to succeed in case of Mortalitie. I tooke order concerning better watch, having but twentie three men on *Neylackey*, and two barrells of Powder with that which was in the Gunnes. The one and thirtieth, I sent a small Prow to *Lantore*, with foure men to certifie *Robert Randall* of businesse. The same night the *Sabander Rato*, came with a *Corocora* and an *Orankay*, well provided to bring over the Priest and *Robert Randall* with them. So all the chiefe of the Countrey came to the Fort on Saturday in the Evening the fourth of November, and called all our company, demanded whom they should now (our Captaine being dead) trust to take charge: they all answered, Master *Hayes*: they further demanded, if they would stand to that which I should promise, because they were not to make agreement with a multitude without a head. They all answered, they would performe all my agreements and promises to the utmost of their power. I then being settled in my businesse, demanded thirtie men each night to come to watch with vs, viz. fifteene at the Iland, and fifteene betwixt the two Forts; for that I feared assault in the night: and it was agreed.

The fift of November, the *Sabander Rato* came with the Priest to me, to know my determination about foure Peeces of Ordnance, which the Captaine had promised to *Lantore*, as Master *Randall* knew & my selfe; and perusing the Presidents Letter to go thorow with them of *Lantore*, as we had done with them of *Poolaroone* and *Pooloway*; I answered, that if the Chiefe would come over and agree with me, I would performe their request. The seventh, *Robert Randall* went backe with the said *Sab. Rato* in the *Corocora*, which *Rato* said hee would certifie the *Sab.* of *Lantore* and the *Orankayes* of my answer; and that within three dayes I should expect them againe. At present here were seven Key Prowes in the Road, and the seventeenth, I manned our *Oranbay* with a Murtherer, and seven Muskets, and went with other five Muskets on the Flanker at *Feriat*, and sent to the Key-men that two of their Chiefe should come and conferre with me about the cloth stolne from *Jurotinge*: But they all swamme on shore, till the Countrey people tooke up the matter, and gaue mee two Key-men pledges, whom I kept at *Ney-larkey*.

Key-men cha-  
stised.

*Lantore* surren-  
dred to the  
King.

*Dutch Advisor*  
taken.

The foure and twentieth, came three *Corocoras* with other Prowes from *Lantore*, for the Guns promised: and upon their demand of ayde of vs, and agreement to surrender their Land to the Kings Maiestie of *England*, I gaue them two Sakers and one Demiculuerin. The same day the Key-case was ended. And the same day they of *Lantore* surrendered the Land to the Kings most excellent Maiestie.

The sixe and twentieth of November, we saw a saile to the West, and all the chiefe of *Banda* being here put off with thirteene *Corocoras*, and came up with her, being a *Holland Advisor* from *Iapan* and *Amboyna*, with Letters for *Banda*. They killed foure and kept three alive, being in all seven *Hollanders*. The Letters they brought me, but I could not attayne to the full contents by want of the *Dutch* Language. Only thus I found that the *English* and *Hollander* were agreed at home, and I read the thirtieth Article of agreement betwixt vs and them: so that I thought it not unfit to send the Letters to *Pooloway*. I would have kept the businesse from the *Banda* men; but then it would have beene worse for vs. I therefore disclosed it to the Priest of *Pooloway*, so to frame our answer to the whole Countrey, namely, that shippes both *English* and *Dutch* were to come thither to end the businesse, and that it were good those Writings should be sent to the *Hollanders* to redeeme their three men with sixe *Blacks*. Wee were glad of the agreement, but knew not how to cleere our selues of the Countrey people, in case of peace.

The eight and twentieth, I sent *Robert Munday* with sixe *Banda* slaues to *Pooloway* with a flagge of Truce and that packet of Letters, and to redeeme their men, and to send word whether they would persist in their rigorous courses, or be still till ships came: which if they refused, that they take notice that the *Banda* men are in hand with a stratageme against them (for they purposed to make use of their Ordnance, and besides, to set on their Frigate, but I would not disclose the particulars.) The nine and twentieth, my Messenger came backe with a Letter written.

To his louing Friend Master *Robert Hayes*, Factor for the  
*English* upon *Poolaroone*.

VVorthy Sir, your Letters of the eight and twentieth of November, we haue received, also the packet of Letters which were by it, and haue with great ioy and gladnesse understood the friend-



friendship and agreement betweene both our Masters: wherewithall is ended warre which was begunne with great bloodshedding, not suting for two Nations which haue beene so good Friends as yours and ours haue beene. We haue further understood with sadnesse the losse of the Campas and the killing of foure men at the taking of her: likewise of three which are the Banda mens Prisoners, for the redeeming of which they will haue sixe men: howsoeuer, I will not leaue them vn-redeemed. The Captaine Nathaniel is killed in the Prow, for which God knoweth I was heartily sorie. We haue buried him so stately and honestly as euer we could fitting for such a man.

The Letter of the Dutch to the English about the peace

M. Courtbop buried by the Dutch.

He proceeds with desire that Master Hayes and an Orankaia should come that they might conferre vpon some truce with the Bandanezes till the ships comming, wherein they should well agree if they would let them haue Mace and Nuts for their money: with promise of securitie, a present, thanks and commendations.

Dated Pooloway, in the Castle of Reuenge this ninth of Decemb. Anno 1620. *stilo nouo.*

Your louing Friend William van Anthon.

20 The second of December, the Priest was content to take man for man, but freemen; and if they had not, so many hundred Rials of 8. for the third. And I writ so by Ed. Twelues, and aduised them of going betweene Lantore and Guning Apee, and of an action in hand, &c. The third my Messenger returned with a Holland Prow rowed by Spaniards, and two Hollanders, the Minister and an Ancient-bearer which brought Nocoda Ismael, Mirnie, and one hundred Rials of eight. And I suffered no Banda man to come to the Iland but only the Priest, and exchanged the Prisoners. I entertayned the Hollanders in the best manner I could, but would not suffer them as they desired to speake with a Banda Orankaia, suspecting it was for trade. In the Letter of van Anthon, he writes, *Touching the truce of which you write, is not only betweene Yours and Our Masters made a truce, but also a good and sure peace. Therefore there is nothing to say betweene you and us. When it please you, you may goe where soeuer you list, &c.*

30 The fift day, the Westerne Monson blew with raine, God be thanked, for wee had no water fell to any purpose, since the beginning of Iune last being sixe monethes, so that wee went to Lantore seuen times for water, besides that I hired the Key-men once. The same day came a Praw from Beynawre, and told of twentie Corocoras gone from Seyram to Amboyna against the Hollander, besides many small Prowes. There came ouer the Sabander Rato, and Sab. Lantore with a Coracora and two Oranbaygs for their other Gunne: and told that the Hollanders sued for peace and Trade with the Lantore men and those of Salomon, but were deferred till tenne dayes for answer. I bade them remember their Surrender, and how they had promised in writing to sell no Spice but to the English. Thus the Hollander sought by policie what he could, notwithstanding the newes was publike.

Monsons.

Want of water

Beynawre.

40 The eighteenth, I had word that the Hollanders came to seeke for Trade with the Lantore men, which would not agree except they would restore them one of the Ilands of Nero or Pooloway: whereupon the Hollanders Messenger returned to Nero, and pulled downe their white Flags which had stood some ten dayes, and set red in place, and sent the Frigat to shoot into Lantore. And at night the Lantore men sent three Blackes in a small Praw to Nero, which killed a Hollander in a house without the Castle. And the Sab. Rato sent me word that they would keepe their Spice for the English only.

50 The one and twentieth of December, here arriued at the Lucon a China Iuncke from Macassar, with a little Rice and Racke from the Factor and Letters, but no newes from the West; so that we knew more Newes here then they there. He also protested in his Letter, that hee had that on trust, hauing no meanes left but borrowing, the people censuring and the Portugals laughing hereat. Dated the nine and twentieth of Nouember, to Captaine Courtbop.

The nineteenth of Ianuary, I sent ouer the Sewes to fetch Letters from Master Stauerton, in a Portugall Iuncke. I heard then by Master Randalls Letter, that the Hollanders had burned the great China Iuncke with our Flag in her, and tooke our Letters and all the China men Prisoners: but the Lantore men will redeeme them with two Hollanders, they tooke in a small Prow, hauing killed the third. But the Hollanders care not so much to redeeme their men, as to haue Trade with the Blackes. They doe what lyeth in their power to set the Banda men and vs at difference. For any Sailes they see they pursue, vnder the reach of Ordnance: and being pursued by Banda Coracoras, put out a white Flagge to vs: which I thinke basely done. They were intreated by mee to bee still till the Fleetes came but they will not, though themselves goe by the worst. They professe friendship to the English, and skirmish with the Bandanezes, with whom we liue.

Dutch cunning.

The Letters which I receiued from Hoia Murad, was the Copie of a Letter from Master Hayward the Factor at Succadania to Master Stauerton of the place. Dated the seuen and twentieth



tieth of October. It was vnder-written by Master Stanerton, with promise of reliefe, his best endeouours, the Copie of the Articles sent from our Commanders at *Iacatra*, vnder-written by Captaine *Furresland* President, Master *Brokden*, Master *Spaldin*, &c.

The five and twentieth of January, *Matthew Richards* was centured for misdemeanour, in pulling downe the Orders set vp in our place of Common Prayer and vnciuill speeches, by consent of Councell.

Hollanders pretence to Lantore.

The ninth of February, the *Dragons Claw* arriued and brought vs Letters and a Cargazon. The eleuenth, came by eleuen *Holland* ships, and I sent my Prow aboard to heare of our shipping. I receiued a Letter from Master *Bates* from *Amboyna*, wherein I was certified of the *Hollanders* pretence to take *Lantore* with two thousand Souldiers, besides a thousand more of all Nations; which was strange newes to vs, expecting nothing lesse, in respect that Land was surrendered vnto vs, and we had a Factory there, with men, Ordnance, and goods. I expected directions from *Iacatra* concerning this affaire, but I had no knowledge concerning it. Three dayes after, in came some three ships more.

Notice giuen to the Dutch Generall, which would giue no answer.

The sixteenth at night, I wrote a Letter to the *Dutch* Generall, to giue him notice of the surrender of *Lantore*, and of our men, goods and munition there. The eighteenth, my Messenger returned certifying me that the *Dutch* Generall read my Letter, but would not answere it, but bid my Messenger be gone. Now the *Dutch* sent to the *Lantore* men to yeeld vp their Countrey to them, and to put the *English* from them; but they would not. Neither would I send for them to come off, for I could not answere it, namely to forsake the Companies goods there, or to leaue the Land so surrendered to the Kings Maiestie. The *Lantore* men sent ouer to mee, to know what we meant to deceiue them, and not to succour them as we had promised. I sent ouer my Prow with men in her for the defending of the Companies Spice there. But for that the Countrey saw I could not relieue them, denied that we should put out our Flagge, in regard they must defend themselves for all vs. So all the men returned except *Robert Randall*, and two more *English*.

Hollanders invade Lantore, and burne the Towne. The *English* villinously abused by *Hollanders*.

The first of March, the *Hollanders* forces went on shoare at a place betwixt *Loquee* and *Mau-de Anginy*, and so marched to *Lantore*, and tooke the Towne and fired it; there being small bloud-shed on either partie. The Inhabitants fled, and Master *Randall* & the other two *English* standing by the Companies goods were taken and stript to their skinnies, bound, beaten, throwne ouer the Towne-wall; and carried aboard the Generall, and put in Chaines. They tooke all the Companies spice, goods and monies by accompt of *Robert Randall*, three and twentie thousand foure hundred pounds *English*, of Maces, and one hundred and twenty thousand pounds *English* of Nats, Monies, five hundred Rials, Cloth and others to a small quantitie.

Dutch flights.

The third day the *Starre* arriued here at *Poolaroone*: so I went aboard and made Master *Welden* and Master *Bates* acquainted with these Occurrents. The fift, they went ouer to the Generall at *Nero*, to know his pleasure about setting of Factories in *Banda*: but hee pretended businesse for three or foure dayes, and then we should heare further. At Master *Weldens* being there, he spake with Master *Randall* with much adoe, who told of his vsage. But release could not be gotten for our men. Further, the Generall demanded, if we had *Poolaroone* men in subiection, as he had the *Lantore* men; otherwise he would come and doe it. His pretence (as I suppose) is to picke a Quarrell with the *Poolaroone* men to get vs out, and after to settle vs vnder them.

Hollanders arts at *Poolaroone*.

The *Fiscals* threats.

The people pleade subiection to his Maiestie.

High-way-law.

Note well.

Sententias loquitur Carnifex.

The sixt of March, the *Hart* came and anchored at the *Lucon*, and twentie five Prowes containing some fiftene hundred men, came and lay off: and the *Fiscall* came aboard the *Starre*. Now the Countrey people came flocking to know what these Prowes meant, and whether they came in peace or warre. The *Fiscall* intreated Master *Welden* to goe ashore with him: but Master *Welden* said he had businesse aboard, desiring me to goe on shoare. The *Fiscall* then told the Countrey people they had nothing to say to vs: but as for them, if they did not come and submit themselves presently to the Generall, that they should fare as those of *Lantore*: & would know how they durst surrender *Poolaroone* to the *English*. The Countrey said that they knowing it to bee peace betwixt them and the *English*; and they themselves subiects to the Kings Maiestie of *England*, doubted not that the *Hollander* had any further to say in this matter. The Aduocate replied, that if on the morrow they would not come ouer and surrender their Land to the Generall, that then they would come with their forces, &c. and so hee departed. And the seventh day, the Countrey being afraid that we could not withstand the *Hollanders* (as indeed then we could not) they went to the Generall and told him they had brought the Land vnto him, but it was not theirs to giue, being formerly giuen the *English*: therefore let them and the *English* try for that as we would. The ninth, came the Aduocate with certaine Souldiers and *Amboynezes*, to command the *Blacks* to pull downe their wals, and deliuer vp their weapons, which they did: and afterwards bid the *Blacks* take off our Gunnes from the Land; but the *Orankay* answered they could not doe it by reason of former agreement. Then the *Fiscall* would haue mee to take them off, but I would not. The *Fiscall* said that if the *Blacks* would not giue them the Land cleare without bushes on it (mening by vs) that then he would come with his forces. So by their policie they set the *Blacks* against vs to cut our throats as much as lay in their power.

The



The thirteenth, the *Fiscall* came to see if the *Blacks* had pulled downe their wals, and was at them to pull off our Gunnes, and left their flagge standing vpon one of the carriages of our Gunnes which were at the Towne, the same time Master *Welden* went to *Nero* to the publication. The fourteenth, came in the *Exchange*, and I related to Captaine *Fitzherbert* of the Oc-  
Captaine Fitzherbert.

10 The twentieth, the *Fiscall* and the Captaine *Solar* came with twentie Souldiers, and threw downe all our Ordnance of the mayne Iland, being nine Peeces, and broke them, and carried away the Peeces thereof. Also they tooke away a flagge from one of the Forts, and carried away a Coracora of the *English* for *Poolaway*. As for the little Iland they medled not with it at all, but as we had it, so we might keepe it. The flagge which they tooke, the *Fiscall* said was in reuenge that Captaine *Fitzherbert* had taken away their flagge.  
Dutch hostilitie to the English.

The one and twentieth, the *Claw* arriued from *Amboyna*. The sixe and twentieth, 1621. the Generall of the *Hollanders* sent to the *Orankies* of *Poolaroon*, commanding them to sell vs no more Spice.  
Imperious Dutch.

The second of Aprill, Master *Bate* went to settle at *Poolaway*. The Pinnasse was sent on a Voyage to *Seyran*, to buy slaues and Sago. The eight and twentieth, we heard of a strange Massacre, that the Generall cut in pieces fortie foure *Orankies* of *Lantore* for Treason.  
Dutch Empires!

20 The second of May, the Generall signed Articles of agreement with the *Poolaroon* men, which were all one in effect with our Articles formerly signed with them; only, that they must pay Tenthis to the Prince of the Countrey. The fourth, hee sent to take the *Orancks* of *Poolaroon* their Oathes to be true to the Prince of *Orange*. The two and twentieth, I heard of the *Clawes* misfortune betrayed by *Seran* men, losing twentie two slaues and halfe their Sago, being glad to get aboard themselves, lost two men and all whatsoeuer on shoare. The cause sprang from *Lantore* men that ranne thither, saying, that the *English* and *Hollanders* were all one and had massacred their *Orencaius*.  
Seran treachery. English suffer for Hollanders faults.

The fift of Iune, I went in the *Claw* from *Poolaroon* to *Amboyna*, where I went ashoare on the ninth.

30 I haue added to this Iournall of Master *Hayes* (by him kindly communicated to me) a Letter of Master *Fitzherbert* to him, sorting with these *Dutch* Affaires.

I haue added Master *Fitzherberts* Letter here printed out of the originall, because the *Dutch* in their Answer make him an Approouer of their Designes.

40 **M**After *Hayes*, these are to require you to discharge these three *Dutchmen* out of the Companies service, and to dispatch them off the Iland, for so much I haue promised unto the *Dutch* Generall who is much offended with them, that he saith, he will haue them howsoeuer. It doth grieue mee to turne away the Companies Seruants in this manner, preferring in my minde the time of our infortunate warre before a troubled peace. Other newes I could write, but I referre it to better occasion. From aboard the Royall Exchange in *Nero* Roade, the eighteenth of March, 1620.

Your louing Friend,

*Humfrey Fitzherbert.*

50

**F**Or the Readers more full satisfaction in these Affaires of *Banda* (the originall of the Warres betwixt the *English* and *Hollanders* in the Indies) I haue re-printed three Letters before published: as also the Declaration of the *Hollanders* in answer thereto; and the same refuted by certaine Mariners, together with Depositions touching the Premisses. And lastly, the state of the Quarrels betwixt the *Dutch* and the *Bandanezes*, and betwixt ours and them, is more fully cleered by the Authour.  
60



## C H A P. XI.

*A Letter written to the East India Company in England, from  
their Factors.*



Bout the moneth of December, 1620. the Dutch Generall hauing prepared a force of sixteene ships, declared to our President, that hee intended an exploit for the good of both Companies, without mentioning any particulars of his Designes.

And seeing vs to haue no such forces readie to ioine with him, hee said hee would attempt it alone. And the third of Ianuary, 1620. he did set sayle from *Iaquatra* with his said forces, and arriued at *Banda* about the third of February following.

Presently vpon his arriual, he made great preparation against the Iland of *Lantore*, which Iland was formerly by the Inhabitants thereof deliuered ouer vnto our people for the vse, and vnder the subiection of the Kings Maiestie of England, whereof our Captaine of the Ile of *Polaroone* had taken possession, and had also settled a Factory there.

\* This was M. Hayes, Captain of the English.

When our chiefe Factor \* in our said Ile of *Polaroone*, heard of the purpose of the Dutch Generall against the said Ile of *Lantore*, he wrote a Letter vnto the said Generall, aduising him that the said Ile of *Lantore* did belong vnto the King of England, and that therefore hee should not attempt any violence against it, seeing there is an accord made in England betweene vs. Which Letter, the said Generall threw from him in a great rage, scarce vouchsafing to reade it ouer, and caused the Messenger to bee thrust out of doores, requiring him to aduise our Factor of *Polaroone*, presently to send to *Lantore*, and fetch away all such of our people and goods as were vpon that Iland; for whomsoever hee should find there, hee would take them as his vtter Enemies, and they should fare no better then the Inhabitants.

And within ten or twelue dayes after he landed all his forces there, and subdued the said Iland. So long as the fight endured, our Factors and Seruants there (being three English and eight Chincses) kept themselues within doores, and afterwards our people came out of their houles, and told them, the house wherein they were, was the English house, and that therefore they should not meddle therewith.

Robert Randall.

Neuertheless they sacked our house, tooke away all our goods, murthered three of our Chincses Seruants, bound the rest (as well English as Chincses) hand and foote, and threatned them to cut their throats, binding them three seuerall times to seuerall stakes, with their weapons readie drawne out, and did put a halter vpon our principall Factors necke, drawing vp his head, and stretching out his necke, readie to put them to death, yet did not execute them, but as they were bound hand and foot (as afore-said) tumbled them downe ouer the Rockes like Dogges, and like to haue broken their neckes, and thus bound, carryed them aboard their shippes, and there kept them Prisoners in Irons, foureteene or sixteene dayes.

\* This was M. Welden.

After the conquest of the Iland of *Lantore*, the Dutch Generall threatned to doe the like vnto *Polaroone*, wherefore our principall \* Factor of *Polaroone* being there but newly arriued, went vnto the Dutch Generall vnto the Castle of *Nero*, and told him that hee heard that hee purposed to take *Polaroone* by force, which he could not beleue, although his owne Messenger sent to *Polaroone*, to speake with our Factors, had giuen it out also, that the Generall himselfe should say, that if the English did not come presently vnto him, and yeeld the said Fort of *Polaroone* vnto him, hee would send his forces, and ouer-runne all the Countrey, but hoped hee would enterprize no such thing against that place, considering the Articles of agreement, and knowing how many yeares (to the great losse and charge of the Company) wee held possession and maintayned the place to the vse of his Maiestie of England.

The said Generall made little answer to it, as though there were no such matter intended, whereupon our said Factor tooke his leaue and came away.

But the next day he was followed to *Polaroone*, with an Armado of twentie fixe Prowes, and one ship, which did put the Inhabitants of *Polaroone* in such a feare, as they knew not what to doe; whereupon our chiefe Factor there asked the Commander of those forces, what his purpose was with such a Fleet there, and that if he attempted any thing against *Polaroone*, it was a breach of the Articles it being in our possession. This could not preuaile with him, but said the Land was theirs, and they would haue it by faire meanes or force, and as for our profession, they would not acknowledge it (the Inhabitants and not we being Masters of the place) and so the Dutch Commander went ashore vnto the Inhabitants.

Whereupon the said Inhabitants asked vs if we could and would defend them, but perceiuing we were not able to defend our selues, much lesse to secure them: they were forced to yeeld themselues and the Iland into his hands.

The Dutch tooke downe the English colours, and set vp their owne, and caused the Inhabitants presently to bring in all their weapons, and to throw downe all their wals, and would haue



haue forced them to haue taken all our Ordnance out of our Fort, which they at the first refused to doe, alleaging that they had formerly giuen and surrendred the Land to the King of England, and in respect they had liued so long with the *English*, they would not now offer vs any iniurie or violence.

And when our chiefe Factor went ashore to expostulate the matter with the *Dutch* Commander, he could obtayne nothing at his hands, but that the Land was theirs, and things must be so, and should be so.

Whereupon our said Factor went againe vnto the *Dutch* Generall to the Castle of *Nero* to conferre with him thereabouts, but he would giue no other answer, but that hee had referred those busineses to his said Lieutenant sent thither, with whom he might conferre: who in the absence of our chiefe Factor, had brought some of his Souldiers ashore vpon *Poolarone*, and forced the Ilanders to throw all our Ordnance ouer the Rocke from the place where they were planted (being nine peeces) whereof foure broke with the fall, and were all carryed away by the *Dutch*.

Moreover our Captaine of *Poolarone* who had defended the Iland foure yeeres together, going to *Lantore* (at the request of the Inhabitants) to receiue the surrendry thereof for our Kings Maiesties vse (as aforesaid) and returning backe againe about the beginning of Nouember, 1620. was slaine by the *Dutch*. And it is very probable, they did it after the time they had intelligence of the publication of the accord at *Bantam*, in March 1619. For presently vpon the said publication, they sent secretly to the Ilands in those parts, where they had trade, to preuent vs of our part of the Spices due vnto vs by the accord.

*Nathaniel  
Contrib.*

After the said *Dutch* Generall had subdued the fore mentioned Iland of *Lantore*, hee constrained them to deliuer vnto him, the principall of all their children for Hostages: Then hee tooke away from them all their small Vessels and Boates, and then he also required all the men of *Lantore* to be brought vnto him, and they brought him all the principall men, but this did not satisfie him, but he would haue all the *Bandanezes*, which had ayded them, as also all their wiues and children, small and great to be brought as Prisoners aboard his ships.

Which when the *Bandanezes* perceiued (doubting that he meant to make them all slaues and to carrie them to some other places) they agreed together to retyre themselves into the highest and strongest places of the Land, and there did fortifie themselves, whereupon the *Dutch* slue of them and tooke twelue hundred persons Prisoners, most of them being women and children, which they haue since carryed to *Iacatra* and other places.

*Printed according to the originall Copie the eight of February,  
1621. Stilo Nouo.*

40 Reuerendo in Christo Fratri D. Domino *Adrian Iacobson Hulsebus* apud  
*Iacatranenses Batauos* Prælicatori, Salutem & pacem ab  
Auctore vtriusque.

50 **L**oving Brother: I haue receiued your Letters, and according to your desire, haue returned these few Lines in answer thereto. If I haue not so fully satisfied the particulars of your Letters, as I wished and purposed, I pray you impute it not to any want of will, but vnto my disacquaintance with your *Dutch* Tongue and hand: I should peradventure haue giuen you better satisfaction then now I doe, if you had written to me in the *Latine* Tongue. But to leaue excuses and come to the matter, the thing you touch in your Letter is but too too true, to wit, that the hatred and dissention among Christians (if it continue, as God defend it should) is, and will bee the cause of much innocent blood-shedding amongst friends, and of estranging the hearts of Heathens, from the worship of the true God. And therefore that enmitie amongst friends may cease, and that such as are yet without, may be allured to submit themselves to the Scepter of Iesus Christ: it standeth vs vpon (who are Preachers of the Gospel of Peace) to be instruments of peace, which for my owne part how willing I am to doe, is not vnkowne to such as know my selfe, and among whom I doe daily conuerse. I haue alwayes both in publike and priuate, by Letters to our Worshipfull Company in England, and by liuely voice to our Commanders here in the Indies, declared how good a thing it is for vs that are Christians professing one Faith, one Christ, one Baptisme, to liue in peace, and to dwell together in vnitie. And of this my earnest desire to be a Peace-maker, Master Brancraft your Master of the Blacke Lion, who remayned after his taking some weekes aboard of the Royall Iames, can giue euident testimonie and witnesse. And now that you haue written to this end, I will 60 stirre up my selfe, and set afresh vpon the worke of reconciliation. It is pelfe indeed and pride that is the Make-bate breeding strife and discord: for, had not the riches of the Moluccas, and the robbing of the Chinees and others by you, vnder the English Colours, fathering thereby your theft vpon vs, cast you into a deepe and deadly Lethargie, you would not as you haue done, haue abused your best friends



abroad, that haue shed so much of their dearest blood in defence of you and your countrey at home; but now you are freed from the Spaniards at home, you fall out with your friends abroad. Is this the recompence of our loue and blood shewed vnto you, and shed for you, to keepe you from the supposed thraldome of Spaine? Did Dauid thus reward his three Worthies, who aduentured their liues to satisfie his longing, & to quench his thirst? Did he not say, Lord, be it farre from me that I should doe this: is not this the blood of the men that went in iopardy of their liues? 2.Sam. 23. 17. Doe you thus requite vs, as Lot did Abraham, Who, when as hee with the three hundred and eightene that were borne and brought up in his house, did reconer Lot and his goods, and women out of the hands of the Conquerors, cared not for him but to serue his owne turne, and being deliuered, did in a manner scorne Abrahams company. VVell, though Abraham being the elder and worthier might haue stood vpon his right, yet yeelded of his interest, that he and Lot might liue as brothers, and the rather because both of them at this time sojourned among the Canaanites and Pheresites, who were ready to take notice of their discord, and so to curse their God and holy Religion. Yet what gained Lot by separating company, but a showre of fire and brimstone, which rained vpon Sodome wherein he liued, and would haue consumed both him and his, if God had not bene mercifull vnto him at Abrahams request.

It is not long of the English that we expose our selues to the mockery of Infidels: our Company loue peace, and trade peaceably: they haue put vp for peace sake more wrongs at your hands, then they meane to doe againe. You write and publish to the world, that the Sea is free, and yet by your encroaching vpon it, are not you both the Mothers and Nurses of discord? One of our Commanders, wrote (as I thinke, or at least sent word by one of speciall note amongst your selues) to Coen your Commander concerning a parley before the shooting downe of our Turret at Iacatra: but the first and last newes we heard of him, was it not the beating downe of our house there, and the defaming of our Nation, with Penoran at Bantam and others here?

And thinke you that this is the way to make peace?

The present Captaine of your Fort at Iacatra promised to the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Dale our chiefe Commander, vpon the faith of a Christian, that M. Peter Wadden (now your prisoner) should haue free ingresse and egress in and out of your house to parley betweene vs, to returne to our Shippes: and yet is either promise or oath kept? hath he not, and doth he not continue your prisoner to this hower? You remember Iehu his answere to Iehoram, What peace whiles the whoredomes of thy Mother Iezabel, and her witchcrafts are yet in great number? 2.Kings 9.23. No sound league of friendship or reconciliation can be made, or being made can continue, till the wrongs which men haue done one to another, be reponed, and remoued; and satisfaction giuen by word and deed, where it may possibly be performed; else it will be like a wound or sore, that being cured outwardly to the eye, doth bleed and fester inwardly; many hollow reconciliations are daily made amongst men, which afterwards breake out to the hurt of both parties, and scandall of others: As a wound that is ill cured, by an unskilfull or an unconscionable Chirurgion. As for mine owne part, I would to God that if it were possible, I might with all my best skill and cunning be the Chirurgion to cure this wound, that our reconciliation, when euer it shall be made, may not be hollow, but holy and firme: yea I wish from my heart, that my very blood might be the milke to put out this wilde fire which now is kindled, and (if it be not quenched in time) is like to deuoure, not onely the ships and goods (as it hath done some already, and is like to doe more) but the precious liues of many of both Nations, and of those also that are as yet vborne, who (it is like) will curse the time that euer the English and Dutch knew the Indies. All standeth not in one side, there must be a yeelding of both sides, if euer there be a sound peace. But you say, both sides are stout, who shall begin? I answere, what auaieth anger without strength to beare it out? What is fiercenesse of spirit without wisdom of heart? but euen a fooles bolt against him selfe. And to such a one may not the saying of Archidamus to his sonne, being too foole-hardie, be as fitly applyed as a gloue to a mans hand: Sonne, sonne, either put too more strength, or take away some of this courage? You cannot be ignorant that when Herod intended to make warre against the Tyrians and Sydonians, how they came all with one accord, and perswaded Blattus the Kings Chamberlaine that they might liue in peace, or else they should all of them be starued, Act. 12. 20. Take heede you come not to this when it is too late. Are you so well able to liue of your selues in Holland, that you haue no need of your neighbour countrey England? Are you so high aboue the waters, that the fluces of heauen cannot drowne you? Or are the Seas so low beneath your Netherlands, that you feare no deluge? Shebna the Treasurer, was he not as surely seated as your Graue is in Holland? or the greatest amongst you here in the Indies, euen Coen him selfe? and yet was he not tossed up and downe as a foote-ball in a strange countrey? and were not the Chariots of his glory the shame of his Lords house? Esay 22. 18. But I haue runne my selfe a little beyond that I intended, and now to reconer my breath, by these lines I promise, and by word and deed will, God willing, with saile and care labour to bring to passe, that we may liue as friends and neighbours both here and at home. Thus I haue returned you an answere to that you desire, and looke that both of vs should doe our best endeauour for the good of our present Fleets, and of such as hereafter may liue to blesse vs. From our Royall Iames riding neere to Bantam Rode, this 20. of Aprill 1619.

Your louing brother Patricke Copland.



*From aboard the Bee in the Rode of Iacquatra on the Coast of Iaua;  
the five and twentieth of February. 1620.*

- A**ugust the second 1619. our ship and goods were taken by the Flemings in the strait of Sunda neere Bantam, and set ashore at Iacquatra. September the eight 1619. the Flemings dispersed us into their ships, and on the coast of Sumatra the first of October 1619. they tooke foure other English ships, viz. the Dragon, the Beare, the Expedition, and the Rose. And on the second of October they turned us all ashore at Tecoo amongst the Indians, where our Merchants had no trade, but for eight dayes. We were then three hundred seuentie and odde men, all or the most part undone. About fifteene men were killed in fight. They left us the little Rose to shift for our selues.
- 10 The three & twentieth of October, 1619. there came into the Roade out of England three other ships, the Palsgraue, the Elizabeth, and the Merchants hope. From Tecoo we sayled too and fro, and at length came to anchor at an Iland called Amyncan, where we had fresh water and some fish, but is no place of trade, nor is there any man that knoweth of anything that growes upon it. The people are thought to be encaters. After this we returned backe for Tecoo, & neere the same twenty nine of Ianuary 1619. we met with Generall Pring in the Royall Iames, and his whole fleet of ships, in number nine. All the fleet being then twelue goodly ships, were resolved to saile for Bantam: and in sight of two Flemish ships, (which we purposed to take) Captaine Adams in the ship called the Bull, together with one of the Flemish ships, came up with newes of peace. We then sailed for Iacatra, where by the way met vs seuenieen saile of goodly Flemish ships, with whom (had not the peace then come) we must haue fought it out. But peace being then concluded betweene the Flemmings and us, our English Factorie was againe settled at Iacatra; and the ships diuided, some for one place, some for another.
- 20 The fixe and twentieth of Aprill 1620. the Royall Iames, and a ship of some eight hundred Tunnes, called the Vnicorne, set saile for Iapan, the distance neere about a eleuen hundred leagues. The second of Iune 1620. The Vnicorne was cast away on the coast of China, neere a certaine Iland called the Macoio Iland. In the ship were two English women; both which, and all the men were saued: for they ran the ship neere the shore. Most part of all their goods they lost. As we sailed for Iapan at a place called Patanie, we heard of Captaine Iordayne, who being there with two ships, called the Hound, and the Samson, there came into the Rode and fought with them three Flemish ships: Captaine Iordayne was slaine in that fight, and the Flemmings tooke both their shippes. The seuenteenth of December 1620. The great Iames being well trimmed at a place called Firando in Iapan, came away from thence: and the fourteenth of Ianuarie 1620. we arriued safely at Iacatra, where she is now laden for England.
- 30 The ships that since my comming from England, haue beene taken and lost, are the Sunne, cast away neere Bantam; the Starre, taken neere Bantam; the Dragon, the Beare, the Expedition, and the Rose, taken at Tecoo; the Hound and the Samson taken at Patany; the Vnicorne cast away on the coast of China; two or three other ships taken and lost at the Moluccas.
- Men of good command, dead, are, Captaine Parker of Plymmouth, Sir Thomas Dale, Captaine Iordayne killed at Patany, Captaine Bonner killed at Tecoo while we were at Iapan. The Flemmings yeelded up againe the Starre to the English, and she is gone to the Moluccas.

Thomas Knowles.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Hollanders Declaration of the affaires of the East Indies: faithfully translated according to the Dutch Copy, Printed at Amsterdam, 1622.*

*Written in answeere to the former reports, touching wrongs done to the English. And an answeere written by certaine Mariners*

*lately published: with Depositions further opening the iniquity and crueltie of the Dutch.*

### §. I.

*A true Relation of that which passed in the Ilands of Banda, in the East Indies, in the yeere of our Lord God 1621. And before printed at Amsterdam 1622.*

- 60 **A**t the Ilands of Banda, from the tenth of August 1609. by a speciall treaty and agreement made with the Orankaves, or Magistrates of the foresaid Ilands, were put under the protection of the high and mighty, the States generall of the united Prouinces, on condition to defend them from the Portugall, and other their Enemies, provided that they of the said Ilands, are bound to deliuer vnto the Fort called Nassau, or vnto the Committees of the said Company, all their

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fruits or spices at a certaine price, and so forth, as by the said treaty of agreement more at large appeareth. These articles of agreement, being for a time by them performed, were afterward broken and violated, as well in keeping backe, and with-holding the said fruits and spices, which they were tyed to deliver to the Netherlands Company; as also enforcing and robbing their Ware-houses, and contrary to solemnne treaty and promise; murdering at sundry times and places, diuers of the principall Officers, Committees, and Seruants of the said Netherlands Company, in taking away diuers small Shippe prouision, their open invading of the places and Countries, withstood also lately under the subiection of the High and Mightie the States generall, and in conquering the inhabitants thereof, whom with a strong hand they forced from being Christians to become Moores againe, or those which withstood or gaine-said them, they sold as Slaues, and in committing all kind of peruerse wickednesse and trechery: during which passages and doings, there was againe certaine contracts on the aforesaid conditions agreed vpon, with the said Bandanefes, as in May, in the yeere 1616. by one of the Netherlands Commanders called Lam, and by their Gouvernour Generall Laurence Reall, in the yeere 1617. which indeed were shortly after broken and violated by the Bandanefes, and that through the animating by the English, who did openly ayde and assist the foresaid Ilands, and maintained them in warrage, the Netherlands Company with victuals, and Munition, great Ordnance, Men and Ships, thereby to with-hold from vs the fruits and spices, which the Bandanefes were tyed to deliver. In this wilfulnesse the Bandanefes continued, till in Iune 1620. Till that at Iacatra was published both amongst the English and the Netherlands Fleet, then riding there in the Road: the treaty concluded and agreed vpon, betweene his most excellent Maestie, the King of great Britaine, and the High and Mighty Lords the States generall, for to reconcile vpon certaine conditions, the English and Netherlands East India Companies.

The which Treaty, and by conference of handling concerning the Moluccaes, Amboyna, and Banda, all disputes and differences betweene the English and the Netherlands Company concerning the same, were to that time abolished, and a generall force of Shippes of Warre was ordained betweene them, for the defence of both Companies in their rights, and the commerce which they had obtained in the Indies.

The Reduction of the wilfull Bandanefes vnto the Netherlands Campe, was hindred a yeere or two, (through the actual proceedings which the English in Banda it selfe, since the yeere 1616. and afterwards in the yeere 1618. about the coast of Iaua, and whole India through) by open hostility did attempt: whereby the aforesaid Bandanefes being encouraged, and made bolder, did withdraw themselves wholly from under the subiection of the Castle of Nassaw, doing vnto vs and ours all wrong and hostility, and with-holding from vs their fruits (to say) Nutmegs & Mace, which they did not onely sell vnto the English, and to the Indians, but also to the Portugals, who are both their and our Enemies, with whom they seeke to make neerer alliance of friendship, as already in the great Iland named Banda, were come fiftie or threescore Portugals, who by some more assistance, considering the naturall force of the said Iland, would haue beene sufficient to haue deprived both the English and the Netherlands Company of the rights therein, and the fruits thereof, without hope hereafter to haue any redresse.

In regard of those inconueniences, after the publication of the contract that was made, the Generall of the Netherland Company, in the common Councell for defence, (consisting of Englishmen, and Netherlanders) propounded the necessity of the taking of Banda, as also the redressing and assuring of those Quarters, and of the trade in Amboyna and Moluccaes, to the which end, both the Companies according to the contract were bound together, to vse all the force and power that he could, for the preservation of the places, as much as concerned the trade, for both the Companies. And it appeareth by the Act made by those of the said Councell for defence, bearing date the first of Iauary 1621. it is noua, that the English Committees there declared, that the necessities of the businesse was well knowne vnto them; as also that they were very willing together with vs, to doe some common exploit: but for that as then, they wanted both power and meanes of men and ships, that they could not for that time furnish any thing towards the same: Whereupon, the Netherlands Gouvernour Generall declared, that with the particular power of the Netherland Company, he would take the same in hand, and effect it in such manner, as God should be pleased to prosper his proceedings.

And to that end, vpon the thirtieth of Iauary, the Gouvernour Generall went from Iacatra to Amboyna, where he arrived vpon the fourteenth of February. and from thence went to Banda, to the Castle of Nassaw, lying in the Iland Nero, vpon the seuen and twentieth of February 1621. In the meane time, one of the English Councell for defence, that had beene at Iacatra vpon the first of Iauary 1621. and was pruy to the contract made, lying then in Amboyna, when the Gouvernour Generall went from thence to Banda; sent Letters in our owne Ships to the Englishmen, lying in the small Iland Polaroon, and made knowne and discovered vnto those of Banda, in what manner the Generall of the Netherland Company, intended to assaile the great Iland of Banda: & when the said Gouvernour Generall was come to the Fort of Nassaw in Banda, he understood that the Englishmen in Polaroon, had added them of the Towne of Lantore in the great Iland of Banda, with foure Peeces of great Ordnance; and that if they had had longer time, that the entrance of the Generall of the Netherlands Army into Lantore Hauen, should haue beene let and withstood by a great battery. As also that some Englishmen, in Lantore, assisted these of Banda, ours, and (according to the contract) their enemies, both with counsell and force, encouraging them with their presence, & notwithstanding that the said Generall required the said Englishmen of Lantore



Lantore to leaue the Towne, for the causes and reasons aforesaid, as also for that they themselves, according to the Contract and Order made by the Counsell of Defence, before that time might not buy any Fruit in Moluccas, Amboina, and Banda, as after the publication of the Contract they may doe, and that onely together, and in common places with the Netherlanders, yet some few of them stayed still with them of Banda our common enemies. Notwithstanding also that the Governour generall protested, that he was not therein to be blamed, if by that meanes any hurt were done unto them, being among and with our common enemies, from whom they should and ought to haue separated themselves.

First, the Governours generall determined to assaile the great Island of Banda on the South side, (by some called Lantore, because the principall Towne is so called) by land in a place called Luchny, and to that end caused the ship called the Hart to anchor thereabouts, which lay not long there but it was shot at by an English Peece of Ordnance, whereby our men were forced to tow the said ship with a Galley from the shoare, and to leaue two Anchors and two Cables behind them, or else it had beene in great danger of sinking or burning, our men assuring vs, that an English Gunner had shot at them, and that they perfectly descried and saw him, although the Englishmen seeme to denie it.

Whereby altering of their first purpose, the Generall of the Netherlanders resolved to land upon the inward part of the Island of Banda, there to encamp themselves, and then to goe up upon the Hills, and there to plant their Ordnance, and to that end upon the eighth of March, 1621. landed with seuentene Companies betweene Comber and Ortatten, they marched along the shoareside, within the reach of three Peeces of great Ordnance lent then by the Englishmen, and not long before planted there, whereby if they had marched forward many of our men had beene slaine, and so wee should haue found no place there to encamp our selues, but the Enemy from the Hills would haue domineered ouer vs, no man knowing what counsell to giue, whereby wee might get up upon the Hills. The way whereon about three yeeres before wee had beene, being all intrenched, whereupon the Generall determined to enter againe into his ship with the whole Armie, to take another course. They of Banda not once pursuing after vs, but with flouting and mocking let vs goe, and so thinking thereby, that they had gotten the upper hand of vs, most part of them brought their wives and children againe into Lantore. After these two enterprizes, partly hindred by the English Ordnance, were in that manner crost. The Generall, for a third resolution, determined to assaile the great Island of Banda on both sides, that is, on the inner side of the Land with sixe Companies, and on the South side with ten Companies. That they on the inner side should land an houre before the others should land, by that meanes to draw the Enemy forth, and so to make place on the other side, while a Companie of chosen men should land on the North side, to climbe up upon the Hills, and others in other places of the Land should also bee in a readinesse, being three hundred and thirtie persons, whereof one hundred and fiftie were Musketiers, appointed for the manning and assuring of thirtie boats, which the said Companie would bring on the South side of the Island.

This was effected upon the eleuenth of March, and accordingly sixe Companies by breake of day, went on land betweene Comber and Ortatten. Captaine Voghel with certaine chosen Souldiers marching forward, who climbing up upon the Hills, found such resistance, that all their powder being spent, they were in great danger to be spoyled, but being well followed and seconded by the rest, the Enemy was forced to retire: and while this skirmish continued, the other ten Companies landing out of the said thirtie boats, went on shoare upon the South side of Banda, in a small Bay, some with Ladders, and others without, climbing up upon the Cliffes; and being gotten up, they marched to the backside of Lantore, without any resistance, but onely those that set upon the first Troopes, being some ten or twentie Musketiers, by whom one of our men was slaine, and foure or siue hurt, whereby Lantore was taken on the South side by the said ten Companies, while the other siue Companies skirmished with those of Banda upon the Hills, and as soone as Lantore was taken, those of Madiangi, Luchny, Ortatten, and Sammer, presently forsooke their Townes in the said Island. When they of Banda saw the aforesaid thirtie boats, they thought wee would haue sayled round about the Land, as wee had done three times before, whereupon making no reckoning of our landing, they were sodainly surprized by breake of day.

As soone as Lantore with the rest of the places aforesaid were won, the rest of them of Banda, namely Slamma, Comber, Owendender, Wayer, and those of the Islands of Rosinging, and Poolaroone, made composition with vs, which we granted upon condition, that they should breake downe their Forts and Walls, and giue vs their Shot, Peeces and Muskets, &c. Which by them being done, all of them together, according to their Contract and promises, yeilded to hold their Countries and Lands, of the Lords the generall States of the united Netherland Prouinces, promising to doe whatsoeuer they should be commanded, and acknowledge the said Lords the generall States for their Soueraignes, notwithstanding their former Oathes taken unto any others.

Those of Lantore and others being first overcome and vanquished, and that saued themselves among others of Banda, also asked pardon and sought for Peace, which was granted unto them upon the condition aforesaid, though they hardly held the same, and secretly sought to begin a new rebellion, and were commanded by the Generall to shew themselves all together upon the Strand, that they might be appointed in some other conuenient place to liue as fellow Citizens freely together, without the losse of their goods which they then had. Whereunto some of them obeyed, but the greatest part fled upon the high Mountaines in the great Island of Banda, to whom also many other Townes resorted, and slew a Netherland Merchant, one other, and a boy, where they were enclosed and hindred from victuals by our men.



By this meanes all the Townes and Places in Banda were won, and made sure, onely Poolarooke, which was not medled withall, because they of Banda therein behaved themselves peaceably, for the ayde, or rather the service of those of Poolarooke. The Englishmen planted nine Peeces of Ordnance upon a small Island in Poolarooke, having intrenched the same: and when those of Poolarooke, according to the composition, were to yeeld up their Armes, and disarm themselves, as they willingly did; yet our Generall did not once speake of those nine Peeces of Ordnance standing in the said small Island, because the Englishmen should have no cause to make any question, that our men had done any thing against their Fort or men.

The English Commander, Humfrey Fitz-Herbert, with his ship called the Exchange, lying before the Castle of Amboina, and having intelligence of the Generall of the Netherlands victorie in Banda, shot off fourteene Peeces of Ordnance for Ioy thereof. 10

This that is formerly declared, is the true state and proceedings of that, which hath beene done now lately, and before in the Island of Banda, wherein nothing hath beene done, but that which (according to the Law of Nations, and the aforesaid Contract, made, and promised to be holden, and without any wrong done to the Liberties of the English Companie, agreed upon with the Companie of the Netherland) might and ought to have beene done.

§. II.

An Answer to the Hollanders Declaration concerning the occurrents of the East India, contracted somewhat briefer then in the former Impression. 20

**H**ere was of late two Currents published, bearing date: the one, the eight of Februarie: the other, the eight and twentieth. In these two Currents sundrie, both incredible and intolerable wrongs and grievances were made knowne, which the Hollanders of the East Indies had inflicted and enforced vpon the English Companie of the East Indies. Since the printing of these two Currents, the Hollanders haue published a Pamphlet, entituled, *A declaration of the Affaires of the East Indies*. This declaration was published (as by the discourse may appeare) in answer of the two Currents aboue mentioned, for the whole scope of the declaration tendeth to no other end, but to iustifie their owne right in the East Indies, and thereupon to charge the English with wrongs done to them, that thereby the world might be made belecue, that whatsoever extremities or hard measures they offered to the English, they were vrge and prouoked thereunto by the vniust dealing of the English, and the wrongs first offered by them: howsoever the English prouoked the Hollanders in India, the Hollanders by this Declaration, doe vrge and prouoke the English to defend themselves against so false and fabulous slanders imposed vpon them. Is it not too much that the Hollanders most vniustly oppressed vs in India, but that they must proceed further to slander vs in England. *Maiores sunt fama & fidei damna, quam quae sarciri possunt*: The losse of a good name, the losse of trust and credite are losses irrecoverable. But thanks be to Almighty God, who doth alwayes protect the innocent. This Declaration of the Hollanders intended and published for our vtter vndoing and disgrace, offereth vnto vs, in two respects, both hope and helpe, thanks be to Almighty God, who hath conuerted Hamon his Galhouse intended against Mordochus, to his owne confusion, like as he hath suffered you to publish a Declaration to cut your owne throats. What could you deuise to write and publish, more opposite to what you intended; more to disgrace your selues, in conuincing you of fallhood; more to honour, acquit, and cleere the English, then this Declaration? All which shall manifestly appeare in the examination of your Declaration, which followeth.

To begin with the very first lines and page; you affirme, That all the Ilands of Banda, from the tenth of August, 1609. were by a speciall Treatie and agreement made with the Orankayas the Magistrates of the Ilands, put vnder the protection of the States of the Netherlands: how vntrue this is, let all men iudge; when as you confesse in the latter end of the first page, \* and in the beginning of the second, were afterward broken and violated; and that the Ilanders with-held their Fruits and Spices, that they enforced and robbed their Ware-houses, murdered at sundrie times and places, diuers of the principall Officers, Committies, and Seruants of the Netherlands companie, taking away their ships and prouision, what could the Hollanders say lesse then to pretend an agreement? and what or how could alledge and proue more directly to conuince themselves of vntruth then so plainly and largely confesse the recited hostilities, practised by the Bandanese against them: what an agreement could this be, where there was so great an auersion of the Ilanders minds, declared by the hostile deeds which they practised against the Hollanders; they might perhaps say there was a Treatie, but such hostile practices manifestly proue there could be no Agreement. 50

The Hollanders proceed further, from the yeere 1609. to the yeere 1616. where they speake of

\* Vnderstand the pages as they lie in the former impression.



of another Agreement concluded in May, by one of the *Netherlanders* Commanders called *Lam*. And another Agreement made by their *Gouernour* generall called *Reall*, in the yeere 1617. which they confesse were both shortly after broken by the *Bandanefes*: but how? Heere cometh in the maine matter; The *Bandanefes* rebelled through the animating of the *English*, who did openly ayde and assist them with Victuals, Munition, great Ordnance, Men, and Ships. It were necessarie that the *Hollanders* should set down the causes which moued the *English* to ioyne so farre with the *Bandanefes*, for the causes doe either lessen or aggravate the charge imposed vpon the *English*: they must either say, the *English* ayded the *Bandanefes* directly against the *Hollanders* without further respect, which they cannot proue; or they must alledge, which themselves in their Declaration doe proue, that the *English* did endeauor to defend them with whom they had free trade and trafficke; who louingly and with free consent sold to the *English* their Spices, &c. who put themselves vnder the protection of the *English*; who yeelded the Ilands of *Poolaway*, *Poolaroon*, and *Lantore*, vnder the obeysance of the King of *England*: which if they would they cannot denie, for they confesse that the *English* had mounted Ordnance vpon all these Ilands: why should the *English* plant their Ordnance vpon these Ilands, but to defend their Right; how could the *English* plant their Ordnance vpon the Ilands, but with free consent of the *Bandanefes*; at what time did the *English* plant their Ordnance in these Ilands of *Banda*? The *Hollanders* confesse, before they came to the Ilands; for they found them in the Ilands: now, where is the wrong that the *English* haue done the *Hollanders*? and in what? because the *English* did hinder the agreements so often made betwixt the *Hollanders* and the *Bandanefes*, why for eleuen yeeres the *Hollanders* confesse there was neuer any, as in the third page they say: In this wilfulnesse did the *Bandanefes* continue till in Iune, 1620. Thus hitherto it is plainly acknowledged, the *Hollanders* neuer had any landing, any Castle or Fort, any trading in the Ilands of *Banda*, but what was gotten by force and absolute constraint: If the *Hollanders* could proue so much for themselves, as they doe for the *English*; the *English* then might haue blushed for shame. In all this time that the *Hollanders* maintayned hostilitie with the *Bandanefes*, there is no mention made, that the *Bandanefes* euer offered any opposition against the *English*, or once denied them their Spices, but that they had trade and trafficke with them freely and friendly: now, if consent and prescription of time be the best claime the *Hollanders* would haue for the Ilands of *Banda*, why the *Englishmen* goe farre beyond them; the *Bandanefes* did neuer violate any agreement made with the *English*; they neuer kept any pretended agreement made with the *Hollanders*; the *Englishmen* in eleuen yeeres were neuer expelled; the *Hollanders* in all that time were neuer entertayned, but in all hostile manner; the *Englishmen* had offer at all times of Nutmegs and Mace; so had the *Hollanders* neuer at any time, but what they got by violence and compulsion; all which is acknowledged in the third page, and the beginning of the fourth. We passe ouer many acknowledgements and confessions of the *Hollanders*, because they all tend but to two ends; to iustifie themselves, and condemne the *English*; and because there is sufficient obseruation giuen, that in iustifying themselves, they disgrace themselves; and in practising to disgrace the *English*, they doe them great honour. But to deale plainly and truly, not to abuse the world with vntruths, nor to wrong the *Hollanders* without cause, we doe confesse; The *Bandanefes* made one famous agreement with the *Hollanders*, which we well remember, euen in that yeere in which they report they had made agreement with the *Bandanefes*. In Iune, 1609. after they had by force taken from them a Towne called *Neara*, and making them flee to the backside or the Coast, to a place which they called *Nassaw*: *Van Hooft* the Generall made shew of loue and friendship with the *Bandanefes*; which they perceiuing, and desirous to reuenge the wrongs and cruelties offered vnto them by the *Hollanders*, did dissemble their intents, entertayning *Van Hooft* with vaine hopes, promising him to come to some agreement; by which meanes they drew *Van Hooft* with threelcore or more of his Commanders and Souldiours, vnto a place in which the *Bandanefes* had aduantage. Now instead of agreement, in warlike manner they set vpon *Van Hooft*, and slew him and almost his Companie. This is the best agreement that wee euer knew or heard the *Bandanefes* euer made with the *Hollanders*, during eleuen or twelue yeeres. Presently after this, in Iuly after, Captaine *Bitter* who among all the Commanders escaped, when *Van Hooft* was slaine, attempted to surprize another Towne called *Slamma*; he was fought withall by the *Bandanefes*, and wounded in the thigh, of which wound he shortly died.

Where is now any wrong which the *English* hath done the *Hollanders*, except it bee a wrong to maintaine them, who with free and generall consent put themselves vnder the protection of the King of *England*? or a wrong to defend them, who willingly trafficke and trade with the *English*; or a wrong to maintaine that right which the *Hollanders* acknowledge the *English* had in the Iland of *Banda*: These bee all the wrongs which the *Hollanders* doe or can charge the *English* withall.

But now on the other side, what extreme wrongs doe the *English* charge vpon the *Hollanders*? In two Currents printed the eight of Februarie, and the twentieth eight, 1622. the *Hollanders* are charged with most barbarous and inhumane wrongs done to the *English*, all which they



they passe ouer in their Declaration without any answer at all, whereby in silence they cannot but pleade guiltie : to confesse them they are ashamed, and to denie them they cannot, but in their accustomed pollicie they seeke to auoyd them by way of insinuation, that the *English* deserued them in ayding and assisting the *Bandanefes* against them.

There were two Orators of *Athens* very great and inward friends, before the Iudges ; the one did accule, the other defend a Magistrate of *Athens*, whereupon the one Orator did challenge the other that he had dealt very vnkindly with him to defend his mortall enemy ; and thou as vnkindly with me, quoth the other, to accule my dearest friend.

This is iust the like challenge betwixt the *Hollanders* and the *English* : Why doe you say the *Hollanders* defend our greatest enemies ? And why doe you say the *English* oppose against our dearest friends ? Yet in this challenge there is a difference : for the *English* haue more cause to defend their friends, then the *Hollanders* haue cause to oppose against their enemies ; *Englishmen* haue a right by consent, *Hollanders* haue nothing but by constraint. Iust defence is more honest and honourable then vniust opposition is, either by Lawes of God or man warrantable.

To proceed on with the cruell and inhumane wrongs, done by the *Hollanders* to the *English*, by so much more barbarous and inhumane, by how much the *English* of all Nations in the world, did least deserue it. What, deserue any hard measures from the *Hollanders* ? To what Nation vnder the Coape of Heauen, are they so much bound as to the *English* ? Who hath fostered and nursed them vp to this greatnesse, but the *English* ? What Nation hath shed so much blood, lost the liues of so many gallant Captaines, Commanders, and Souldiers, to ayde and defend them as the *English* ?

What Nation hath lent them, and spent vpon them so much money and treasure, as the *English* haue done, when they were in their extremest weaknesse and pouertie ? When, and where did the *English* euer fayle them ? If for these causes, the *English* haue deserued at the *Hollanders* hands, to haue their ships taken, and made prize, their goods confiscate, and conuerted to their owne vses ; their Captaines, Souldiers, Factors, and Mariners, taken prisoners, held in miserable seruitude, clogged with yrons, kept in stockes, bound hand and foot, tied to stakes, haling and pulling them with ropes about their neckes, spurning them like dogs, throwing them headlong downe rockes and cliffs, killing, murthering, staruing, and pining them to death, enforcing them to carrie lime and stone for their buildings. Landing them amongst the Pagan people, without all prouision whatsoever, exposing them to the mercie of Miscreants, of whom notwithstanding they found better vsage then of the *Hollanders*. When as the *Hollanders* robbed and spoyled other Nations vnder the *English* Colours, pretending (to disgrace the *English*) that they were *Englishmen*, counterfeiting the Coyne of other Nations, charging the *English* with the same. Laying the *English* whom they held as prisoners aboue hatches, where the Sunne scorched them in the day, and where their ordures and pisse fell vpon them in the night ; till they grew more lothsome and filthie then Lepers, barring the *English*, as much as in them lay, from all commerce and trade in the *Indies*. As all these particulars are directly to be proued by men yet liuing, who either indured, or their eyes saw what is here reported, and will be ready vpon all occasions, either with their liues or oathes to iustifie for truth, what they haue indured, and what they haue seene with their eyes.

Let all the world iudge, whether *Englishmen* haue deserued these vsages at the *Hollanders* hands : Whereas some people either affected to the *Hollanders*, or thinking it too strange and monstrous, that Christians should domineere ouer Christians with such inhumane and barbarous cruelty, rather tyrannie, except the *English* had prouoked them heauily thereunto.

Let all such who harbour any such conceits, read and consider what is before answered to such obiections : the *Hollanders* in their Declaration being charged in the two first Currents, with many of these extreme wrongs inflicted vpon the *English*, they make no deniall of them : make a challenge that the *English* did ayde and assist the *Bandanefes* against them ; it hath formerly bene alleaged, and sufficiently proued, by their owne confession, that the *English* did not maintaine the *Hollanders*, by way of opposing the *Hollanders* ; but they did as much as in them lay, to defend the right of the King of *England*, they did defend that right which they had by consent ; they did defend that People, who did so freely and friendly trade and trafficke with them ; other causes then their so honest, so iust, agreeing with the Lawes of God, of Nature, and Nations, they neither doe nor can alledge any.

Some other inconsiderate people, who enuie the prosperitie of the East Indian Merchants will further say, to close with the *Hollanders*, that these extremities were offered in *India* onely, and no where else to the *English* ; for prooffe of the contrarie, wee of the East Indian Companie doe challenge all the Merchants which trauaile or trafficke East, West, North, or South, to deliuer their knowledge, what indignities they haue indured from the *Hollanders*, in *Turkey*, in the Straights, in *Musconie*, in *Groynland*, at *New-found-land*, and where not ; so that not onely the East Indian Companie hath onely cause to complaine : yea, they wrong *Englishmen* in their owne Seas at home, as is generally knowne. Now, because *Hollanders* may say, that they are charged with generalities without particular instances ; generall speeches being a

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common cause to aggravate causes, and be auoyded except the Generall bee proued by particulars, because they shall find that we cannot want of particulars out of infinite, there shall bee here following deliuered, some by men yet liuing, who haue both seene them, and endured them.

§. III.

*Relations and Depositions touching the Hollanders brutish and cruell vsage of the English.*

**I**N the Roade of *Patany* in the *East Indies*, the seuenteenth of Iuly, 1619. the two ships called the *Samson* and the *Hound*, riding there at Anchor, three ships of the *Netherlands* set vpon them with might and mayne, after five houres fight, eleuen of the men in the *Samson* were slaine out-right, and five and thirtie men of the same ship were wounded, maymed and dismembred, at this time Captaine *Iordan* was Captaine of the *Samson*, and did hang vp a flagge of Truce, and withall sent *Thomas Hackwell*, Master of the *Samson* to the *Netherlanders* to parlee about a peace.

The Examination of *Thomas Hackwell*, the five and twentieth of Ianuary, 1621.

*Thomas Hackwell being sworne and examined vpon certaine Articles ministred on the behalfe of the Right Worshipfull, the English Company of Merchants, trading to the East India aforesaid, saith and deposeth thereto, as followeth.*

**T**O the first of the said Articles he saith, & deposeth by charge of his oath, that in the road of *Patany* in the *East India*, vpon the seuenteenth day of Iuly, 1619. last past, the *Samson*, whereof this Examinant was Master, and the *Hound* belonging to the *English Company*, were forcibly assaulted by three ships of the *Hollanders* (viz.) The *Angell*, the *Morning Starre*, and the *Burgarboate*, whereof *Hendricke Iohnson* was Commander, and after five Glasses fight two houres and a halfe, eleuen of the said ship the *Samson*, her men beeing slaine out-right, five dismembred, and about thirtie otherwise wounded, Captaine *Iordane* being then in the said ship, the *Samson*, and Commander of her, caused a flagge of truce to be hung out; and sent this Examinant in the *Samsons* Boate aboard the *Flemmings*, to treat with them for a peace, and at the hanging out of the said flagge of truce, and when this Examinant left the said Captaine *Iordane* to goe aboard the *Flemmings*, he was well; but aboue halfe an houre after the said flagge of truce was so hung out, and this Examinant was in parlee with the *Flemmings* about the said peace, Captaine *Iordane* not expecting any violence from the *Flemmings* during the said parlee, shewed himselfe aboard the *Samson* before the maine Mast vpon the gratings, where the *Flemmings* espying him, most treacherously and cruelly shot at him with a Musket, and shot him into the bodie neere the heart, of which wound hee dyed within halfe an houre after. And this he saith by charge of his Oath.

To the second he saith, That after the said ships, the *Samson* and the *Hound* were surprised by the *Hollanders* in the said fight at *Patany*, as aforesaid, the greatest part of their men, by the command of the *Dutch*, were brought aboard the *Angell* their Admirall: and there notwithstanding, diuers of them in the said fight were much burnt with Gun-powder, and wounded with splinters, and thereby suffered miserable torment, yet they the said *Dutch* most vnchristianly and inhumanely caused and forced them to put their legges downe through the gratings, and so seized them, and tyed them to the Capsten Barres, insomuch that still as any man had occasion to goe and ease himselfe, his legges were so swelled by reason of the extraordinary hard tying of them, that the Carpenter was alwayes fetched to make bigger the holes, at which they were put downe to get out their legges againe. And this hee saith by charge of his Oath is most true.

To the third he saith, That he knoweth that the *Dutch* at *Iacatra*, doe cause all *China* men, residing and bartering there, to pay monethly fixe shillings vpon a head. or else you shall not sell any commoditie there to the *English*, and this he hath seene diuers of *China* men pay at *Iacatra*.

To the fourth he saith, That vpon the third day of March last was twelue moneth, aboard the new *Zealand* then riding in *Bantam* Roade, this Examinant, with three or foure others, did heare one *Clase Derickson*, then vpper steersman of the *Dutch* ship called the *Southern-Indraught* say, that the States in *Holland* had beene plotting that Warre betweene the *English* and the *Dutch* in the *Indie* seuen yeares before.

To



To this last Article is witnesse,

*Thomas Hackwell. William Shaples. Henry Backtasell. Bartholomew Churchman. Anthony Piccot.*

The Deposition of *Bartholomew Churchman*.

I doe affirme, that they haue many times termed vs slaues to the King of *Holland*, and that we should all be sent to the *Moluccas* to rowe in their Gallies, and so bee kept bond-slaues vnder them during our liues.

More I affirme, that they haue kept twelue of vs in a Dungeon at *Pooloway*; and foure and twentie at *Amboyna*, by the command of *Laurence Riall* then Generall, but now returned into *Holland*, where they pist and ( ) vpon our heads, and in this manner we lay, vntill such time as we were broken out from top to toe like Leapers, hauing nothing to eat but durtie Rice, and stinking raine-water, insomuch as if it had not beene for a *Dutch* woman, named *Mistris Cane*, and some poore *Blacks* that brought vs a little fruit, we had all starued in that place, as many of our Company did, besides the extremitie which they vsed to many others which they had in Prison at other Ilands wher they perished, leauing their Wiues and Children heere in *England* readie to starue for want of maintenance.

The names of the ten men which lay in *Pooloway*, are these:

*Bartholomew Churchman. Jacob Lane. Kellam Throgmorton. Matthew Willis. William Burris. Cassarian David. George Iackson. George Pettice. Walter Stacy. Richard Phillips.*

At *Amboyna*, *Richard Swanley*, *William Brookes*, and twelue more, whose names I well know not, nor cannot remember, put into a Dungeon, with fortie *Indians* all in a hole, hauing no place to eate themselves.

The last of October, 1617. *John Tucker* affirmeth: That the *Dutchmen* tooke the *Dragon*, the *Expedition*, the *Beare*, and the *Rose*, and deliuered onely the *Rose*, and that there being in the *Dragon* a Present from the King of *Achen* for the King of *England*, called by them a Creeze, (that is to say) a Dagger, which they doe detainne to this houre.

This is true, I vnder-written doe affirme, and testifie that it was not done by base Rogues (as they terme it) but some of the principall Commanders.

*John Tucker.*

After the taking of these ships, there were about three hundred and fiftie men set out of the foure ships which were on shoare, exposed vnto the mercie of the *Indians*, where they found more courtesie then of the *Hollanders*, otherwise they had all perished.

That all these abuses, and many more which wee haue formerly receiued by them, are true, we will maintayne vpon our oathes, and with our liues against any of their Nation, or others that shall gain-say this truth. Yet notwithstanding all this being (by the goodnesse of Almighty God) returned into our owne Country, we haue no satisfaction for these intollerable iniuries, nor any consideration for two thirds of our wages most barbarously kept from vs.

Articles of abuses done by the *Hollanders* at the Iland of *Moluccas*, and other places of the East Indies, as well against our Soueraigne Lord the Kings Maiestie; as also against vs, and other Englishmen, since the yeare of our Lord 1616, not only before the Peace, but also since, vntill the moneth of March 1620. that we came out of the Indies, in the good Ship called the *Iames*.

The second day of the moneth of February, in the yeare of the Lord, 1616. the *Swanne* was surprized and taken by the *Hollanders*, at the Ilands of *Banda*, and her men kept Prisoners till the eight and twentieth of Aprill following. At which time the *Hollanders* carryed five and twentie of the *English* to the *Moluccas*, where they were very hardly and inhumanely vsed, being fettered and shackled in the day time, and close locked vp a nights. And from the moneth of May, vntill the end of September, they were compelled to carrie stone and lime for the building of Forts there; which if any refused to doe, they were kept in Stockes and Irons till they would worke; and were notwithstanding also very hardly vsed for their victuals, insomuch that the one halfe of them dyed through their hard vsage.

When we were first taken, we were possessed of diuers goods, prouisions and meanes, wherewith to relieue our selues, which they presently tooke from vs, and left vs not so much as wherewith to couer our bodies.

Whereof when we complayned to *John Elias*, who was Lieutenant to one *Garret Derickson* in the *Trow*, hoping that he would haue had some commiseration of our miseries, and long lying in Irons, bad vsage for want of meate, drinke, lodging, and other things: The said *Elias* and the



therest of his Company did thereupon, and many other times say vnto vs, That hee cared not for vs, nor for any of our Countrey men; and that if they should take vs and hang vs vp, wee had our deserts: Yea, they vsed other grosse and base speeches, not fit to be spoken off.

We affirme, that the said *John Elias* and his Companie said, that they had little need of *Englishmen*; for they in *Holland* were able of a sudden to make and furnish twentie foure thousand of flat-bottomed Boates, such as *Parma* would haue landed vpon the *English* shoare in eightie eight. And also said, that they had of their owne Nation and Countrey men, at the least fortie thousand strong in *England*, that presently, vpon the least occasion, would rise in Armes, and bend their forces speedily againt vs in our owne Countrey.

10 We affirme, that *Laurence Riall*, who was their Generall, caused Grates and Cages to bee made in their ship, and did put vs therein, and carryed vs in them bound in Irons from Port to Port amongst the *Indians*, and thus in scornfull and deriding manner and sort spake vnto the *Indians* as followeth: Behold and see, heere is the people of that Nation, whose King you care so much for. But now you may hereby plainly behold how kindly wee vse his Subiects; making them beleue that *Englishmen* were their Vassals and Slaues.

Besides all this, they kept many of vs fast bound and fettered in Irons, in most loathsome and darke stinking Dungeons, and gaue vs no sustenance, but a little durtie Rice to eate, and a little stinking raine-water to drinke. So that many of our *English* fainting in their sights, for want of competent sustenance or other lodging at their hands: for want whereof many dyed, who were fetcht out of the Dungeons, and so basely buried, more like Dogges then Christians.

20 About the fift of May, in the yeare of our Lord 1619. we hauing ouer-passed many hungrie dayes, and cold nights Lodging, in cold Irons and darke Dungeons, and thinking it not possibly able for vs to endure those miseries any longer, made meanes that some of vs came to *John Peter Socoma*, their Generall that now is, and desired his Lordship (which Title hee duly looks for in the East *Indies*) that he would consider of our extreame wants and miseries, and helpe vs to some better sustenance. And further we desired him, that he would be so much our friend, as to ease vs of our Irons but for the day time: Whereupon the said Generall most wickedly replied with base speeches, and bade vs bee gone, and trouble him no more; for if wee did, hee would cause vs all to be hanged speedily. So that we were forced to returne from whence wee came with heauie hearts, hauing no hope but in the Almighty, to whom wee prayed to turne their hearts, and to release vs of our miseries.

30 Vpon the thirteenth of May, in the yeare of our Lord 1619. the *Dutch* went ashore at *Iapara*; and there they wickedly and maliciously burnt downe the Towne and the *English* House there, and from thence forcibly tooke away the *English* Flagge, and in great disclaime of our Countrey trayled our Flagge after them in the dirt through the Towne, and towed it aboard their ship at their Boats sterne; but what they did with it afterwards, we know not.

Vpon the eighteenth day of the moneth of Nouember, and in the yeare of our Lord God, 1619. they tooke one *Bartholomew Churchman*, and clapt him vp in Irons, and set him where he sate in the raine and cold stormes of the night, and in the day time where the hot Sunne shone vpon him, and scorched him, without any shelter at all: and this they did to him, only because hee stricke a base fellow that spake such words against our late Queene *Annes* Maiestie, as are not fit to be repeated: which words, as also diuers other which they spake against our dread Soueraigne, we dare not relate, as being too odious to be vsed in a subiects mouth touching his Prince: Howbeit, might licence and freedome of speech bee granted vs, to make knowne the base slanderous and detracting speeches of that Nation against our King and Countrey, that wee might not incurre any danger of his Maiesties displeasure by the repeating them, it would sufficiently make knowne the pride and crueltie of that people, who did not then let to say that they made no account of our King, nor any of his subiects.

The seuenteenth day of the moneth of March, and in the yeare of our Lord God euerlasting, 1619. their Gouvernour of the *Moluccas* gaue order for the release of the *English* there, and appointed thirtie of them to be carried to *Amboynas*, from thence to be sent into *England* or *Holland*. But the Gouvernour of *Amboynas*, perceiuing them to bee arriued, hee vtterly refused to discharge them, and forced them to serue in their three ships, that went to the *Manelees* as men of warre, which if any refused to doe, they were to rowe in their Gallies chained like vnto slaues; in which Voyage to the *Manelees*, fourteene of our men went in the Saint *Michael*, which were lost, and neuer since heard on, whose names doe follow: *Geroge Trigges*, *John Edwards*, *James Welch*, *John Crocket*, *William Nichols*, *Robert Gilbert*, *Matthew Gilbert*, *Giles Lipscombe*, *Arthur Tap*, *Edward Parker*, *William Vese*, *John King*, *John Ouer*, and *William Smith* Chirurgion.

60 We affirme, that they hauing *Arrian Ellis*, *Edward Reade*, and *William Powell*, three *Englishmen* Prisoners, in their ship called the *Bantam*, they chained them in Irons, and layed them in the Beake-head, straitly prohibiting all others to come neere them, to giue them any other food then their allowance, which was so small that meere hunger compelled those three Prisoners to throw the Dice who should cut each others throat; and so they did throw the Dice to that

Here diuers words are committed as too odious against filthy fumes of *Dutch* Drinke.

3.

4.

5.

6.

*Iapara*, the crueltie there.

7.

8.

*Amboynas* crueltie.

9.



that end, but were disclosed before any of them were slaine, so that they were thereupon sundred, and sent into other ships.

10. They haue taken our men, and without any cause haue stripped and whipped them openly in the Market place; they haue also beaten vp their Drumme, and called the *Blackes* together to see it done.

11. They will not suffer vs to weare or spread in our *English* houses, in those parts where they haue any command, any Colours that are our Kings Colours.

The Copie of a Letter sent vnto the *Dutch* in the East Indies, from their *English* 10  
Captiues at the Iland of *Monoboca*, the nineteenth day of March, 1618.  
and deliuered vnto Captaine *William Iohnson* Commander of the *Angell*.

Consideration in things of difficultie is requisite: and therefore much requisite in these our unchristian-like miseries. But because this hath beene but sleightly respected, wee are now resolved to tell you of all your perfidiousnesse. First, Grippe got aduantage to surprize our ships, and made a vow, not to touch life nor goods in any sort. But since the contrarie hath beene so much proued, that Grippe and his confederates are now seene to be forsworne, as shortly after their actions did shew, in taking away euen those things, which with their consent we did saue, and bring aboard your ship called the *Trow*. 20

At that time we being indunged at Pooloway, (besides all the Pagan-like vsage of that cruell man, Laurence Riall) we were by Van Hoofe kept in such extreme miserie, with stinking water, and Rice halfe full of stones and dirt (scarce able to keepe life and soule together) that had not Derickson van Lam granted the *English* at Poolaroon free access to Pooloway to bring vs reliefe, wee had beene all ere this time starued for want. But we passed away that time in expectation of better fortunes, which you haue all from time to time promised: yet now againe our miseries are thrice redoubled, for since we came to this place, you haue not onely vsed vs most basely in other things, but also haue taken away from vs euen that poore sustenance, which we bought with our moneys: and this hath beene done by that enuious man the Master, whom your Commanders doe suffer to be their Commander, rather then their Inferiour. If you consider all his actions, the refreshing which we haue bought hath beene but small, that is to say, foure small Hennes and Cockes, and euen them hath the Master taken away, and eaten them in the great Cabbin, which dealing of his, if it be Christian-like, we referre it to your owne discretion: and now at last, for a small cause or nothing at all, to be thus handled, is a ten times worse affliction, then euer was inflicted upon vs, for to chaine vs up like so many Dogs, and to let vs lie in the raine and storms of the night, without any shelter, which is also brought to passe by the Master. For (Commander) we considering your gentlenesse, so that you can dispense with rigour: Therefore that miserie that we indure is not by your meanes, but by the Masters, and theirs that bee of his mind: and this is of a truth, that euen your Hogs after their kind, lye a-nights dryer then we after our kind, being Christians: and our griefe is the more, because your men of the Blacke Lion, being taken by our *English*, were vsed like men, and we like abiects of the world, to be thus vsed like dogs, being Subiects to the Kings Maestie of England, and in good respect with our Employers. But GOD that is aboue all, knowes all, and in his good time will remedie all. Thus much we haue thought good to certifie vnto you, not in the way of imprecation, for that we see is vaine, but only that you may know, we now neuer looke to come alieue out of your hands: for by all manifest appearance, you seeke to take euen our liues from vs: and this shall be a true argument of our griued hearts, witnessing to all men, how unchristian-like we haue beene and are vsed by you: for in all this we haue not expressed the tenth part of your cruelty; yet we hope, that for this time it shall be a sufficient light vnto you, for that which hath beene from time to time practised by you against the *English*. Given at the Iland of *Monaboca*, the nineteenth of March, 1618. 40

A top for  
Cerberus.

Subscribed by Cassarian Dauid, Bartholomew Churchman, 50  
and George Pettys.

Vpon the receipt of this Letter, wee three afore-named were layed in yrons for eightene moneths following, with such barbarous vsage as is not to bee imagined to bee vsed amongst Christians.

Vpon the newes of the taking of our two ships called the *Samson* and the *Hound* in *Parania* Road, Hendricke Ianson the Commander of three ships, viz. the *Angell*, the *Morning Starre*, and the *Burger-boat*, sent a Letter by the vpper Steref-man of the *Starre*, (who had but one arme) to their Generall Iohn Peter Sacone then at *Iacatra*, of the taking of our two ships; He, the said Sacone then said, you haue now, Hendricke Ianson, giuen me good satisfaction, in that Captaine Iordayne is dead: and at his returne thither gratified him with foureene hundred Guilders in a chaine of gold, putting it himselfe about his necke, not leauing any one vnrewarded, that had beene at the taking of our two ships, and one hundred Pieces of eight to him that shot him, not.



notwithstanding our Flag of truce was hung out. Wee affirme also that the said Generall *John Peter Sacone*, vpon the newes brought him by a ship called the *Hart*, from the Coast of *Carmandele*, of the death of Sir *Thomas Dale*, then said; *Dale* is dead, and *Iordaynes* blood I haue, if I had *George Cockins* life to, I were then satisfied.

*An Answer to obiections made by the Hollanders, that the English were the cause of the first breach in the East Indies.*

10 **W**Hereas the *Hollanders* affirme that Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Captaine *Iordayne* were the prime cause of all the differences betwixt the two Companies. This wee affirme and can prooue, that both Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Captaine *Iordayne* were both in *England* when the *Defence* and the *Swan* were taken; and also that very inhumanly they tooke the *Defence*\*, when for reliefe being put from their Anchor at *Poolaroon* in a storm, they came into one of their Harbours for succour. They tooke the ship, and detayned her men prisoners; likewise in rescue, we following, they tooke a Pinasse of ours called the *Speed-well*; going to *Iacatra*, one of our men they flew, and the rest they layed in Irons as prisoners, amongst which one *Richard Tayler* Carpenter of the said Pinasse, who at that time had the bloody fluxe, who dying in their hands in Irons, they tooke the dead carkasse of the said deceased, and put him into a bush, with his head downward, and his heeles vpward, and said in most barbarous manner, that there was a  
20 *Stert-man*, (that is, a man with a tayle) with his heeles vpward; and there his carkasse rotted in the bush.

I would demand of them where Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Captaine *Iordayne* were, when they tooke the *Salomon* and the *Attendance*, it is to be proued, they were then comming out of *England*, hardly cleere of the Coast, when they tooke both these ships, vpon faire terms of Composition; namely, with promise to giue vs our liues, goods, and libertie. They robbed vs of all our goods, and kept vs in lamentable manner in Irons, some of vs three yeers, some more, some leile: in which wofull miserie many of our Companie ended their dayes lamentably; for in trueti, they neuer kept any faith, oath, or promise with vs at all, but most proudly, disdainfully, and cruelly demeaned themselues towards vs.

*Bartholomew Churchman.*

1616.

Febr.

\* See the story before (supposed for what orthographic) by Spurnay and Courtois.

1617.

1619.

25. March.

CHAP. XIII.

*A pithie Description of the chiefe Islands of Banda and Moluccas, by Captaine HUMPHREY FITZ-HERBERT in a Letter to the Companie.*

*Right Worshipfull,*

40 **I**t remaineth that before I leaue these Easterne parts, I note vnto you some particulars obserued this Voyage in *Banda*, *Amboyna*, and the *Moluccas*: which although I easily belecue are well knowne vnto you alreadie, yet as of the letters of the Alphabet well knowne to all men, many vknowne words be composed; so these noted things, either in respect of the time, the matter, or the manner of the deliuerie, may bring some thing againe to your necessarie remembrance, to your wise fore-knowledge, or to your further consideration. Leauing *Iapparra* and *Maccassar*, I will betake my selfe to the barrenest place of the Iles of *Banda*, that is, to *Gonah-pee*, at the top yeelding nothing but cinders, fire, and smoake; on the surface below, woods without water or fruit for the sustenance of the life of man: neuertheless being seuered from  
50 the Iland *Nero* but by a very small channell, they together with *Lantore* on the other side doe make a very faire and spacious Harbour. This Iland is very subiect to Earthquakes, which doe trouble all other the Ilands also, and make the ships in the Road to totter and tremble againe. Since the surprizall of *Nero* by the *Dutch*, there being a fearefull Earthquake, the said Hill cast forth such hideous flames, such store of cinders, and huge steames, that it destroyed, burnt, and brake downe all the thicke woods and mightie trees, ouerwhelming them as it were her owne vomiting, so that a greene leafe could not be seene in all that part of the Iland: nor did *Nero* escape these hellish blasts, which blew these steames and cinders into the Cattle and  
60 Countrey neere adioyning, in such abundance, that it inuited all men that saw it to her funeral, burnt vp all the fruit trees, and couered all the Countrey about it, and had like to haue sunke the ships in the road. It is credibly reported by those that saw it, the violence was so great, that it carried stones of three or foure tunnes weight from the one Iland into the other, and into the Road.

*Gonahpee* one of the *Banda* Ilands with a burning top.

Earthquakes.

One most hideous and horrible.

M m m m

The



Nera.

The Castle *Nera* standeth close on the water-side in the plaine, it is faire, large, and strongly built; but weakly situate, by reason of the rising of the hill to the landward: within lesse then Musket shot it hath a hillocke higher then it by at the least twentie fathome, which doth command it at pleasure. To preuent which mischiefe, the *Dutch* haue built thereon a small Fort, but in vain, the same being vnder command of another, aswell as the former. The Castle is a matter of great charge, both in respect of it selfe, as also in respect of the Souldiers; and altogether vn-necessarie, but for dwelling houses and Magazines; the other Fort being great enough, and strong enough for the defence of this place. Here is in this Castle about fortie Peeces of Ordnance; in the other, some eight or ten, the most of brasse. The *Dutch* haue not receiued the fruit of this Iland since their comming thither, being alwayes ouer-mastered by the *Blacks*, both by sea and land: but the gayning of *Lantore* hath made all things quiet now. I pray God make it profitable hereafter.

Cast's weakly situate.

Lantore.

*Lantore* is the greatest and richest Iland of all the Iles of *Banda*, strong, and almost inaccessible, as it were a Castle: there is scarce a tree on the Iland but beareth fruit. The *Bandanefes* left it for want of militarie pollicie: but he must haue a pollicicke pate (I beleue) that gayneth it againe. The Towne is situate on the brow of a sharpe hill, the ascent as difficult as by a ladder: while they stood peeuisly to the defence thereof to the Roadwards, the *Dutch* landed with much adoe on the other side of the Iland, and surpris'd them at vnawares. Right ouer the Towne the *Dutch* haue built a Fort on the top of the hill to preuent the like inconueniences, as also to keepe the same in better subiection. It is but small, and while I was there, the foundation scarcely finished. If the *English* had come thither a moneth or fixe weekes before the *Dutch* made this spitefull expedition, I dare auouch it, they might haue neere laden the best ship your Worships haue in *India* with Nutmegs and Mace from these Ilands.

Pooloway.

None but rain water.

The Castle.

Poolaroone.

\*Coen the chief Commander of the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, whose fastigious Titles may seeme fastidious to an eye not altogether euill: and follow, as I haue seene a copie of them, I know not whether needing a *Demonstratus* or *Heralclitus*; whether to be ranked with *T. Coriat*, *sup. l. 4. c. 17.* or with some of the long-styled Emperours. Besides these Ilands of *Banda* here named, are reckoned *Resing*, *P. Maon*, *P. Capal*, *P. Sangy*, *Neilackey* &c. *Amboyna*.

A little Isthmus.

Three Vintages.

Raritie in Nature.

Strange Spring.

*Pooloway* is the Paradise of all the rest, entermitting pleasure with profit. There is not a tree on that Iland but the Nutmeg, and other delicate Fruits of superfluitie; and withall, full of pleasant walkes, so that the whole Countrey seemes a contriued Orchard with varieties. They haue none but raine-water, which they keepe in Iarres and Cisternes, or fetch it from the abouenamed Ilands, which is their onely defect. The sea shoare is so steepe, that it seemeth, Nature meant to reserue this Iland particularly to her selfe. There is but one place about the whole Iland for a ship to anchor in; and that so dangerous, that he that letteth fall his Anchor seldom seeth the weighing of it againe: besides hee incurreth the imminent dangers of his ship. How this Iland was won by *Derrick Lam*, or lost by *Capitaine Castleton*, I cannot well relate. It hath on the Easterne side a faire and strong Castle, a regular *Pentagonon* well fortified, and furnished with all manner of prouisions and Souldiers, and is held to bee the strongest Castle the *Dutch* haue in the *Indies*, and the most pleasant residence.

*Poolaroone* (in imitation of her sisters the other Ilands) is turned *Dutch*. There was in her neither pleasure nor profit, yet the ambitious King *Coen* hath made a conquest of her chastitie. The Ciuill Law denieth a violent rape to be incontinencie, because although the bodie be forced, the minde may yet bee free. Recall her againe, and right this vnciuill outrage by your wife and ciuill censure: although the benefit (which is not to be contemned) bee diuided into shares, yet we hope, your Worships will keepe and enioy to your selues the disposing and distributing alwayes of your owne.

*Amboyna* sitteth as Queene betweene the Iles of *Banda* and the *Moluccas*; shee is beautified with the fruits of seuerall Factories, and dearly beloued of the *Dutch*: which the better to declare, they say they would giue thirtie millions there were no Cloues but on that Iland onely. *Neptune* is her darling, and entertayned in her very bosome, it seemeth that the Water and the Earth are agreed together in vnitie: for at the bottome of the Bay, with one hundred Pioners in seuen dayes, of one Iland it may be made two. It is not about a Flights shot from full sea marke on the one side, to full sea marke on the other side: nor is the sandie Plaine raised a fathome about the of the horizon; insomuch they glide their Prawes and Coracories by maine force from one sea to the other. It is plentifully stored with Fruit, Fish, and fresh water: nor is there any great want of Flesh. Their Vines both of *Banda*, *Amboyna*, and the *Moluccas*, are pruned thrice a yeere, and euery pruning hath his vintage. A raritie it seemeth to me, in nature, I saw in the Woods of this Iland a Plant, or Tree, or neither, or whether I shall call it, I know not, in substance much like to the bodie of our Iuie, in forme like a halser of five or six inches, in length five or six fathoms, bare without sprig or sprout, the one end fast in the ground, the other fixed to the limbe of a great Tree, a fathome and better distant from the bodie thereof, and so perpendicular, that it is very disputable whether it growes vp from the ground, or from the limbe of the Tree to the ground: this rope is of firme solid wood without any concauitie, and yet it yeeldeth excellent good, faire and sweet water, and as fresh as from the Fountaine; nor doth it herein admit any distinction or difference, vnlesse it be the more delicate, according to your companies cut more or lesse thereof, distributing euery one the quantitie of two foot or thereabouts, and they shall haue sufficient; for euery piece will runne to the value of a pinte or thereabouts, and that in an instant; a strange refreshing to those that trauaile those high and drie moun-



mountaines, as my selfe did find by good experience, the Castle of *Amboyna* is quadrangular, The Castle well moted and fortified with men and munition, and hath in it about Peeces of Ordnance. The *Dutch* have reduced into order the two rebellious Factories, and the people begin to plant anew, insomuch that they expect within these few yeeres the fruit will be to th at it is at present. Your Worships shall herewith receiue the Draught of this Iland, and the adioyning Factories set out at large after the *Dutch* fashion, which maketh not mole-hills of Mountaines.

10 *Bachan* is accounted amongst the Ilands which are more properly called the *Moluccas*, and is the greatest of them all; it is called great *Bachan*, there is another neere adioyning called old *Bachan*. In great *Bachan* the *Dutch* haue a Factorie and Castle, which venting some Commodities doth yeeld them Boords, Planks, and Masts for any ship whatsoever; it is the fruitfullest of all the Ilands of all the *Moluccas*, and the cheapest. The King keepeth neere the Castle without about three hundred persons, the rest being fled to themountains & other Ilands. The *Dutch* Merchant and others told me for certain, that for want of people the Clones lye on the ground three or foure inches thicke in some places: so as it may be truly said of this place, the Haruest is great and the gatherers few; nor doe I thinke that the *Dutch* doe desire many. The Castle is but small yet strong enough for this place, and contayneth fourteene Peeces of Iron Ordnance, small and great, &c. This is a very good Harbour.

Great *Bachan*.

Old *Bachan*.

The Castle.

20 *Machan* the next in order, mounteth her tops about the Cloudes in manner of a Cone, and admits no plaines within the circuit of her Confines. It is a very fertile Iland, and yeeldeth to the *Dutch* the greatest Reuenue of all the rest of the *Moluccas* Ilands. It hath three Factories with their Forts in Triangle position; the chiefeest is *Noffaquia* which yeeldeth most Spice, but venteth lesse Merchandize. The second is *Taffajobo*, which venteth more Merchandize, and receiueh lesse Spice. The third is *Tabbalolo*, which yeeldeth lesse Spice, and venteth lesse Merchandize. The Road where the ships take in their goods is at *Noffaquia*; at the other places there is no riding: this Castle also is the strongest; they are all seated high about the water, and the way vnto them is steepe and difficult, and therefore to the Sea-wards very strong, but to the Land-wards are commanded euery way.

*Machan*.

*Noffaquia*.

*Taffajobo*.

*Tabbalolo*.

30 There is in this Iland a Cloue Tree differing from all other in its fruit; which is called *The Kings Cloue*, much esteemed by the Countrey people both for the varietie, as also for the goodness; nor is there any other but this in all the *Moluccas*; they are not to be bought for any money, but are giuen abroad to friends by handfuls and halfe handfuls: what fell to my lot your Worships shall receiue together with an exact draught of all the *Dutch* Castles in the *Moluccas*.

Strange Cloue Trees.

*Moty* makes haste to follow *Machan*, in forme, height, and fruitfulness; but not in her Reuenues: nor is shee equall to her in greatness. The *Dutch* hath one onely Factorie vpon this Iland, which is called by the same name, it yeeldeth but little fruit, and venteth lesse Merchandize: here *Venus* and Voluptuousnesse haue their habitation through idlenesse. Thus much by the report of others, for I was not there to see it my selfe.

*Moty*.

*Oria stollas pte*

*riere Cupidinis*

*arcus.*

*Tydore*.

40 *Tydore* doth taxe the *Dutch* for leauing her wholly to the Spaniards, and destroying the Fort called the *Marieca*. This Iland is great and rich in Spice as any, but because I had not landed here, I referre you to the Draught thereof, and of *Ternate*, herewith sent to your Worships for further notice.

*Ternate*.

*Ternate*, the greatest of these Ilands is the seat of Dissention betweene the Spaniard and the *Dutch*. The chiefeest place for the *Dutch* is *Malaijo*, neere vnto which is *Tallooko*, and on the Northside of the Iland is *Tycoome*, which should haue bene destroyed with the rest. *Gamolamo*, *Dangile* and *Saint Lucie* are the Spanish Forts, betweene which is *Calamasca* seated as a Frontier Fort of the *Dutch*, which should also haue bene destroyed; the whole both concerning the Iland and those Forts will better appeare by the Draught thereof, herewith sent your Worships inclosed in a *Bamboo*, &c.

50 Aboord the Royall Exchange in the Road of  
Iacatra, the 18. of October, 1621.

Your Worships to command,

Humfrey Fitz-herbert.

Because the Authour calleth *Coen* an ambitious King, you may see the occasion of it in the Titles which hee assumeth, and are imposed on him; as I haue seene them written: intituled by himselfe in his Proclamation for censing or imposing of Customes at *Iacatra*, in this manner, viz.



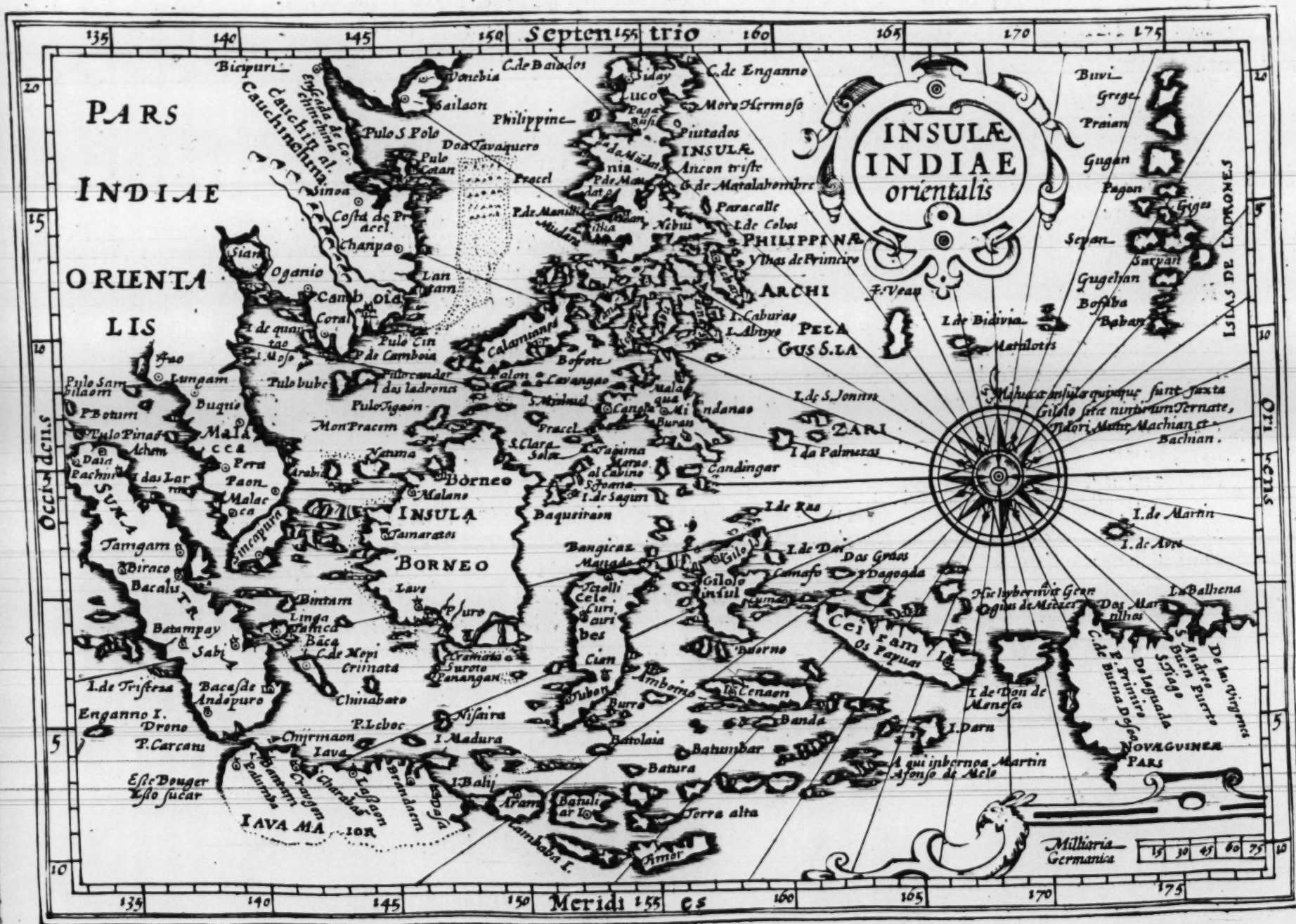
**I**ohn Peeterfon Coen Gouvernour Generall ouer all the Lands, Ilands, Townes, Forts, Places, Factories, Ships, Pinnasses, Shallops, and Men, as also of the whole Trade and Commerce in India, on the behalfe of the High and Mightie Lords the States generall, his Princely Excellencie, and others the priuiledged Committees of the vnitied Netherlands East India Company. To all those to whom this present Writing shall come, greeting. We taking into our consideration, after the Conquest of the Kingdome of Iacatra, &c.

10

By the Queene of Patanie, sending her Ambassadour vnto Him: He was stiled,

The great, strong, and mightie King of Iacatra, and of twelue Castles; Commander of all the Seas vnder the Winds, Iohn Peeterfon Coen.

**I**f I had beene able to haue giuen thee also those Draughts, Reader, thou shouldest haue had them. But such as I haue, giue I vnto thee; namely, this of *Hondius*, meane and obscure enough, 20  
I had another farre better sent out of the Indies, but partly the cost, and partly doubt to displease haue delayned the publishing.





## CHAP. XIII.

Three severall Surrenders of certaine of the Banda Ilands made to the Kings  
Maiestie of England, faithfully translated out of Malahan into Eng-  
lish; with a Voyage also annexed of Sir HENRY  
MIDDLETON.

10 The Contents of the Surrender of the Ilands of *Pooloway*, and *Poolaroone*,  
in *Banda*, to His MAIESTIE.

**H**is Writing is for the agreement betweene all the *Orankayas* of *Pooloway*, and  
*Poolaroone* also, and the *English* in manner as followeth, That whereas in the  
time that *Pooloway* was not yet surprized by the *Hollanders*, the people of *Poolo-*  
*way* and *Poolaroone* had surrendred the two foresaid Ilands vnto the King of Eng-  
land, and had giuen ground to *Richard Hunt* Merchant there, withall setting vp  
the King of *England* his Flagge vpon the Castle of *Pooloway*, and shooting  
three Peeces of Ordnance in token of the Couenant of the men of *Pooloway* and *Poolaroone*,  
betweene the *English* and them, when they did surrender the two foresaid Ilands to the King  
20 of *England*, and had giuen ground to the *English*, being done before the surprize of *Pooloway*,  
eight dayes: and after that, it was taken by the *Hollanders*. And whereas at that time there  
were but two *Englishmen* vpon *Pooloway*, of weake defence, who beeing not able to doe the  
Countrey any good, went away to *Poolaroone*, together with the men of *Pooloway* in one small  
Praw, who had brought away with them Earth and Writings for the establishing of Couenants  
betwixt them and the men of *Poolaroone*: Therefore now the two foresaid Ilands are in the  
hands of the King of *England* only according to our Surrender. But whereas at this time through  
the Assaults of the *Hollanders*, *Pooloway* is fallen into their hands and Possession, if it shall please  
his Maiestie to recouer it vnto himselfe againe, hee shall doe therein nought but Iustice, because  
the Inhabitants thereof haue absolutely surrendred it vnto Him: and if his Maiesties pleasure  
30 be to the contrary, let it be as shall seeme best in his Highnesse iudgement. But this is sure that  
we the men of *Pooloway* and *Poolaroone*, haue surrendred the two foresaid Ilands vnto his Maie-  
sties power and cannot goe from, or reuolt our word againe, euen to the last day, and hauing  
linked our selues with the *English* in one bond to liue and dye together. Furthermore all the  
men of *Pooloway* and *Poolaroone* doe couenant to send euery yeere to the King of *England* a  
branch of Nutmegs, in token of their designs, desiring that this offer of all the *Orankayas* of  
*Pooloway* and *Poolaroone*, being once offered out of their true loue vnto the King of *England*, bee  
not had in oblivion or reiected.

And whereas King *James* by the grace of God is King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ire-*  
*land*, is also now by the mercy of God King of *Pooloway* and *Poolaroone*. Moreouer, wee doe all  
of vs make an agreement that the Commodities in the two foresaid Ilands, namely, Mace and  
40 Nutmegs, we cannot nor will sell to any other Nation, but only to the King of *England* his  
subiects, according to the true meaning of our Couenants and surrendring of the two foresaid I-  
lands to his Maistie, with all that is (in) them to be solely at his disposing, which is and shall be  
the reason that we cannot trade with any others. And whereas all the *Orankayas* of the two  
foresaid Ilands haue made this agreement, let it be credited that it was not made in madnesse or  
loosely as the breathing of the wind, but because it was concluded vpon in their hearts, they  
cannot reuolt or swerue from the same againe. Moreouer, all we together doe desire of his Ma-  
iestie that such thing as are not fitting in our Religion, as vnreuerent vsage of women, mayn-  
tayning of Swine in our Countrey, forceable taking away of mens goods, misse-vsing of our  
50 men, or any such like that are excepted against in our Lawes, that they be not put in practice,  
being out of our vse and custome; that they may not proue a blemish vnto our Religion, and  
that we may receiue no occasion to deale vnkindly with the *English*. Furthermore, if any *Eng-*  
*lishman* will become of our Religion, wee will accept of him vpon counsell: or if any of our  
people will become a Christian, he shall bee so likewise vpon like counsell, desiring this pro-  
mise that such things be not done in such manner as may breed discontent betwixt vs and the  
*English*, which we doe very earnestly desire of his Maiestie. Finally, at this time all the *Oran-*  
*kayas* of *Pooloway* and *Poolaroone*, doe againe make a Couenant with *Nathaniel Courtisop*, Cap-  
taine of the two ships riding here, *Sophon Cozocke*, and *Thomas Spurway* giuing ground and sur-  
60 rendring the two foresaid Ilands vnto the King of *England*, being alreadie partly in the hands  
of *Nathaniel Courtisop*, *Sophon Cozocke* and *Thomas Spurway*, and that not only now, but as being  
done long since when Captaine *Castleton* went from *Pooloway* with foure ships, all the *Oran-*  
*kayas* of the two foresaid Ilands, hauing agreed with *Richard Hunt* Merchant of *Pooloway*, with

This was trans-  
lated by *Robert*  
*Hayes*, the se-  
condient out  
the *Indies* so  
translated: the  
third by *Robert*  
*Hayes*.



all hauing set the King of England his Flagge vpon the Castle of Pooloway, and shot off two peeces of Ordnance in token of the Couenant betwenne the Orankayes of Pooloway, and Poolaroone, and the English: and as it hath beene done heeretofore, so at this time we doe renew it with Nathaniel Courthop, Sophon Cozocke, and Thomas Spurway.

Emmon Poolowaye.  
Sabandar Poolowaye.  
Sabandar Wratt  
Sabandar Poolaroone.  
Sabandar Lamecoe.  
Naboda Coa.

Hattib Itam.  
Hattib Pootee.  
Sabandar Treat.  
Emmon Lamecoe.  
Sabandar Locon.

10

10

### The Surrender of Rofinging and Wayre to his Maiestie.

**T**His writing is for the agreement betweene all the Orankayes of the Countrey of Wayre, and of the Iland of Rofinging, and the English Nation in manner as followeth, viz. That whereas, in the time that the Countrey of Banda was in trouble, by reason of their enemies, so that they were no longer able to withstand them, they therefore agreed with Nathaniel Courthop, Sophonie Cozock, and Thomas Spurway; thus much in effect, that is, that they doe surrender the Countrey of Wayre and the Iland of Rofinging, unto the King of England in respect that they are not able any more to stand for themselves against their enemies: that now the sayd Countrey of Wayre, and the Iland of Rofinging is onely in the power of the King of England. And whereas the agreements is once made, we the aforesaid Orankayes cannot in our Consciences dissolve it againe, but that it shall last for euer untill the last day of doome: And that the English shall be as the men of the Countrey of Wayre in all Priuiledges. Furthermore, the men of the aforesaid Countrey of Wayre, and the Iland of Rofinging, doe promise and agree to send unto the King of England, one branch of Nutmegges as a token of there foresaid agreement of all vs the aforesaid Orankayes: on condition that the said token of our agreement be not out of memory nor dissolved, nor we dis-esteemed. And we doe wish that Almighty God would vouchsafe to giue prosperitie to the King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland: and now by the grace and mercy of God, the King of the Countrey of Wayre, and the Iland of Rofinging, and that more, we will stoop to no other King or Potentate, but onely unto his Maiestie: and after him to all his posteritie. Furthermore, as concerning our trade, we doe all truely agree, not to sell any of the Nuts or Mace, which the aforesaid Countreyes, do afford to any other but onely to the King of England his subiects, because we haue wholly unto him surrendered the foresaid two Countreys of Wayre and Rofinging, with all that therein is, or whatsoever it doth, or shall yeeld, it is the King of England his owne; and this shall stand for a reason that we cannot trade with any other Nation. Moreover, we intreat the Kings Maiestie of England in earnest manner, that such things as are not besitting to our Religion, as unmannerly vsage of our women, maintaining of Swine in our Countrey, beating and abusing of our men, or taking away of them perforce against their wils, as if they were their own slaues, or any other such like attempts, that are held unbeseeing in our lawes (we say) that we doe intreat his Highnesse that none of these or such like be put in practise by his subiects, because they are things disallowable in our lawes, and so being committed, will redound to the ouerthrow thereof; and we thereby might be forced to deale unkindly with the English therefore. Moreover, if any of the English hereafter shall haue an affection to be circumcised, and become as one of vs, it shall be done vpon sufficient Counsell betweene the rest of the English and vs, or if any of vs will become a Christian in that cause, the like counsell shall be held, and this shall not be done for any misde-meanour of the partie willing so to turne: because that may breed a discention betweene the English and vs. And whereas this agreement was made in the presence, and by the consent of the King & Sabander, of Wayre, the Sabander of Rofinging, Emmon Hattib, and all the rest of the Orankayes, of the Countreyes of Wayre, and the Ilands of Rofinging: This shall be for a testimony that it is not done in madnesse, or in the manner of the breathing of wind; but that it was also aswell thought in our hearts, as spoken with our mouthes, and therefore we cannot, nor will goe from it againe, but that it shall so stand untill the dissolution of the world; Neither shall there any doubts rise in our hearts of any other, but that we the men of Wayre and Rofinging, are onely the Kings Maiesties of England his subiects: and if any trouble hereafter doe happen in the foresaid Countreys, we will be contented aswell to die, as to line together with the English, because we will be subiect to one King, and this shall stand for a reason, that any being in league with vs, shall also be in league with the English, & percontra, be that is neere the English, shall be neere vs, because we will by no meanes againe, diuorce our selues one from the other. Finally, at the time this agreement was made, all the Orankayes of Pooloway and Poolaroone were witneses thereunto; all the Orankayes of Pooloway and Rofinging haue unto the aforesaid Premisses set their hands.

The King of Wayre.  
The Sabandar of Wayre.  
Emmon of Wayre.

The Sabandar of Rofinging.  
Emmon of Rofinging.  
Hattib of Rofinging.

Tian.



*Translation of the Surrender of Lantore,  
Cont. in the paper N. D.*

In the yeere of the Prophet *Mahomed* 1028. in the tenth day of the Moone *Maharran* being Saturday, the yeere is called *Aleph*. And in the yeere of  
of *Iesus*, 1620. in the Moneth of Nouember the 24. day.

10 **T**his is the writing of the agreement of the Sabandar of Lantore, and the Cap. of Lantore, all the Orankayes within the Countrey of Lantore, with Robert Hayes, after the losse of Captaine Courthop; That we of Lantore do surrender the land of Lantore unto the Kings Maiestie of England with all that is therein: So that all the Nuts and Mace within the Countrey of Lantore, we promise to sell to no other people, other then to the subjects of the Kings Maiestie of England only. Furthermore, we the Orankayes of Lantore, doe promise euery yeere to send to the Kings Maiestie of England a bough of a Nutmeg tree, for the acknowledging of the homage of vs the men of Lantore, to the Kings Maiestie of England. To the intent that this agreement of Surrender betwixt vs be not forgotten, to  
20 the end of the world: and to the intent their be no difference or falling out betwixt vs. Furthermore, we doe craue of his Maiestie of England, concerning such things as doe not agree with our Religion, that they may not be done in the Countrey of Bandan, to the end that such things being restrained, there be no offence giuen betweene the Bandanezes and the Englishmen: As to enforce our Women, our Wiues or Daughters, or to strike any of vs, or violently to take any thing from vs, or to let swine loose in our Countrey, or any such like thing as doth not agree with our Religion. These things we onely except (because those things tend to the destroying of our Religion) to the intent there be no falling out betwixt  
30 the Bandanezes and the English, unto the end of the world. And whereas it pleaseth God that James is King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland; so now also he is King of the Countrey of Banda: so then the Countrey of Banda is in subiection to no other King then to the Kings Maiestie of England onely in this world, excepting our Religion. For our Religion of Islam doth not agree with the Christian Religion, neither doth the Christian Religion agree with our Religion of Islam; and this is the purport of our agreement. Further, if it shall happen any English to runne to vs, or any Banda man to runne to the English, it may not be tolerated without the consent of the chiefe of the English and vs of Banda; because such things are contrary to our Religion, and tend onely to falling out and  
40 brabbles betwixt the Bandamen and the Englishmen. At this time we were together in consultation, all the Orankayes of Lantore, and the Orankayes of Labetacke, and the Orankayes of Nero Pooloway and Poolaroone, and haue put 100 our hands, and this is the intent of this writing.

Sabandar Lantore.  
Sabandar Ratoo.

50 *The Voyage of Master Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, (hauing sent  
Captaine Colthurst in the Ascension to Banda) with letters  
of the Kings of those parts to his Maiestie.*

**H**auing taken leaue of the Company, being furnished with all things necessary, we departed from *Grauesend* the five and twentieth of March, 1604. and about the twentieth of December following, after many various accidents, we arriued (our men being very weake) in *Bantam* Roade; where after many complementall salutations betweene vs and the *Hollanders*, with interchange of great Ordnance on both parts, the Generall of the *Hollanders* dining the  
60 last of December aboard our Generall: The day following, our Generall went on shoare with a letter from the Kings Maiestie of England, to the King of *Bantam*, which with a present sent, was by him receiued with great ceremonie, he being but of thirteene yeeres of age, and gouerned by a Protector. The sixteenth of the said moneth, our Generall came aboard from *Bantam* to proceed on his voyage for the *Moluccas*, appointing Master *Surfleet* to goe home in the *He-  
clor*.

This should  
haue come in  
more due  
place before,  
being the se-  
cond Voyage  
of the Com-  
pany, if we  
then had had  
it: but better  
late then ne-  
uer. And for  
the subiect it  
well agrees  
with this place  
also.  
His Maiesties  
letter.  
King of *Bantam*



Veranula.

Castle of Amboyna taken.  
English barred of trade by the  
Hollanders.

King of Ternata.

Tydore Gallies.

English benefit to the Dutch.

Ternatas fraud.

Dutch unkindness.

This Sander passeth in print in their authors notwithstanding. Peculiaritie of the Dutch. Their bragges and lies. \* Understand this of the Merchants which traded (or warred rather) not of the whole land or best men of Holland. Loosers will haue leaue to speak: & Merchants enuy each other.

Etor. The seuenth of Ianuary following 1605. we anchored vnder the Shore of *Veranula*, a people that deadly hate the *Portugals*, and therefore had sent to the *Hollanders* for ayde against them, promising to become subiect vnto them, if they expeld the *Portugals*; in summe, the *Hollanders* prepared to assault the Castle of *Amboyna*, and the *Portugals* to defend it, the one purposing to recouer, the other to hold it; The *Hollanders* summoning them in the Prince of *Orange* his name to deliuer it that day by two of the clocke, and the *Portugals* denying it. Yet in the end after many attempts and defences, it was yeelded to the *Hollanders* by composition, wherevpon the Gouvernour of the Towne, after the surrender of the Castle, bard vs of all trade by the command of the *Hollanders*.

The warre continuig betweene the *Tarnatans* and *Tydorians*, the first assisted by the *Hollanders*, the other by the *Portugals*, shortly after we got vnder the land of *Tydore*, where we might espie betweene *Pulocanally* and *Tydore*, two Gallies of *Tarnata* making great speed towards vs, weauing vnto vs with a white flagge to strike sayle and to tarry for them. At the same time came seuen Gallies of *Tydore*, rowing betwixt vs and the shore to assault the *Tarnatans*, our Generall seeing the danger they were in, lay by the lee to know what the matter was; The foremost of these Gallies or *Coracoras*, wherein the King of *Tarnata* with diuers of his Nobles, and three *Dutch* Merchants were, being full of feare, desired our Generall for Gods sake to saue them from their enemies the *Tydorians*, from whom they looked for no mercy if he did not help them, & withall, that he would be pleased to rescue their other *Coracora* that came after, wherein there were diuers *Dutchmen* who were to expect nothing but death, if he did not releue them.

Whereupon our Generall commanded his Gunner to shoote at the *Tydore* Gallies, yet they resisted not but boarded them within shot of our Ordnance, and put them all to the sword, but three that saued themselues by swimming, and were taken vp by our men into their boat. Our Generall being determined to goe for *Tydore*, the *Dutch* desired him that he would not let the King of *Tarnata* and them fall into their enemies hands, from whom he had so lately deliuered them, promising mountaines of Cloues and other Commodities at *Tarnata* and *Makau*, but performing Mole-hills, (verifying the prouerbe, *The danger escaped, the Saint is deceiued*.) One thing I may not forget, the King of *Tarnata* comming aboard the Generall, trembled for feare, which the Generall supposing to be for cold, put a blacke Damaske gowne laid with gold lace, and lined with vnshorne Veluet, on his backe, which at his departure, he had not the manners to restore, but kept it as his owne: But see how this kindnesse was shortly after recompensed by these vnthankfull men. Our Generall arriuing at the *Portugals* towne in *Tydore*; the Gouvernour of the Fort sent one *Thomas de Torres*, and others with a letter, the effect whereof was, that the King of *Tarnata* and the *Hollanders* reported, that there was nothing but treason and villany to be expected at our hands, but that he conceiued better of vs, beleeuing their reports to be nothing but malice. To second this, not long after, our Generall arriuing at the Kings towne, sent Master *Graue* aboard the *Dutch* Admirall, who found but could entertainement at their hands, affirming that we had assisted the *Portugals* in the last warres against the King of *Tarnata* and them, with Ordnance and other Munition, which our Generall proued to the contrary by some *Portugals* that were taken prisoners by them in that conflict; & then being ashamed of the slander, the Generall affirmed he had it from a Renegado *Gussarat*, but did not thinke it to be true.

To fill vp full measure, not long after the King of *Tarnata* seeming to affect our Nation, they threaned him that they would forsake him and ioyne with the deadly enemy the King of *Tydore*, if he suffered the *English* either to haue a Factory, or any trade with them, affirming that the *English* were theeues and robbers, and no other he should find them, and that the King of *Holland* was stronger by Sea, then all Christendome besides, with many other disgracefull speeches of our Nation, and all other Christian Princes (a iust consideration for all Nations to thinke what this insolent frothy \* Nation will doe, if they attaine to the possession of the *East Indies*) To which insolent speeches our General replied: That what *Hollander* soeuer he were that so reported, he lyed like a traitor, and that he would make it good against any one that should report; affirming that if the Queenes Maiestie of *England* had not taken pittie of them, they had bene vtterly ruined by the King of *Spaine*, and branded for slaues and traitors. The particular wrongs done by them to our Nation, if they were laid open, would fill volumnes, and amaze the world to heare. I will conclude, to shew the esteeme had of our Nation in the *East India*, with the true Copies of sundry letters seni by their Kings to his Maiestie of Great Brittain, and first of the King of *Tarnata*.

#### The King of *Tarnata* Letter to the King.

Hearing of the good reports of your Maiestie by the comming of the great Captaine Sir Francis Drake, in the time of my father, which was about some thirtie yeeres past: by the which Captaine



my predeceſſor did ſend a Ring vnto the Queene of England, as a token of remembrance betweene vs : *Fame of Sir Francis Drake.* which if the aforeſaid Drake had bin lining, he could haue informed your Maieſtie of the great loue and friendſhip of either ſide : he in the behalfe of the Queene, my Father for him and his ſucceſſors : ſince which time of the departure of the aforeſaid Captaine, we haue dayly expected his returne ; my Father lining many yeeres after, and dayly expecting his returne. And I after the death of my Father, haue lined in the ſame hope, till I was father of eleuen children : In which time, I haue bene informed that the Engliſhmen were men of a bad diſpoſition, and that they came not as peaceable Merchants, but to diſpoſſeſſe vs of our kingdomes ; which by the comming of the bearer hereof, we haue found to the contrary : which we greatly reioyce at. *Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes ?* And after many yeeres of our expectation of ſome Engliſh forces, by the promiſe of  
10 Captaine Drake, here arrived certaine ſhips, which we well hoped had bin Engliſhmen, but finding them contrary, and being out of all hope of ſuccour of the Engliſh Nation, wee were enforced to write to the Prince of Holland, to craue aide and ſuccour againſt our ancient enemies the Portugals ; and according to our requeſt, he hath ſent hither his forces which haue expelled the Portugals out of all the Forts which they held at Amboyna and Tydore. And whereas your Maieſtie hath ſent to me a moſt kind and friendly letter by your ſervant Captaine Henry Middleton ; that doth not a little reioyce vs : and whereas Captaine Henry Middleton was deſirous to leaue a factorie heere, we were very willing thereunto ; which the Captaine of the Hollanders underſtanding, he came to challenge me of a former promiſe, which I had writtent to the Prince of Holland : That if he would ſend me ſuch ſuccours, as ſhould expell the Portugals out of theſe parts, that no other Nation ſhould haue trade there, but only they : ſo that we were enforced  
20 againſt our likings, to yeeld vnto the Holland Captaines requeſt for this time, whereof we craue pardon of your Highneſſe : and if any of your Nation come hereafter, they ſhall be welcome. And whereas the chiefe Captaine of the Hollanders doth ſolitic vs not to hold any friendſhip with your Nation, nor to giue eare to your Highneſſe Letters, yet for all their ſuit, if you pleaſe to ſend hither againe, you ſhall be welcome : And in token of our friendſhip which we deſire of your Maieſtie, we haue ſent you a ſmall remembrance, a Bahar of Cloues, our Country being poore, and yeelding no better commodity ; which we pray your Highneſſe to accept in good part.

Tarnata.

30 The King of Tydores Letter to the Kings Maieſtie of England.

**T**His writing of the King of Tydore to the King of England, is to let your Highneſſe underſtand, that the King of Holland hath ſent hither into theſe parts, a Fleete of ſhips, to ioine with our ancient enemy the King of Tarnata, and they jointly together, haue ouer-run and ſpoiled part of our Countrey, and determined to deſtroy both vs and our ſubiects. Now underſtanding by the bearer hereof, Captaine Henry Middleton, that your Highneſſe is in friendſhip with the King of Spaine, we deſire your Maieſtie that you would take pittie of vs, that we may not be deſtroyed by the King of Holland and Tarnata, to whom we haue offered no wrong : but they by forcible meanes, ſecke to bereaue vs of our Kingdome. And as great Kings vpon the earth are ordained by God, to ſuccour all them that be wrongfully  
40 oppreſſed ; So I appeale vnto your Maieſtie for ſuccour againſt my enemies ; not doubting but to finde reliefe at your Maieſties hands : And if your Maieſtie ſend hither, I humbly intreat that it may bee Captaine Henry Middleton or his brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your Kingdomes, bleſſe you and all your Counſels.

Tydore.

The King of Bantam to the King of England.

50 **A** Letter giuen by your friend the King of Bantam, to the King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland : deſiring God to preſerue your health, and to exalt you more and more, and all your Counſell. And whereas your Maieſtie hath ſent a Generall, Henry Middleton, he came to me in health. I did heare that your Maieſtie was come to the Crowne of England, which doth greatly reioyce my heart : now England and Bantam are both as one. I haue alſo receiued a Preſent from your Maieſtie : the which I giue you many thanks for. I doe ſend your Maieſtie two Bezar ſtones, the one weighing ſourteene maſſes, the other three : and ſo God haue you in his keeping.

Bantam.



## С Н А Р. XV.

*The Dutch Navigations to the East Indies, out of their owne Journals and other Histories.*



**R**as much as *Banda* hath beene almost the bane, and as it were the *Troiane Horse* to our *Indian Ilium*, whence an *Iliade* of miseries and mischiefs haue issued to that Societie; whereby their wonted gaines haue beene suspended (with a *Xanthē retro propera*) their reputation staynd, their shippes and goods taken and stayed, the persons of many Christians, Brethren in Armes, Arts, and Religion; exposed to the basest of contumelies, and cruellest of deaths, as the premisses declare; and that amongst the Infidels, whom by word and example of life they should haue sought to conuert; whose states also are hereby subuerted, and their faith farther peruerted (*Iborow you, the wrong-doers in this case, is my Name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles*) I haue thought good to set downe the true case briefly, as out of diuers Witnesses, Christian and Heathen, *English* and *Dutch*, I haue gathered it; no whit seeking the dishonour of either Nation (for what Nation hath not some sicke, some rotten members :) but as an Historian ought to deliuer the truth: which haply the industrious out of the formall materials can see to doe without helpe, but the vulgar will need Spectacles. And herein for the more honor of the *Dutch* Nation, we wil begin with the beginnings of their *Indian* Nauigations, and by brieft steps descend into these broyles: wherein if the Merchants haue proued Martiall, if some of their Commanders haue beene insolent, if others of the baser Rascalitie with Pot-froth or Sea-froth, transported to blaspheme Kings and higher Powers: & that *Dutch-Indian* disease hath lately grown Epidemical in those parts, & turned into a general Contagion wherewith their greatest numbers there haue beene infected: yet the head and heart here at home (I doubt not) are sound, and will soone (my hope tels me) purge these malignant humours from those remoter members: will soone? nay! my *faith* runnes faster, they are euen now a doing it: herein also my charitie checks it, as too thort-breathed, and saith (it is others fault if I lye) they haue already \* done it. For who can suppose that they will make others wrong deeds theirs by conniueance or countenance? that their Iustice will not doe that which is iust? that their wisdom doth not reason in season? that their mature forwardnesse hath not done already that to, and for the *English* there, which came thither and about the World by *English* helpe; by their examples in *Drake* and *Candish* instigated; by their Pilots, notes and instructions, as before appeareth in *Melis*, *Adams*, *Davis*, and others not a little furthered; and by their support at home enabled to looke abroad: so many gallant *English* spirits exhaled, so much *English* Treasure exhaust, in defence of that *Belgian* libertie: wherein the *Hollander* of all men will not take it to see their vertue imitated by the *Bandanezes*, who likewise there affected it by seeking *English* protection, and effected by surrendring themselues in subiection to the *English* Crowne? And as for their freedome then when they offered it, I am not willing to make a comparatiue *quare* betwixt the *Dutch* and them \* whether were freer States: whether more obliged, these to the *Dutch* themselues by any act of former subiection, or to the pretended title of *Ternate*, (in both which, the *Dutch* owne Historiographers, as heere will appeare, free them) or the other to. But I will to my Historie, or rather to theirs, both in respect of the subject and authors, and occasioned by the euill of some, will honour the worthier spirits of that Nation, out of their owne Iournals and Relations, deliuering a brieft of their Marine Exploits.

WHen \* the King of *Spaine* had made many yeeres warres vpon the *Hollanders* with exceeding expence and force, permitting meane whiles the *Hollanders* ships neuertheless to trade on his Coasts, he was at last counsell'd to bring them to subiection, by hindering their Nauigation and intercepting their ships by arrest. Thus were they prohibited the shoares of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, some put into their Gallies, their goods confiscate, and the *Hollanders* began to thinke of other Trade, and to make tryall of the *Indies*. And first began those of *Amsterdam* to set forth eight ships by consent of the States and Prince *Maurice*: foure of which were to goe the wonted way (by the Cape of *Good Hope*) to seeke and settle Trade in those parts especially of the *Indies*, where the *Spanish* Power was not admitted; The other foure (of which two were of *Amsterdam*, the other two of *Zeland* and *Enckhusen*) attempted by the North to discover a passage to *China*, *Cathay* and the *Moluccas*, as by a farre shorter cut; this way from *Holland* to *Iapan* being not aboue one thousand two hundred thirtie fise *Dutch* miles, whereas by the *Portugall* way it was two thousand nine hundred thirtie two. Of their Northern Expeditions \* elsewhere: the other foure ships by a safer and more frequented way set forth in the same yeare 1595. and laid foundation of that which since is reputed by them a miraculous structure, and taking occasion from being forbidden *Spaine*, to make themselves way  
first

\* *Dabit, Lentum est dabit, dat, hoc quoque est Lentum dedit. Sen Hei fur.*  
 \* *Si ego dignus sum hac contumelia maxime* (may both English and Bandanese allage) *At tu* (Hollindc) *indignus qui faceres tamen.*  
 \* *Hist Amstelod. Ioh. Isaac Pontani, l. 2. c. 1. 8. & 24.*  
*Prefat. in 3. part. Ind. Orient*  
*Diarium Nauticum in Ind. Orient. ap. lo. Ianfon. Arnheimenf. also you have this whole Voyage written by the Commissarie of the Fleet in the third part, Ind. Or.*  
*Of these things see their severall Journals published in diuers Languages: also the Tome of the E. J. Gaspar. Ens, Got Avius Metranus, pag. 594 & c.*  
 \* *In the eighth Booke of his Workes.*



first to the East, and since enterprizing also the West *Indies*. The ships were the *Maurice*, the *Holland*, the *Amsterdam*, and a Pinnasse, the persons two hundred fortie nine: the Societie called, *De Compagnie van verre*: the whole charge was two hundred and ninetie thousand Florens, of which one hundred thousand was in readie money and Merchandize. The *Maurice* and the *Holland* were of two hundred and eightie lasts, the *Amsterdam* one hundred and eightie, the Pinnasse twentie. The Captaine of the first *Bernard Heijnc*; Cape Merchant, *Cornelius Houtman*; *John Miller* Master, &c.

*Societas longinqua societatis.*

The second of Aprill, they set saile from the *Tessell*. The second of August, they had sight of the Cape of *Good Hope*. The two and twentieth of September, they set two men on shoare for mutinie. On the five and twentieth, they came to *Saint Augustines Bay* in the Ile of *Saint Laurence*. The tenth of February, to *Anton Gill*.

In May they came to *Dampin* in *Sumatra*, in Iune to the Straits of *Sunda*, where certaine *Portugals* from *Bantam* visited them. On the three and twentieth and foure and twentieth, diuers *Chinois*, *Malabars*, and men of other Nations came to them, some of which had beene in *Constantinople*, *Venice* and *Rome*, and one of them said, hee had foure monethes past seene their Lad and God (meaning the Pope) whom they answered that they were Christians, and cared not for the Pope. On the sixe and twentieth of Iune, Captaine *Heijnc* dyed of the *Flix*. On the nine and twentieth, the *Pangram* or Vice King came aboard the *Mauritius*. The first of Iuly, the Pirncies Letters (written in *Arabecke* and *Portugall*) were read, and Couenants confirmed by Oath on both sides.

On the sixt of Iuly, they were warned by their Interpreter, from the Vice-roy or Protector, to take heed of the *Portugals*, which (notwithstanding coloured friendship) sought their ruine, and had agreed with *Cesar* (whose father had ruled all *Iana*, but he himselfe was brought into straites, and enjoyed little but a name, hauing also a *Portugall* Wife) that he should inuite all the principall *Hollanders* to a Feast, and the *Portugals*, meane-while, with fiftie Souldiers and others of *Cesar*'s Household should inuade their ships, *Cesar* to haue the spoyle, and the *Portugals* to giue him three thousand Ducats for the ships. This *Cesar* was so called by the *Portugals*, of the people *Raya Dauina*: but the men of *Bantam* reiected his Dominion because he had liued at *Malacca*, and fauoured the *Portugals*, to whom they feared lest he should bring them in subiecti-  
on. Yet was he acknowledged of many, euen Kings themselues speaking to him with their hands infolded one in the other (the gesture of Slaues) hee had also beene aboard with his children on the second of Iuly. He told them also that the *Portugals* sought to perswade the Vice-Roy to the like, and besought and bribed his followers thereunto, affirming, that they were not Merchants but Pirats, and if they had accesse now in ten or twelue yeares they would returne and subdue their Countrey: and this sparke, if now vnquenched would set the whole East on fire. Moreouer, they were enemies to the King of *Spaine*, whose enmitie would by their entertainment be procured: and that they were but Spies. The *Hollanders* sent one of their Captaines into the Towne to search the truth by conference with the Protector or Vice-Roy, who further counselled them to shoot into the Towne when *Cesar* went aboard the ships, promising to reueale all things to them: He found also in the *Sabanders* house Gun-powder and other hostile prouision. They sent *Cesar* a Costlet and other Presents, and he accordingly sent to inuite all their chiefe men and Musicians: but now by their Present seemed to bee wonne to better thoughts, blaming the *Portugals*.

*Portugals treachery to the Hollanders. Raya Dauina a Cesar.*

After this *Cesar* went to *Iacatra*, and the Protector and *Hollanders* agreed about taking a house for their better Traffique, which was done, and *Rainer van Hell* was appointed chiefe, who yet found nothing but fraudes and shifts in the Protector and *Bantameses*. As for the *Portugals* they murdered *Peter Tayda* a *Mestizo* of *Portugall* originall and dwelling at *Bantam*, for holding familiaritie with the *Dutch*, by the sollicitation of their Priest. The Inhabitants were by Proclamation inhibited to sell Rice to the *Hollander*, and presently after they were told of an assault, should be made on their ships: and when some of their Companie had gotten aboard, the rest were detayned: which when by no intercession they could recouer, they assailed the towne with their ships, and tooke three Iunckes; a fourth was set on fire by the *Portugals* to preuent taking.

At night *Houtman* the chiefe on shoare writ to them that they had halters about their neckes, and were presently all of them adiudged to dye, if they continued further battery and spoyle. A dayes truce followed, and after that the Warre renewed, which continued aboue a moneth, and peace was concluded. As for *Houtman* and his fellowes, they were sentenced to dye, but the various opinions of the meanes protracted their liues. Perswaded by the *Portugals* who had sent purposely thither from *Malacca*, \* the *Bantamians* after a little space broke off Trade againe, which the *Hollanders* supplied by taking their Iunckes. After this they were assaulted by a ship of *Indians*, with poysoned Arrowes, the venom whereof could not be cured but by cutting out the affected part: this ship also the *Hollanders* tooke. The *Portugals* expostulated with the Protector that so little had beene done, and they both grew to hot words, the fuell of a great fire,

Hereby appeareth the discord betwixt *Cesar* and the *Bantamians* as farre as they durst.

\* This Messenger is said to haue giuen 10000 Rials to deliuer him the *Hollanders*, or to prohibit them Trade.



The Portugals  
reward.  
Tuban, Cydaia,  
Brandaon and  
Surabaya are  
neere each o-  
ther, on Iaua.  
The Bird Eme.  
Another trea-  
cherie.

Madura.

Balabua, or  
Balamboan,  
here Candish  
had beene.  
Baly called  
Hollandiola in  
eight degrees  
of South lati-  
tude.

\* Another faith  
(which is more  
credible) that  
it nourisheth  
600000 peo-  
ple.

The seventh  
day holy.  
Drakes Streight

fire; the Portugals seizing on some China Iunckes for their satisfaction, which the Protector a while dissembled but afterwards reuenged with the destruction of the Portugals; vnder colour of a great Marriage at *Iacatra*, setting forth a Fleet, wherewith he invaded the Portugall Gallies, slue the men and diuided the spoyle, the other Portugals slipping their Anchors and fleeing to *Malacca*.

The Hollanders came to *Iacatra* the thirteenth of Nouember, and were receiued with much kindnesse, whence hauing furnished themselves with necessaries, they set sayle, the *Amsterdam* running with full sayles on a Rocke before they had sayled a Dutch mile. On the third of December, they came to *Tuban* and *Cydaia*, where they bought Nutmegs and Cloues, and the *Sabandar* gaue them a great Fowle called *Eme*, aboue foure foot in height, somewhat like an Ostrich, sauing that the feete were not clouen. Here vnder colour of friendship the *Cydayans* (set on, as they learned after, by the Portugals and *Bantamians*, with sixe great Prawes assailed the *Amsterdam* and the *Pinnasse*: where they slue in the *Amsterdam* twelue, and wounded two, but the other ships comming in, they fled, losing an hundred and fiftie of the *Iauans*. The Hollanders departed thence to *Madura*. Here the King would needs haue leaue to come aboard, which he was permitted if he came with sixe followers, and to one of the greater ships: But hee comming with one hundred, and to the *Amsterdam*, was slaine, with the Priest and most of his Companie: his young sonne and others taken: by whom they learned the ill intent that the *Madurians* had to take their ship *Amsterdam*, which themselves soone after fired, taking out of her what they found vlesfull. And now hauing lost many of their Chieffes they consulted about retorne, and by force of winds were put into *Ballabua*, and the ship *Holland* entring the Riuer of *Baly* an Ile nine leagues off, was put back with the violence of the streame. The King of *Passarnan* a *Mahumetan* had married and slaine the daughter of the King of *Balabua* a *Gentile*, and now held him besieged to inforce him to exchange his faithlesse faith. The King of *Baly* assisted the *Gentile*, but his Captaine being slaine, the rest returned. These told of a ship there ten yeares before, which was thought to be Master *Candishes*, the old King, then supposed one hundred and fiftie to be still liuing. *Baly* they called *Hollandiola*, for the fertilitie; there they watered.

They sent to the King, who accompanied the Messenger to the shoare in a Chariot drawne with Buffals, holding the Whip in his owne hands, hauing three hundred followers, some with flame-formed Crises and long Speares, Bowes of Canes with poysoned Arrowes. Hee was feasted in Dishes of solid Gold. The Land is an equall and fertile plaine to the West, watered with many little Riuers (some made by hand) and so peopled that the King is able to bring into the field \* three hundred thousand foot, and one hundred thousand horsemen. Their horse are little like Islanders, their men blacke and vsing little Merchandize, but with Cotton Cloth in Prawes. The Iland is in compasse about twelue *Germane* miles. Their Religion is *Ethnike*, ordered by the *Brachmanes* or *Bramenes*, in whose Disciplines the King is trayned vp. They haue also *Banians*, which weare about their neckes a stone as bigge as an Egge with a hole in it, whence hang forth three threds; they call it *Tambarene*, and thinke the Deitie thereby represented: they abstaine from flesh and fish, but not (as the *Iauan Pythagoreans*) from Marriage. Once they may marry, and when they dye their Wiues are buried quicke with them. Euery seuenth day they keepe holy, and many other Holidayes in the yeare besides with solempne Ceremonies. Their Wiues burne with their dead Husbands. Here they heard of Captaine *Drakes* being there eightene yeares before, and called one Strait by his name. The King obserueth state, is spoken too with hands folded, by the best. The *Quillon* hath power there as the Chancellor in *Poland*. Two of their companie forsooke them and stayed on the Iland. And of two hundred fortie nine there were now left but ninetie. In February they began their retorne. The foure and twentieth of April, 1597. they came in sight of *Terra de Natal*. and the five and twentieth of May, of *Saint Helena*, where foure Carracks made them afraid to aduenture. The eleuenth of August they entred the *Tessell*: the ship *Holland* hauing not men left to weigh their Anchor, and forced therefore in a storme to cut their Mast ouer-boord.

### The second Voyage.

Although the gaine of this Expedition were losse of men and perhaps also of money and wealth, yet did it encourage with the strange Noueltie and hopefull probabilitie many Aduenturers, both of the Hollanders and of English also that way affected, aduenturing with them. This we haue obserued in the Voyages of Master *Danis*, \* Pilot with *Houtman*, with two ships; and of Master *Adams* with *Iaques Mayhay*, in a Fleete of five ships, and of *Melis* \* with *Oliuer Noort*, in a Fleete of foure ships, these two last sayling by the *Magellan* Streights to the Indies, following the Sunne to see his rising and seeking the East Indies by the West: all were set forth in the yeare after the others retorne. Anno 1598. The same yeare was by the *Indian* Societie of *Holland* set forth a Fleet of eight ships, the *Holland*, the *Zealand*, the *Frisland*, the *Gelderland*, the *Vrick*, the *Ouer-Issell*, or the *Doue*, the *Maurice*, and the *Amsterdam*, furnished

\* Pag. 117.

\* Pag. 125. &  
Pag. 71.



nished with five hundred and sixtie men, *James Neccius* Admirall in the *Maurice*, *Wibrand Warwicke* (whom we before haue honoured for his loue and honour to the *English*) Vice-Admirall in the *Amsterdam*, and seuen Commissioners adioyned. On May-day they set forth from the *Tessell*, and kept together till they came to the hopefull Promontorie, where they by ignorance and foule weather parted, the *Holland*, *Maurice* and *Ouer-issell*, holding their way to the Ile of Saint *Marie*: the other five to the Iland *De Cerne*, by them named of Prince *Mauritius*, about twenty degrees South latitude, neere to *Madagascar*, mountainous, full of tall trees of blacke, red and yellow Ebonie, and Palmities, hauing a good ayre, Tortoises able to goe with foure men on their backes, and to hold ten men sitting on the inside of the shell, (vnkind Guests eating their Host, *non hospes ab hospite tutus*) store of Fowles, desolate and dis-habited by man or beast: they left there Hennes, and sowed a certaine Plaine with diuers seeds. The other three ships hauing watered at Saint *Maries*, (able to yeeld little elle) came to *Bantam*, in the end of the yeere, who suspected them to be the same which formerly had beene there, and refused Trade; till they sent *Abdol* a *Chinois* (carried into *Holland* by the former Fleet) with Presents to the King then an Infant, and *Cephate* the Protector, and procured Trafficke. Foure weekes after came in the other five ships, many of them sicke, and thirtie five dead. The *Bantameses* hauing eielected the *Portugals*, now brought them store of prouision, vsed them kindly, admired their Pewter, and for one Spooone gaue as much food as would serue a man a weeke. But *Abdols* telling of the other ships to come raised the price of Pepper. Foure ships being laden were sent home, and arriued at the *Tessell*, the nineteenth of Iuly, 1599. The other resolued for the *Moluccas*, and *Neccius* being returned, *Warwicke* was their Admirall.

\*Mauritius Iland.

Dec. 26. 1598.

Speedy Voyage to and from the Indies, in 15. M. *Tuban*.

*Iortam*. *Madura*.

Treacherie.

Diuers Ilands:

The Dutch first trade at Banda. 1599. *Polo Setton*.

*Poolaway*.

Ciuiil warres among the *Bantameses*.

N n n n

led



They are the words of Isacius Pontanus, lib. 2. c. 25. of his History of Amsterdam. See also pars 5. Ind. Orient. which words are to be marked against whatsoever pretext of Ternate, or disability of surrendering themselves.

John Peters an Englishman.

Many Fleets sent to the East Indies out of Holland and Zeland.

See Davis his first Voyage, pag. 117. This slaughter of Houtman some ascribe to the Portugall wiles, part. 1. Ind. Or.

Companies vnited.

See Pontan. pag. 104. Others say Wilbrand Warvick: or else that which followeth of Her- man de Bree is another Fleet.

led many, whose heads in disgrace of *Labetacke* they fastned on their boats, and at their returne, with their swords yet bloudie, made glorious muster of themselves foure or five dayes together. They brought some women captiues; one of which they cut asunder. Yet did they after burie the heads in cotton clothes. The *Zeland* receiued in her last lading on the nine and twentieth of Iune: and the *Gelderland* on the first of Iuly. On the second, the Vice-Admirall intreated good vsage to those he should leave behind him in a house built by them, and hauing giuen gifts to the *Sabander* and the *Orankayes*, he tooke leaue: (*Regem nullum agnoscunt*) for the *Bandanefes* acknowledge no King, *sed suis institutis viuentes, ad Seniorum Cœtus, ubi consultatione opus est, res referunt*: they are ruled by their owne States or *Orankayes*. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans and very deuout, that they begin nothing, neither Diuine nor Humane, before they haue prayed in their manner. They are a collectitious Nation of many Peoples compounded. The Ilands are diuers, *Banda* the chiefe, in which are fixe or seuen Townes continually disagreeing. The chiefe is *Nera*, to which *Labetacke*, *Comber*, and *Wayre* are enemies: *Lantore* (on the other side of the Iland) and the two Ilands of *Pooloway* and *Poolaroon* are friends to *Nera*. The cause of these Iarres and Warres is; the casting downe of certaine trees many yeeres since, in the territorie of *Nera*, by the men of *Labetacke*: whence they still kill one another like Dogs. Their banquets publicke, Meskit ceremonies, and foot-ball tennise, I omit. They are nimble, and some very aged vnto one hundred and thirtie yeeres. The worke in dressing their Nutmegs, Mace, and otherwise, is the womens burthen.

On the fourth of Iuly, they set sayle from *Banda*, and on the fixe and twentieth came to *Iacatra*. On the eight of August to *Bantam*, from whence they set sayle on the nineteenth; and the twentieth of Aprill, 1600. arriued in the Tessel. The two other ships, *Amsterdam* and *Utricke*, after two moneths stay at *Ambayna*, set sayle thence the eighth of May for the *Moluccas*; and on the two and twentieth, cast Anchor neere *Ternate*. Here they held trade with the Kings leaue and loue, till the nineteenth of August; and then leauing some in Factorie they departed. The nineteenth of December, they came to *Bantam*, whence they set sayle the one and twentieth of Ianuarie. The sixteenth of Februarie, *John Peters* an Englishman their Treasurer died. The thirtieth of May, they had sight of the *Ascension*, from whence the next day they made haste homewards, much pressed with defect of victuall, and safely arriued at *Amsterdam*.

**B**Vt before the returne of any of these ships, in the yeere 1599. the *Dutch Indian* Companie set forth another Fleet of three ships, vnder the command of *Stephen van Hagen*, the fourth of May. Likewise the foure ships of the former Fleet, which had made so speedy a Voyage, were sent againe forthwith vnder the command of *James Williams*. And besides the former Companie, a new Companie of *Amsterdam* and *Brabant* sent forth a Nauie of foure ships vnder *Peter Bot*. These set sayle from the Tessel the one and twentieth of December, 1599. which returned two yeeres after richly laden. Also this last Society prepared two other ships, A. 1600. to which the former Companie added fixe other of five hundred tunnes the piece, vnder the command of *Neccius*, which making happie returns, meane whiles the *Zelanders* entertayned the businesse. And in the yeere 1601. thirteene ships departed from *Amsterdam*, on the three and twentieth of Aprill, vnder the command of *James Heemskirck*, foure; and foure vnder *John Grenier*, and foure vnder *Wolphard Harminius*. Against these the Spaniard set forth a strong Armada of thirteene Sayle, which encountred eight ships of the *Dutch*, before the rest were come to them; a fight followed, wherein a small *Hollander* Pinnasse was so battered, that they tooke out her wares, and sent her backe.

How *Houtman* was slaine at *Achen*, is elsewhere deliuered. This King being by *Portugall* wiles further instigated, did giue good entertainment notwithstanding, this yeere 1601. to some *Zeland* ships vnder the command of *Laurence Bicker*, as also to *George Spilberg*. He sent his Ambassadors also to Prince *Maurice*, with *Bicker*, one of which died at *Middleborough*, whose Epitaph in greater letters hath, *Hic situs est Abdur Zamiat Princeps Legationis à Rege Taprobana seu Sumatra Soltan Alciden Raietra Lillo Labe Felalam missa: ad Illustriss. Principem Mauritium cum duabus Nanibus que in dedit. accepere Liburnicam Lusitanicam. Vixit 71. obiit Anno 1601. CII. Praefecti Societatis Indicae H. M. P. C.*

But when as it happened by the diuersitie of Stockes and Companies, that great losse ensued to the Aduenturers, it was by common consent concluded, that all these seuerall Companies should be vnited, and by Proclamation forbidden to all but this Society to aduenture to the *Indies* for one and twentie yeeres space: and that *Amsterdam* should in the expeditions of new Fleets, beare halfe the charge; *Middleborough* a fourth part; *Delfe*, *Rotterdam*, *Horne*, and *Enchusen* each a sixteenth, &c. Presently after, this vnited Companie made readie a Fleet of foure- teene ships according to these proportions vnder the command of *Stephen van Hagen*. The capitall Summe or common Stocke brought into the Treasurie, exceeded fixe Millions of Florens. The *Portugals* which alone before enjoyed the *Indian* Trade, did much enrich the *Dutch* by their opposition, which while they sought to make prize of the *Hollanders*, were often surprized,



zed, the Portugall decaying in those parts vnto this day. *Wolphard Harminius* before named Admirall of five ships in the Straights of *Sunda*,<sup>a</sup> was told by a *China* Junke that *Bantam* was besieged of a Portugall Armada; vnder the command of *Andreas Fortado Mendoza*,<sup>b</sup> consisting of eight great ships and neere twentie Frigats, seeking to cause the *Bantameses* to haue nothing to doe with the *Dutch*. *Wolphard* tooke counsell and aduentured on the Portugals, of whom hee tooke two Frigats and three Ships, some he sunke; others they set fire on themselves; the rest departed to *Amboyna*, and there slew diuers of the Inhabitants, for holding trade with the *Dutch*, and (as hauing an euill eye at Natures good eye, and angrie with the very Elements) cut downe their Cloue trees, which the *Moors* had neere done in their most despitefull opposition to the Portugall proceedings in the East.

<sup>a</sup> *Quere whe-*  
ther this name  
*Sunda* be not  
the Sound in  
these parts, I  
that is a Straite  
<sup>b</sup> Of him see  
pag. 417.  
Portugall Insol-  
lence.

*Corruptio optima*  
*peissima*: a  
naughtie Chris-  
tian is the  
worst man.  
*Hollenders* rich  
and quiet  
trade at *Banda*.

*Wolphard* after gratulations of the *Bantameses*, and some time there spent, directed his course for *Ternata* and *Banda*, and hearing that the Portugals were gone to *Tydore*, where they had a Fortresse; they diuided their Fleet, two for *Banda*, three for *Ternata*, where they found *Francis Verdufins* (whom the *Dutch* had left there) in the great fauour of the King. And hauing well furnished their ships at *Ternata*, they set saile for *Banda* to the rest of their Fleet, where *Veniti* their Factor was well, and had provided store of Mace and Nutmegs, so that they presently sent home three ships laden; the other two stayed there till Cloues were ripe.

20 **H** *Eemskirk* with two ships tooke a Portugall Carricke of *Macao* valued at diuers millions of *Florens*: she was of foueteene hundred tunnes, had eight hundred men (one hundred whereof were women) her lading Silke, Sugar, Cotton, *Alaske*, *Tintinago*, her name *Saint Katherine*, which first hung forth a bloudie Banner, but being shot betwixt wind and water, exchanged it into a white: seuentie men were slaine, the rest according to composition set on shoare. Hee returned, 1604.

**S** *Pilberg* returned the same yeere. He had fought with three Portugall Carauels at *Cape Verde*. In *Zeilan* he receiued of the King honourable entertainment with libertie of trade, first with the King of *Batecoli*, and after with the King of *Candes*, invited by him and accommodated with an Elephant to carrie him by the King of *Batecoli*, met by the King of *Candes*. his Elephants a dayes journey on the way, and a Litter with costly furniture of Arras, and after that with more honourable accoutrement and attendance of the Captaine (graced with Banners and Colours taken from the Portugals, their professed enemies) to the Citie. For after the death of *Darma* King of *Zeilan*, this *Fimala* of *Candes* (educated with the Portugals in the Fortresse *Columbo*, and baptised by the name of *Iohn de Austria*) by the helpe of his friends made him- selfe King, and expelled the Portugals. There remayned a daughter of the deceased King, baptised by the name *Catharina*, whom the Portugals intended to make Queene, and to marrie her to *Peter Lopes de Sofa* Gouverneur of *Malacca*, and with a great Armie brought her to *Candes*, and made *Iohn de Austria* hide himselfe in the woods, who did beleager the wayes mean while, that no prouision might come to the Citie, slaying the Portugals which came in his reach. 40 Whereupon *Lopes* was constrained to take the field, and trie it by battell, Anno 1590. in which he was slaine, and *Catharina* then nine or ten yeeres old was married to *Fimala*; who subuerted the Portugall Forts, and euery way fortified himselfe against them.

*Spilbergs* going  
to *Zeilan*.

*Columbo*;

*Iohn de Austria*  
or *Fimala*, how  
King of *Candes*  
or *Candy*.

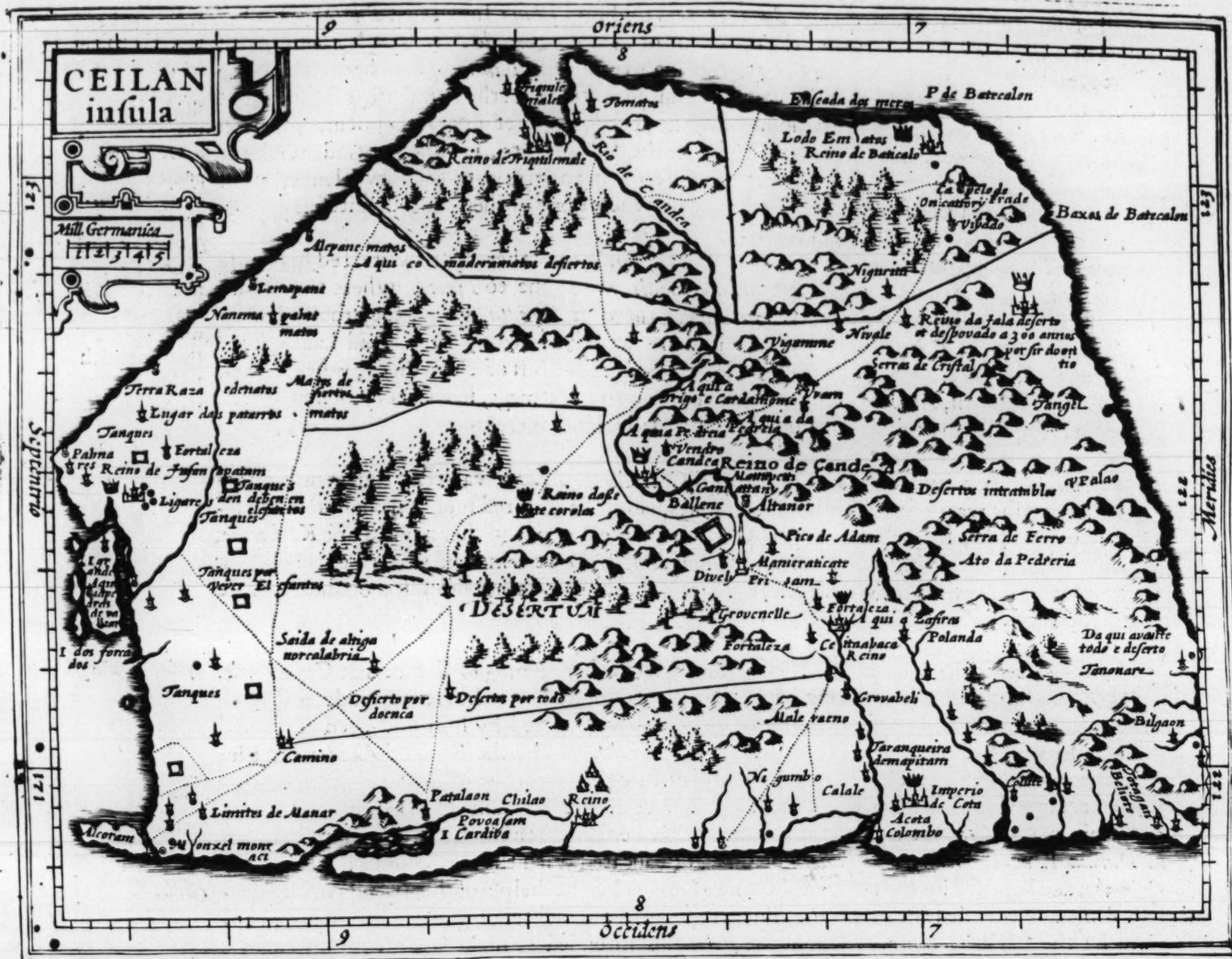
This King, the next day after *Spilbergs* arriual sent him Horses to come to the Court, which went thither with some Presents, Prince *Maurice* his Letters and Picture, and the Portraiture of the Battell at *Newport*.

The King questioned much of these parts, saying, hee had thought that there had beene no white men but the Portugals. Hee feasted him in a roome furnished with Arras Hangings, Chaires, a long Table, and other furniture like the Portugals. And as for league, he said that he and the Queene with his Nobles were readie to carrie mortar on their shoulders, and stones to erect a Fortresse in his Kingdome, where and whensoever the States and Prince *Maurice* pleased. 50 *Spilberg* also to gratifie the King, tooke three Portugall ships not tarre off, burned the Vessels and gaue the Captiues to the King. Hee gaue him two Musicians also, because he saw him therewith delighted; wherewith he was so pleased, that he made one of them his Secretarie, would needs learne the Dutch Language, and haue his Kingdome called *New Holland*. *Spilberg* brought thence first Cynamon and Precious-stones, amongst which a *Pyropus* (a kind of Carbuncle) so great as had not beene here scene, weighing foure hundred Carats. This Iland from North to South is two hundred and fiftie miles, broad one hundred and fortie, fertile of fruits and odoriferous plants, abundance of Cynamon, gemmes, both by sea and mynes, and Elephants. It is diuided into seuen Kingdomes, one whereof is principall, the chiefe Citie *Columbo*, now wholly possessed by *Fimala*, except the Fortresses of the Portugals. For the Readers further delight, and because I find little Trade of our English on this Iland, I haue borrowed hither *Hunda* Map of *Zeilan*.

*New Holland*.

Of this Iland,  
and the veneration  
of their  
Elephants by  
others of other  
parts &c. see  
*Linschoten*.





Neccius his  
voyage to  
China.

The Dutch re-  
ported of the  
English, as here  
the Portugals of  
them.

See the King  
of Ternatas

Letter to the  
the King, and  
Sir H Middle-  
tons first Voy-  
age.

Note that the  
Hollanders in  
reckoning the  
King of Ternata  
Kingdoms, name  
not Bantam: which  
before their Au-  
thors testifie a  
free State: and  
to entertaine  
Ciuill Warres,  
which one  
King might  
easily haue pa-  
cified: besides  
the King of  
Ternata offered

**I**Ames Neccius before mentioned, setting sayle the eight and twentieth of Iune, 1601. in the  
end of March came to *Bantam*, where he found *Paulus à Carden*. He spake with the Gouver-  
nour, who willed him to beware of the *Portugals*, telling that one had beene with him from the  
King of *Tuban*, *Ragiebella* a *Portugall* borne, to sollicite for leaue to assault the *Dutch* in Harbor, 40  
for which purpose they had a Fleet of fortie sayle at *Iacatra*. The second of Aprill, he departed  
from *Bantam* for the *Moluccas*. Here at *Ternata* he found *Verdusius* aforesaid, and *Peter Lindius*  
the Captaine of a Fleet which had passed the *Magellane Straights*, which here at *Ternata* had  
bilged his ship on a Rocke, but saued her goods. By these *Neccius* heard of a ship of *Mabus* Fleet  
at *Tidore* taken by the *Portugals*, or betrayed rather, and their Captaine treacherously slaine with  
all his Company, except five. They had also belabored the King of *Ternata* against the *Hollanders*,  
saying, they were impious, perfidious, without God or goodnesse, Sodomites, of whom for their  
loue to the King, they gaue him faire warning, promising also rewards. The *Hollanders* in re-  
uenge set vpon the *Portugals* at *Tidore*, where *Neccius* was wounded on his right hand, eight or 50  
nine of his Companie lost, and the *Dutch* going by the worst, retired. Some of his Companie  
he left at *Ternata*, and after festiuall entertainment for want of merchandize, he was forced to  
seeke Trade in *China*, or elsewhere.

This King of *Ternata* was called *Scipidine*, Lord of *Ternate*, *Machian*, *Motir*, *Amboni*, *Gulolo*,  
&c. he stileth himselfe also King of *Celebes*, although he possleth nothing there but some for-  
ced places: and in *Mindanao*, *Sokent*, *Menos*, and other Ilands.

*Neccius* came to *Coyo* one of the *Philippine* in eleuen degrees, tributarie to the *Spaniard*, where  
they had kind entertainment. After that they came to *Mendare* not farre from the Bay of  
*Manilla*, and eight dayes together were endangered among the Rockes. The twentieth of Sep-  
tember, they came to a Land vknowne, and then were encountered with a terrible tempest. 60  
This was one of the Ilands before *Canton*. When they thought themselues twelue or fiftene  
leagues from *Macao*, they proceeded three or foure leagues, and saw buildings at the foot of a  
hill, and certaine boats with one man and one woman, besides children, in each of them, as if

they offered his Kingdome to the Queene of England. See Sir Fr. Drake. *Macao*. *Hollanders* lost there.

they



- they had beene so many Families dwelling therein. They questioned with them (for none would come aboard) of *Macao*, and they pointed to the mountaine: but they not thinking it so neere, set some ashore, whom when they could not see returne at night; they misdoubted and found too late that it was *Macao*, and their men there detayned. Seeing seven and thirty little Islands before them, they sent the Master to see if he could find any sure harbour by sounding, who was also intercepted with boats from the towne, together with his consorts. Thus were twenty men lost, amongst whom the Treasurer and the Captaine of the souldiers, which was also Master. They thought to write, but could get no carrier, and staying two dayes at *Sanchona* without hope of effecting any thing, the third of October they departed, and the next day were
- 10 carried on the shelve of *Pulo Cynon*, and in danger to be carried vpon *Cauchin China*. *Pulo Cynon.*
- After that endangered with tempest and the shelues, and the swiftnesse of the Current to the South, they came to *Quami*, where finding nothing but Woods, Deserts, and Buffals footings, they passed to *Anarella Talca* in eleuen Degrees, and thirtie Minutes. Heere the Generall with
- twelue others going on shoare, came to an open field, encompassed with goodly trees; where he found many Buffals feeding, and store of Birds, but they could get none. Finding then the tract of a cart, they followed it to spacious woods and fields, footings of men and beasts, but no habitation, which made them thinke that they liued like the *Tartars*. They called the place
- Sotternim* of a distraction which they got by eating a certaine fruit, euery man distracted for a time with a madnesse answering his proper humour, seeing angels, deuils, serpents, all things,
- 20 and nothing. The one and twentieth of October they passed by *Polo Condor*, the next day by *Sangora*, and the seuenth of Nouember arriued at *Barane*, where they had excellent entertaine-  
*Polo Condor.*  
*Sangora.*  
ment; procured trade and a house, and by the Queenes fauour left there eight in factory. Thi-  
Trade at *Patania.*  
ther also came *Heemskirke*, who told them of his taking the *Portugall* Caricke, and therein of a  
letter that *Don Paulo* had hanged fiftene of the *Hollanders* taken at *Macao*; the Quester and Ma-  
ster were sent to *Goa*; which act before they attributed to the *Chinois*, now saw it to be the *Por-  
tugals*, although (as they thought) by helpe of the *Chinois*. *Dutch execu-  
cut d.*
- In *Patania* they vte the *Malayan*, *Syan* and *China* language: the *Malayan* writing like the *A-  
rabecke*; the *Syan* like the *Europian*; and all most in Latine Characters, the *Chinesse* from the  
right hand but downewards. Adultery is punished with death inflicted by their parents in  
30 what kind themselues chuse. Common women are commonly offered to strangers to do house-  
hold seruice by day, and other offices at night. Some of the *Syanites* weare two or three siluer  
balles (or of other mettall) in their yeards, inserted betwixt the skinne and flesh, as big some-  
times as a Tennis ball. The Countrey is fruitfull and wholesome. Their Geese and Duckes lay  
twice a day: the woods are stored with wild beasts; there are Turtles with faire feathers like  
Parrets. They take wild Elephants in fight with a tame, put into the woods of purpose, whiles  
both are fastned by the teeth, some men behind with ropes captiuing the wild. They arriued at  
the *Ramekins* the fiftenth of Iuly, 1604. *Patanian di-  
uersitie of lan-  
guage and  
writing.*  
*Balls in yards:  
One cut out  
one out of his  
yard before  
Cap. Saris and  
goue it him.*
- IN the yeere 1602. a Fleet of fourteene saile were sent out vnder the command of *Wibrand*
- 40 *Warwicke* Admirall, and *Sebalt de Wert* Vice-admirall: the *Maurice* of foure hundreth tunnes,  
the *Holland* three hundreth and fiftie, the *Nassau* three hundreth and fortie, the *Sunne* two  
hundreth and eightie, the *Moone* two hundreth and fiftie, the *Starre* one hundreth and eightie,  
the *Parret* a Pinnasse of fise and twentie; all by *Amsterdam*. Three *Zelanders*, one of foure hun-  
dreth, the *Flushing* two hundreth and fiftie, the *Goose* one hundreth and fourtie: by the *Enchu-  
seners* two, the *Hedge* two hundreth and twentie, the *Virgin* one hundreth seuentie and fise: by  
the *Roterdamians* two, the *Erasmus* two hundred and fiftie, and *Roterdam* eightie. It was deter-  
mined that the three *Zelanders* should goe for *Zeilon* and *Achen*, the *Maurice* and *Moone* to the  
*Moluccas*, the *Nassau* and *Erasmus* to *China* the *Holland*, *Hedge* and *Starre* to *Achen*, the *Sun*,  
*Virgin*, &c. to *Bantam*. In the *Hedge*, *Herman de Brez* was Cape Merchant. These ail, (but the  
50 three *Zelanders* which went three monthes before (set out from the *Tessell* the seuenteenth of  
Iune, 1602. The tenth of March they came to *Achen*. There they found the three *Zelanders*, and  
*Spilbergs* two ships. *Sebalt de Wert* the Vice-admirall, the eight and twentie of Nouember, 1603.  
came to *Zeilon*, & went with fixe Elephants fourtie leagues iourney to *Candes* or *Candy*, & had  
beene honourably entertained with his fiftene followers. He was brought into the City as if  
he had beene a King, the Citizens and Souldiers making a rancke halfe a \* mile long on both  
sides the way, and such a thundering of Ordnance, and sound of trumpets, that none could bee  
heard speake. To the Court he was had with like pompe, where he saw the Royall Counsell,  
& Prince *Maurice* his picture, with a stately Carpet before it to receiue his Presents. The King  
stood in a place by himselfe with his children, beore whom he fell on his knees, and was taken  
60 vp presently, and demanded what Countreiman he was, and wherefore he came: who answered,  
of *Holland*, gouerned by that Prince there pourtraied; whereat they all reioyced, hauing  
placed it there to trie whether he knew it, and the truth of *Spilbergs* relation. He added that he  
came for trade of Merchandize. The King protested much his hatred to the *Portugall*: and after  
asked how he durst without pledge or any assurance, aduenture so farre into that Countrey: hee  
answered.



answered, because the *Portugals* were hated alike of both their Princes; whereat they laughed. In more priuate conference, he promised with twenty thousand men to besiege the *Portugall* Castle *Columbo*, if the *Hollanders* would preuent helpe from *Goa*: and would giue the *Hollanders* all their Castles which he should take, and would reserue his Merchandizing for them. The next day he feasted him, gaue him before a golden tooth-picke, now a bowle of gold wherein he made his little daughter to drinke to him: and if his sonne were old enough, said, he would send him to Prince *Maurice* to be instructed in Martiall discipline. At his departure he gaue him twenty five Quintals of Cynamon, and sixteene of Pepper, and honourable conuoy to his ships.

He notified these things to his fellowes at *Achen*, and counselled them to embrace these oportune promises. For they could not easily be prouided of Merchandize. They had heard of two *French* ships, one shipwrecked at the *Maldana*, the other returned with a small victory: as also the state of the *English* there, which had taken \* a prize, and built a store-house at *Achen*. Thus sixe ships with a Pinnasse, set forth the third of Aprill, not a little heartned by the old and young King of *Achen*, who sent an Embassadour with them to *Zeilon*. They lost many in the calmes betwixt the sixteenth and one and twentieth of Aprill. On the foure and twentieth they arriued, and marched in battell array on the sixe and twentieth to *Motecaló*. The king there entertained them well: but their Religion prohibiting to eat Beeues and Buffals, whereof they had great plenty; they would not sell any to the *Hollanders*. They were disquieted with Flies also and Gnats which would not suffer them to sleepe; against which the Natiues make fire and smoake all the night the place where they sleepe. Some vnruely persons caused great disturbance by killing of certaine Kine, and could not appease them with offering satisfaction: and seeking to make the King intercessor for them to the owners, he also tooke it to heart, and said the *Portugals* had neuer offered such indignitie, neither could he any longer tolerate such wrongs: some forsooth, imagined that the soules of the oxen (had themselves any?) thus slaine were precipitated to hell. Yet at last vpon promise of better abearing, he was intreated.

The thirteenth of May, they had answere of their letter to the King of *Candy*, now encamped at *Manacrawari*, desiring the *Hollanders* to come with their ships to *Punto di Gallo*, promising to besiege it first, and to giue the *Hollanders* that which he had promised, and one thousand Quintals of Cynamon, and as much Pepper for tribute, that being wonne. He desired also the Vice-admirall to meet him at *Vintane*, halfe way betwixt *Matecaló* and *Candy*. Meane while the *Hollanders* tooke three *Portugall* ships, two of two hundreth tunnes, the third of seuentie, and after that a fourth of eightie, but the goods not worth the while, except to gratifie the King of *Candy*: two of them they sent away with the Prisoners according to promise, which was very distastefull to the King. The first of Iune, two hundred choise men were set on shoare to meet the King in best array: but he desired the Vice-admirall to stay with him and send his men aboard, to come in like manner the next day. Thus they which made speed, saued their liues; the rest doubting no euill, were most of them slaine. The next day they vnderstood by a letter from the King of the death of the Vice-admirall with his retinue, pretending his insolence, and offering good termes or warre, as they pleased.

The sixteenth, they had letters againe by a *Germane* of *Candy* from the King, swearing all kindness before promised, if they would helpe him take *Gallo* and *Columbo*: to which they answered, they were ready to trade at shoare, but for the fortresses their ships were, some gone, and they vnfit at present for that which might in fitter time be done. Many messages passed betwixt them, but little trust or trade. The nine and twentieth of Iuly they departed. These *Zeilonians* worship *Pagodes*, of which the *Hollanders* saw some in *Candy* of five or sixe fathoms, representing *Adam*, as the inhabitants affirmed, proportioned by artificiall symmetry to the foot-print of *Adam* in a mountaine neere. The Kings of *Panane*, *Matecaló* and *Poligamme*, acknowledging the King of *Candy* their superiour, who is thus reported to haue attained \* the Scepter. A certaine King of *Sitabague* fiftene leagues from *Candy*, about thirty yeeres before had taken *Candy*, the King whereof with this his sonne and daughter fled to the *Portugals*, who at *Goa* baptized him by the name of *John of Austria*, (as is before said) and brought him vp in *Columbo*. But *Candy* rebelling against the other King, the *Portugals* sent him after that Kings death to *Candy*, where he was acknowledged King, and then followed that which before you had of the Kings daughter, (of *Sitabague*.) To returne to the *Dutch*, they returned to *Achen*, and thence againe to the Ile of *Daru* neere *Sumatra*, and thence after diuers *Portugall* prizes taken to *Macassar*. They learned of an Island called *Ende*, famous with a *Vulcano* or burning hill called *Gunapi*. At last, they (not knowing whether to goe) came to *Ior*, where they helped the King against the *Portugall* Fleet. Thence they went to *Patane*, whether they came the first of Nouember, 1603. Here they heard of the *Erasmus* and *Nassau*, there taking a rich ship sayling to *Japan* neere to *Macao*: after they had pillaged her, they burnt her. After trade here they returne to *Bantam* and home.

*Venas Voyage.* *C* Ornelius de *Vena* in another ship of that Fleet, saith, they came the twentieth one of Iune to *Pulo Timon*, on the three and twentieth to *Paban*, where the King receiued them kindly, on the



the first of Iuly to *Patani*, and agreeing with a *Chinese* to conduct them to *Canton*, then set saile on the eleuenth, and found no matter of great note till the thirtieth, when they came to *Macao*, and tooke a *Portugall* ship bound for *Iapan*, the *Portugals* fleeing and leauing them their ship with the goods and twentie *Blacks*; these they set on shoare, and hauing lighted the ship on the tenth of August fired it, and set saile for *Bantam*. On the eighteenth of September, they encountered a great *Iuncke* which they supposed to be *Portugals*, and after a hot fight forced her, found them *Chineses*, and were sorrie that they had ignorantly hurt their friends; seuentie of which perished, one the Captaine, whose valour lost himselfe and them: they let them depart with their goods in friendship. The sixteenth of December, they arriued at *Bantam*, and the 10 thirtieth of August, 1604. at the *Tessell*.

*Patani, Patane, or Patania.*

*Great China Iuncke.*

IN the yeare, 1603. twelue ships were sent vnder the command of *Stephen Verhagen*. They set saile the eighteenth of December. On the seuen and twentieth of Iune, they came to *Mosambique* and anchored without the Castle, in sight and spight whereof they tooke a *Portugall* ship in the Harbour, and after that diuers other Vessels. But not able to doe any thing memorable against the Iland; On the five and twentieth of August, they departed, and the sixteenth of September, came before *Goa*, but found the *Portugals* so provided that they imagined themselves before betrayed, and their designe bewrayed in *Europe*.

*Verhagens Voyage.*

*Goa.*

On the fourteenth of October, they therefore departed for *Cananor*, whither they came on the sixe and twentieth, but by in excession of the King they remooued to *Calecut*, where they tooke a *Portugall* ship with Powder and Prouision bound for *Zeilan*.

*Cananor. Calecut.*

The third of Nouember, they had fight with nine *Portugall* ships in which many were slaine, none taken. The eighth of Nouember, they entred league with the *Samorine*, ratified by Oath and Instrument in writing.

It was ordered that the *Zeland* and *Enchusen* should goe for *Cambaya*, the rest to *Cochin*, before which they came on the fourteenth, but attempted nothing. On the two and twentieth, they sailed before *Columbo*, and shot at the Castle.

*Cambaya. Cochin.*

The second of Ianuary they came to *Bantam*, the *Delffe* staying at *Achen* to returne their Embassador. On the seuenteenth, they departed for the *Moluccas*. The one and twentieth of February, they came to *Amboyna*, and assailed the Castle, which without further adoe was deliuered on composition of free passage for such *Portugals* as would, and such as would to stay, the Castle and Ordnance left to the *Hollanders*, which presently receiued the *Dutch* Colours: forty sixe married *Portugals* staying and swearing allegiance to the States, sixe hundred others departing.

*Amboyna. Castle taken. See Sir H. Mid. of this whom they slander for assisting the Port. Castle of Tidore wonne, and the Portugals diuen out of the Moluccas: see the later state in Capr. Savin, l. 4. c. 1. & Spilberg, p. 87.*

Five ships were thence sent to *Tidore*, the *Horne* remayning here, and the Admirall going to *Banda*. Those five arriued at *Tidore*, on the second of May, 1605. On the fift, the Vice-Admirall summoned the Castle to yeeld, which the *Portugals* refused and manfully defended their honoer against the Assailants, till an vnfortunate fire, (how or whence vncertaine) lighting in their Powder blew vp a great part of their Castle with sixtie or seuentie of their men. This forced them to yeeld, and consequently, they were dispossessed of all the *Moluccas*, except *Solor*. The King of *Ternate* with fourteene *Corocoras*, contayning each one hundred and fortie Souldiers, aided the *Hollanders*, and held fast the King of *Tidore*, both proouing Spectators of the *European* Prize. They razed the Castle.

This yeare 1605. the King of *Spaine* had made a terrible Edict against the *Hollanders*, forbidding Trade with them vnder grieuous penalties. But prohibition without inhibition is vaine: and the Foxe the more he was cursed, thriued the better. For in the same yeare, they sent forth *Cornelius Matelinius* with twelue ships, foure of which were seuen hundred tunnes each. The next yeare *Paulus à Caerden* was set forth with eight other in May, 1606. Anno 1607. the Peace or Trace being in treatie, they set forth another Fleet of thirteene sayle vnder *Peter Williamson* 50 *Verhues*. Anno 1608. three ships returned laden with Spices, three hundred tunne of Cloues, one hundred of Nutmegs, fiftie of Mace, &c.

*Matelinius* hauing in charge to enter league with the *Indian* Kings against the *Portugals*, in the end of Aprill, 1606. sent to the King of *Iortan* to ayde him, who came with two thousand *Blacks*, and on the tenth of May, they both went on shoare against *Malacca*, and possessed the Suburbs. But continuing their siege to little purpose, and hearing of the *Portugall* Fleet comming, they arose & on the seuenteenth of August set saile to encounter the Armada consisting of fourteene great ships, and as many smaller. A terrible Sea-fight followed, in which the *Hollanders* were forced to forsake the *Mauritius* one of their best ships, and *Mateliff* himselfe was in great distresse by three *Portugall* shippes (together with the *Middleborough*) till others comming into his helpe with fierie shot, hee freed himselfe: but the *Middleborough* with two *Portugall* ships fastened to it were burnt together, the men sauing themselves in the boats (as well as they could) of other ships. The *Hollanders* diuerted to their confederate Kings, the *Portugals* going to *Malacca*, where hauing left seuen of their ships, the rest returned. The *Dutch* hauing

*Mateliff's Expedition.*

*Malacca besieged.*

*Sea fight.*

*See of this fight, pag. 411.*



having now repayed themselves tooke this oportunitie, and made an vnexpected returne, took one of the *Portugall* ships, slue the men, fired the Vessell; two others fighting with the *Dutch* Vice-Admirall, fell both on fire and were consumed in both Elements, Anger: a fourth also yeelded; the rest were fired by the *Portugals* at *Malacca*, being before disarmed, lest they should fall into the Enemies power.

*Dutch women and families sent.*

*Japan.*

The *Dutch* also entered a new Trade at the Cape of *Good Hope*, for trayne Oyle & Seales skinnes and Oxehides: of which *Isaac le Maire* brought home at once 45000.

Seale skinnes, and 500. (vasa) 803. sheads of trayne, &c.

*Sup. p. 385.*

See *Floris* 321.

& 324. *Cap. 1.*

*Kee'ing, Mid-*

*dleton, &c. Pe-*

*ter W. Williams*

*Verhuf, or*

*Verhuf, or*

*Hauf.*

*Mozambique ta-*

*ken, and the*

*Castle besieged*

*Bo Jesus taken.*

*Goa.*

*Coromandel.*

*Samorine.*

*Malacco.*

*Ratissont King of Ior descryed.*

I omit Admirall *Peter Both*, sent with a notable Fleet, Anno 1609. with Garison Souldiers, with women also and families sent to inhabit; and a ship that returned from *Japan*, 1610. where she had the Emperous license of Trade and had left a Factorie: and another shippe sent thither, 1611. and the fortie tunnes of Gold which that *Japan* ship and another are said to have brought backe. I have done sufficient in this Treasure of Navigations, to shew the beginnings as of the *Spanish* and *Portugall* before, so here also of the *Dutch* Plantations in the *Indies*, and in the course of our *English* Voyages we have many of theirs interlarded, thus many Rivers bringing vs into an immense Sea of their present Trade. But because *Banda* was the banefull and banned occasion of this digression, you may see in diuers of ours, also Relations of the *Dutch* doings and sufferings there, as 1606. some of their men slaine whiles they sought Trade, and of the quarrels betwixt the Ilanders and them continuing long after: and I haue thought good briefly to adde the Historie of their forcible possession thereof by *Verhuf*, out of their owne Relations.

**V**erhuf with a Nauie of nine ships and foure Pinnasses, the three and twentieth of December, 1607. set saile from the *Tessell*. The thirteenth of Iuly, 1608. they saw the Land of *Sofala*: on the eight and twentieth, they came to *Mazambique*, where they tooke a ship vnder the Castle most of the *Portugals* hauing runne away, very rich, but casually or by the *Portugals* set on fire the next night whereby great part of the goods were lost. They tooke also two Pinnasses. A thousand men they set on shoare in sixe Bands, commanded by Captaine *Buter*, on the nine and twentieth, but found none in the Towne but five or sixe *Portugals*, and a few olde folkes, children and *Blacke* slaues, three hundred with fiftie *Turkes*, whom they set at libertie and set on shoare in safer places. The Towne they found great, with conuenient houses, wals, two Churches and Monasteries. The Merchants had conueyed themselves into the Castle, but left much goods behind to the *Dutch* prey.

The first of August, they began to batter the Castle. On the tenth, they went into the continent and destroyed two Villages. But the Monlon being neere, they rayled their siege the eighteenth, fortie of them being slaine, and an hundred wounded; and hauing burned a Towne and Monasterie in an adioyning Iland they departed. They tooke a *Portugall* ship called the *Bo Jesus*, on the one and twentieth whereby they vnderstood that nine Gallions and five other great ships had beene sent from *Lisbone*, towards the East *Indies*, of which Company this ship was separated from her consorts by foule weather. They fought with the *Dutch* nine heures, who found in her remayning, one hundred and fortie Souldiers of one hundred and ninetie:

On the eighteenth of September, they anchored before *Goa*. On the sixe and twentieth, they sent the *Arnold* to *Coromandel* where they had great trading. The fift of October, they sayled along the *Malabar* Coast to refresh themselves neere *Cananor*, and on the eight towards *Calicut*. On the eleuenth, the Admirall with two hundred men visited the *Samorine*, who on the thirteenth and fourteenth sent out Hunters which killed about fortie great Boares, and gaue to the *Hollanders*. He deliuered to the *Samorine* the Captaine and Cape Merchant of the *Bo Jesus*; the ship they had before sunke. On the sixteenth he set saile, on the two and twentieth came before *Zeilon*. The two and twentieth of Nouember, they came before *Malacca*, where they tooke a *Portugall* ship, and fired it, the goods beeing by the Inhabitants before carried away.

On the foure and twentieth, they sent to the King of *Ior* to acquaint him with their purpose to besiege and take the Towne and Castle of *Malacca*. On the six and twentieth, they set men on shoare in the little Iland of *Saint Peter*, where the next day the *Portugals* set on them and lost their Admirall with three Captaines and sixe prime Officers, besides many of the meener. Of the *Hollanders* seuen were slaine and three taken. On the eight and twentieth, fiftene Frigats of *Blacke* Pirats adioyned themselves to the *Hollanders*. But the King of *Ior* could afford no helpe, his Fleet being then abroad. Some Vessels being taken and their three men recovered by exchange of Prisoners, they departed on the nine and twentieth.

The tenth of Ianuary they went to *Ior*, and the King with his Sonne and Brother with twelue Frigats came to the Fleet on the fourteenth. His name is *Ratissont*: he had on a white Cotton Wastcote to his knees with a fringe hanging to the feet, silken Sandals, a blacke Shash on his head, three Gold Chaines about his necke, with many Iewels annexed, two thicke gold Rings on his left ar ne and one on his right, sixe on his fingers, a Crisse very artificiall in sheath of solid Gold set with many Diamonds, Saphires, Carbuncles (valued at fiftie thousand Florens) of meane stature, comely shape, moderate speech, whitish complexion, hauing with him thirtie Wiues; his Frigat adorned gallantly with a Tent, borne vp with foure golden Pillars. His seat is in New *Ior*.

The



The fourteenth of February, they came to *Bantam*. On the second of April, 1609. they came to *Teralta* twenty foure leagues, from which is a Rocke burning in the Sea, halfe an houres iourney in circuit, with a huge opening in the top alway smoking. On the eight arriued at *Banda*. There he found Captaine *Keeling* in Trade for the *English* Company, with other *Dutch* ships for theirs (the *English* hauing begunne and continued Trade euer since the beginnings in manner of that Societie, Captaine *Colthurst* who went with Sir *Henry Middleton*, in the second Voyage, hauing spent one and twentie weekes in trading at *Banda*.) The *Dutch* ships belonged to the Fleet of *Paul van Caerden*.

10 These Ilands of *Banda* saith *Verkius*, the Author of this Iournall, and one of the chiefe Commanders, are seuen in number, about ten leagues in circuit, eightie leagues from the burning Rocke: the best Ilands in all the East, producing Mace and Nutmegs to serue the whole World.

See l. 2 c. 5. & 8  
See Ind. Orust.  
Iav. non.  
Pag. 216.

The people in them are supposed ten or twelue thousand. *Banda libera est Respub.* saith *Pontanus*, in his Historie of *Amsterdam*: *Banda* is a free Common-wealth (as before, *Regem nullum agnoscunt*, they acknowledge no King, or in *Dutch English*, They are Free States) and for the King of *Ternata*, *Isacius* sleights it off as a trifle, *quamuis Ternatensis partem aliquam territorij vindicare sibi videatur*: Some seeming of some challenge of some part; that is, some nothing. Thus the Story of *Amsterdam* written and printed of, and at *Amsterdam*, purposely handling these *Indian* Affaires. Neither did *Verbuef* now challenge that or any right, or haue any of their Iournals which I haue seene published, so much as mentioned any such challenge or broken title, on that Kings part, or such acknowledgement on theirs, that any should now become *redemptor*  
20 *litium*, or incurre a Writ of *Champertie* in his behalfe, which yet the *English* might best doe, as appears in Sir *Francis Drakes* Voyage. Their cruel warres which the *Hollanders* found betwixt them at their first comming before mentioned, shew that no Superiour interposed (as was iust cause) to command better abearing.

*Verbuef* on the ninth (as *Keeling* hath it, or after their Story, which I follow, all these Relations of the *Dutch*, and after their New stile, nineteene) went on shoare at *Ortattan*, where the *Orankayas*, or the States and Gouvernours assembled: Here he caused Prince *Maurice* his Letters to be carryed before him in a siluer Dish couered, and was met by an *Orankaya*, and conuayed vnder a great Tree, where were two hundred of the Chieffes sitting crosse-legged like Taylors (after their manner) and he conueniently set, and his Letters read in *Portugall* first, and after in *Malayan*. The Contents whereof were, that Prince *Maurice* vnderstanding that the Ilanders  
30 had not kept promise with the *Hollanders* to haue Trade onely with them, who had now traded there sixe yeares and bene at great charges, and were often much abused; did therefore desire them to permit the *Hollanders* to build some Castle in some of those Ilands in place most fit for them, not thereby to en-  
40 damage any way the Inhabitants, but to defend themselves and the whole Countrey from *Portugals*, which happily might come thither: the *Hollanders* being to satisfie them for the place and for stones and all appurtenances to the structure, and no way to be troublesome to the Inhabitants. These Letters being read, the people were in an vprore, and but for feare of their shipping would haue slaine the *Hollanders*, as after appeared. But consulting amongst themselves in present, answered, that he should depart aboard his ships, and they would communicate the businesse with the rest of the Ilands, and in three dayes giue him an answer; which was giuen on the two and twentieth,  
40 and proued a flat Negatiue. Whereupon the *Hollanders* prouided themselves for fight, and some went on shoare and fought with them the same euening: One ship also and two Pinnasses they sent to *Nera*, that the ship Companies might forrage that Iland at pleasure.

See of this letter, pag. 199.  
Here make no right of the *Hollanders* or *Ternata* pretended.  
See also the *Dutch* allegation to *Keeling*, 202 & 203.  
The *Hollanders* what they cannot get by intreatie, seeke to winne by force.

On the foure and twentieth, the Ilanders came to the Admirall and desired three dayes respite, which the *Hollanders* denied, but said, they would next day try by force their fortunes with them: which answer receiued, they soone returned with answer, that the Ilanders thought better to abstayne from battell and to permit them to build a Castle on *Nera*. On the five and twentieth, sixe Companies of *Hollanders* (each one hundred and fiftie) went to *Nera* and found the Inhabitants of it and *Rato*, fled to the other side of the Iland: wherefore they kept good watch.

50 The third of May, was a great Earthquake (not vnusuall in those parts) and the fourth they began their Castle in *Nera*, or *Nero*. On the one and twentieth, the Ilanders sent to the Admirall desiring him to appoint a place where they might meet and conferre. The next day hee went with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers to a place neere *Rato*, halfe an houres way distant from the New founded Castle: and the *Fiscall* went to the Ilanders to bid them send some with full power to treat. They sent to desire the Admirall that he would meete their *Orankayas* or State-Gouvernours in a Groue; for some of them feared his forces there where hee was, lest the Souldiers should offer them violence.

\* The *Banda* neses still. bier *Veruef* b. le- nesse in crying at his death, which they thinke more childish than manly and braue.

60 The Admirall hereupon with his Militarie Councell, two Gunners and two Boyes went amongst them, commanding the Souldiers to looke to their Armes and expect his returne. But they within a quarter of an houre hearing a great cry \* in the Wood, and two Peeeces discharged, sent *Verkius* to see what was the matter, with sixe Muskietiers, who had scarcely gone thirtie paces into the Wood, before they were incountred by a great company of *Blacks*, at whom they



Verhucf, the Dutch Admirall with many others treacherously flaine. Nassau Castle in Nera. Supplem. None paytis Ind. Orient. Marke the vices alledged by our men against their Sepulchres & Meskits. \* There was no European Nation then in trade with them but the English: that it was done purposely against them. But see Keelings story then here, and D. Middleton. after in the third Booke before, with Floris, and other Relations, whence this businesse appeares.

they discharging their peeces, the other souldiers came in and rescued them, putting the *Blacks* to flight, and in the chase found the Admirall and his Company flaine, whom they brought on their shoulders to their new founded Castle. Of the *Hollanders* were that day flaine in all forty two persons. On the three and twentieth, they slew the *Dutch Fiscall* with diuers others. On the thirtieth, the *Hollanders* with two Companies spoyled all they could in the Island. On the twelfth of Iune, the *Dutch* killed fiftie *Blacks* in a lunk, On the thirteenth, the Castle being well-nigh finished, was named *Nassau*, of *James Bitter* the Captaine;

On the three and twentieth of Iuly, the *Hollanders* attempted *Slanga*, a towne of the *Blacks*, but returned with the losse of thirtie, and one hundred hurt: *Bitter* himselfe hauing his legge broken, wherof he after died. On the fourteenth of August, the *Hollanders* sent to treat of a peace, saying, that though they had offended the *Hollanders* in killing the Admirall and chiefe men, yet they also should remember what harmes they had done to the *Hollanders*, in subuerting their Citties \* and Temples, firing their Villages and Forts, with great slaughters euery where. The *Hollanders* answered, that they would grant peace, on condition they would sweare that they would thereafter haue trade with none other Nation \* whatsoeuer it were, but sell all their Nuts and Mace to the *Hollanders* onely; who on the other side promised to defend them from their enemies, and to provide them of Rice and necessaries for food, with a reasonable price for their wares. On these conditions, peace was concluded, and by oath on the *Alcaron* confirmed, the fifteenth of August.

How brittle this forced peace was, appeareth before by the Iournalls of Captaine *Keeling* then there, and *David Middleton* soone after, and by the *Dutch* owne stories, which complaine of their trade with Captaine *Middleton*, their conspiracie also against the *Hollanders*, the *Hollanders* lacking of *Comber*, the *Blacks* killing diuers *Hollanders* in a wood, of a kinde of Siege of their Castle, bloody fight, the Castle almost famished, all in the same yeere that this peace was concluded. So little force is made of Force, when any euasion appeareth, especially when *Mercury* is turned to *Mars*, and men begging trade will force Forts vpon free States and Gouvernours. No maruaile if hereupon they found the *Hollanders* perpetuall worke, as you haue before read in *Floris*, and at last sent and obtained trade with the *English*, ratifying the same by refiguration of so many Ilands to his Maiestie: which Soueraignty the *Dutch* stories (by me traced, and faithfully followed in the former relations) doe no so much as mention by them sought in articles of treaty, or to them by the *Hollanders* offered. Hence the warres betwixt the *English* and *Dutch*: and the hatefull disasters before recited: the *Hollanders* making a bridge of *English* ships to get ouer *English* bodies and blood to these Ilands, .euen without denutation of warre, fore heard of.

Hauing now gathered this out of the *Dutch* owne Histories and Iournalls, I presume not to dispute (for euen they themselves and these their Historians being iudges) who seeth not the state of the case. But I haue thought good to adde for further illustration; this relation of their gaine by that trade, as one of that society hath lately published: after which I will giue you the testimony of the Priest of *Poolarooone* (a man there of great esteeme) touching the *Banda* case, a Discourse of mine owne added for illustration: and that men may not misconstrue these things, to the distaste of the *Hollanders* in generall, but rather of some of their Maiors or Commanders and Committees there (which you may vnderstand also in like differences with the *Portugals*) I haue added (to end this businesse) an extract of a little Booke translated out of *Dutch*, which as he speakes meanelly of their gaires by this trade; so hee imputeth the fault to the ill government and Gouvernours.

The gaires which the *Hollanders* had gotten by the East India trade, taken out of a Booke Translated out of the *Dutch*, perswading to a West Indie Trade.

Now to let you see how much we should be hindered, if we should leaue off the East Indian Trade, & the like hinderance, we should consequently also faile of touching the power and strength of these Countreyes. In the Records of the East Indian Company it appeareth, that from Anno 1595. to Anno 1601. included, they sent out fortie and sixe ships, whereof there arrived three and fortie againe in these Countreyes richly laden. Ships that brought for returne, (all charges deducted) two hundred and thirtie Tunnes of gold, cleare gaires for the Merchants of the said Company. Further, by the Records and Bookes of the said East Indian Company: it is also shewed, that for the space of eleuen yeeres we had still about thirtie ships continually in East India, with five thousand Sea-faring men, and that they expected to receiue from thence at least three hundred Tuns of gold in capitall, besides that which they had in the land. Now I refer it to your iudgement, what the said Company in the last ensuing tenne yeeres vntill this time hath gained? who within the time of sixe moneths, haue had a good returne of fortie Tuns of gold, I doubt not but you haue heard of the rich lading that the two ships brought hether, within the space of a moneth, being valued to be worth foure and twenty Tuns of gold, in such manner, that the particular partners from Anno



Anno 1605. (every mans full aduerture being deliuered in) haue gained upon every hundred Guilders, unto this day, in ready money, the summe of two hundred Guilders; and whensoever any man will sell his stocke (which at this time he hath in the Company) which he may doe when he will, he may for every hundred haue two hundred and thirtie Guilders: whereunto add the Interest, which the partners (from the first money receiued) to this present haue gained, which also is halfe a capitall, there resteth to the partners particularly, upon every hundred, if they haue ventured and traded sixteene yeeres in the East Indian Company, in cleare gaires aboue foure hundred Guilders. I speake not this by report, but as a witness thereof, being one of the partners, that haue receiued my part of the gaine, and may haue the rest within eight dayes, if I will sell my stocke, which I may at all times doe.

10 Secondly, we may by the Trade vsed by the said Company, vntill the yeere 1614. included; declare and proue, that the custome houses of the Countrey, by meanes of conuoyes, licences, tolls, and customes, which the said East Indian Company haue, and pay, inward and outward, haue profited and receiued aboue five and thirtie Tunnes of gold, for the which the States of the land, haue at some times (as neede required) ayded the said Company towards their warres in India, with money and ships: partly to ease the said Company of some portion of their charge. Now, what they haue receiued in the custome-houses of the Countrey, from Anno 1614. to Anno 1621. without doubt it is a greater summe, and much more then the former, noting what a rich returne they haue made within these seuen yeeres. Now to shew what furtherance and benefit the common people haue had and gotten by this East Indian Trade, we must note, that a Fleet of twelue ships, doth cost in money and all other things thereunto belonging, about 20 eighteene Tunnes of gold, to set and send it forth: and commonly there is not aboue five or sixe Tunnes of gold in ready money sent out with it: all the rest is bought and prepared here in the land, to the great benefit and welfare of the Countrey, and gained by the Inhabitants, that sell and deliuer the same. And every ship that comes home againe, one with another, payeth aboue a Tunne of gold for monthly wages, whereby the Officers and Saylers also are enriched, which also is gotten and spent by and among the Inhabitants: whereby it is manifest, what the common people haue profited; besides, the great number of so many thousand people, that by meanes of this Trade aforesaid, are set on worke, and well paid for it, to the great comfort and benefit of many poore people.

30 Thirdly, to shew what the publike Common wealth hath yet further gotten by this Trade, you must understand, that the greatest profit of the Land consisteth in the most great hurt and damage which the enemy hath first and last endured, and yet endureth in East India: for since that we were prohibited to Trade and Trafficke in Spaine, and other of the Spanish territories (which notwithstanding against his will, by other Nations we doe continue with good profit) from Anno 1596. we haue overcome and spoyled eleuen of his great huge Carrackes, Gallies, and other great ships, and haue made about fortie of his ships vnserviceable; besides those, that in the last ten yeeres ensuing, we haue spoyled and taken: whereby our enemies trade there, hath bene greatly impaired, and ours, by Gods blessing (who onely is to be prayd therefore) to the admiration of the whole world, is greatly increased. In such manner, that the Staple of all manner of Spices, and other rich and costly Wares, which for the space of two hundred yeeres together was in Venice, (whereby the said Towne increased and became exceeding rich) and after that by meanes of their Navigation, was in Portugall, for the space of one hundred yeeres: and lastly, for 40 fine and twenty yeeres hath bene in Holland and Zeland, and since that by a good agreement made, the last yeere was also brought into England: in such sort, that the King of Spaines Merchants, were forced in the yeeres aforesaid (contrary to all mens expectations) to buy Nutmegs, Cloues and Mace of vs.

He reckoned  
the Kings losse  
yeerly aboue  
one hundred  
tunne of gold,  
besides what  
the Portugalls  
lose.

I will briefly declare, the present state of the said Company in East India. You must understand, that matter of Trafficke is in very good termes, which wee hope by Gods helpe and blessing, shall from yeere to yeere still be better and better, now the Englishmen (by meanes of a contract made with them a yeere since) ioine their forces with ours: and we for our parts haue in East India, that are coming home and here in the Countrey, aboue fiftie ships, double furnished with lusty Saylers, as also all other things fit for the War, and for so long a Voyage, and about ten strong Forts, whereof some we haue taken from the Enemy; the rest haue bene erected at the great cost and charges of the Company, and 50 made defensible, which for the securitie of our owne people and goods, as also for the defence of our confederates are sufficiently provided. Lastly, when they of Bantam began to lay an extraordinary toll upon our Nation, and caused vs to pay fiftie per cento custome, and yet we could not for all that obtaine licence of them, to build a Ware-house of stone and Morter, for the securitie of our Wares and Merchandizes, for that being of wood, it was twice burnt: we were constrained to transport our Trade in Bantam to another conuenient place, which is a firme Island, and hath many good and conuenient Hauens in it: for in my writings I finde, that siue yeeres past Mataram the great Emperour of Iaua, who is able to bring three hundred thousand men into the field, dwelling about one hundred miles distant from Bantam, had also sought to make some contract of alliance with vs, offering to deliuer vs Pepper toll free, and licence to 60 to build vs a Castle of Morter and Stone, with all things conuenient in Iapara, which was not well liked off by the King of Bantam and his Lieutenant. At last our Nation built a conuenient Towne about Iacatra, reasonably well fortified, and called it Batauia, where there are about one thousand houses of all Nations, there to Trafficke and deale in Merchandize, which is defended and governed by a Gouernour, Scout, and other Officers, for the maintenance of good gouernement and policy, and to administer Iustice vnto every one: and to the end that before all other things, Gods ser-  
uice



nice and honour might be maintained, whereby the blind Heathens might be brought out of their great darknesse, and young children taught the knowledge of the truth of Iesus Christ our Saviour: the Company diligently and carefully tooke order, to erect a Church and a Schoole therein, to the which end they sent thither certaine learned men, as at the first also they did, which with great benefit and increase, have taught the Heathens the Gospell of Christ in their owne language, as well as unto our men in their language: In such manner, that a King and a Prince of Amboyna, (where the Country people are much addicted unto deuillish and heathenish superstitions) sent two of their sonnes into these Countreys, with a Letter vnto the Prince of Orange, to haue them brought up at Schoole, and taught our language, and Christian Religion, that they might at their returne into East India, be a meane of planting the Church of Christ there in India, and learne how to defend their owne native Countrey.

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*The Relation of the Priest of Poolaroone, touching the beginnings and occasions of quarrells betwixt the Dutch and Bandanefes, written in the Malayan language with his owne hand, in a very faire Arabecke letter, and the sense rendred to me in English by M. Rob. Haies.*

**T**His is the beginning of contentions betwixt the *Hollanders* and the *Bandanefes*. Two *Hollanders* ranne from them and turned *Slammes* or *Mahumetans*, and in the Priests house at *Nero* were slaine by three *Hollanders*, which in reuenge were slaine by the *Natiues*, who stayd not there, but in the fury slew other three *Hollanders*. This was ill done of them, to adde a double reuenge. Soone after the Generall of the *Hollanders* came thither with thirteene ships, and demanded satisfaction for the slaughter of his Countymen. The *Bandanefes* offered Diet (that is, the wonted satisfaction there vsed for man-slaughter, in money) for those last three. But the Generall answered, that he came not now to demand satisfaction, but to make peace and league with them, which was done. The next yeere came another *Holland* Generall, *Peter williamson Verhucf*, with fiftene ships into the Hauen of *Nero*, and asked leaue to set vp a Fort at *Taniung Ratoe*, or *Ponit Ratoe*, which the *Bandanefes* granted; but then he refused it, and demanded leaue to erect a Fort in another place at *Taniung Minangis*, which they refused. But he comming before the Castle of *Nero*, with his ship and Ordnance, terrified the inhabitants, which fled away, and he possessed the Castle, and fortified there. Then did the *Bandanefes* subtilly dissemble friendship, and shew the Generall, and fiftene Captaines, with others about one hundred men, in all.

A discourse of those warres, and the effects with their causes, briefly presented in a short Summarie.

See Fitzherberts Relation.

Gen. 6.

**H**ence the Warres betwixt the Dutch and Bandanefes: and hence the Warre so portentuous in the midst of peace (not betwixt the two Nations their Princes and States, which hold confederacie and amitie, but) betwixt our Merchants and theirs, our Mariners and theirs, our Sea-Commanders and theirs; the two Indian Companies in those parts (the guiltie of them) as it were growing fierce with infection of those fiercer Nations, changing their conditions more then their complexions, traueilling from themselves in so farre Navigations, putting off with their warmer clothes in that hotter Climate, their solid vertues, putting on Heathenish qualities with their commerce; putting vp fierce ferity with their hot Spices, putting out in great part humanitie, ciuilitie, Christianitie, in those various Currents and diuersified Seas, Shoals, Islands. And who can but be amused and amazed with wonder at such prodigious transformations, that so neere Neighbours in Region, (parted with a narrow Channell) neerer yet in long societie of Armes, (sealed with so many liues and deaths against one enemy,) and neerer then all names of neerenesse, in the neerest, dearest, and sweetest of names, Religion (both professing in substance one Reformation,) that this threefold Cord hath bene so easily broken; their reformation in Religion become a deformation of Religion amongst unbeleuing Ethniks and misbeleeuing Papists: their following the same Armes by sea and land become a trayning to greater harmes to each other by sea and land: that propinquitie of dwelling should make remotenesse of Neighbourhood; and what neither Portugall policies, nor Infidell treacheries could doe, themselves might doe, to their owne undoing with their owne hands; and the hearts of both Nations at home might bee in danger of dis-ioyning, by the dis-ioynted parts and Factions abroad; the sparkes of that fire of Hell seeming to breake out at Goun Apee with that terrible Earthquake before mentioned, vnto a more terrible heart-quake, there to set that world on fire, and here to endanger this. Sphaeres haue bene hereby turned to Speares; Wares (with addition of a canine letter) to Warres; Words (with a new hissing sound from that old Serpent) into Swords; Ships charge of so many Tunnes in freight: to discharge of so many Gunnes in fight; Merchants to Martialists, exchanging their gayn-good (or gayn-god) Mercury, for those payn-gods or deuils Mars and Mors, or that wonted function which Poeticall Diuinitie ascribed to Mercury, of patronising Merchandise, for that other of conducting Soules to Hell. Hercules hath brought vp Cerberus that Hell-monster, and set him vncained on the Indian shoares, with the three Internall Furies crowning his triple head; and hence haue we had this Hell vpon Earth. Such is Warre, and especially when the sonnes of Peace make Warres, when vnchristian Christians warre together: when the sonnes of God see these faire daughters of men (the riches of Infidels) and take them

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them Wiues where they lust (will not woo with trafficke, but ransh by force, nor make their Voyage Gen. 6. but a Conquest) is it any marvell if the issue prooue Giants, and the Earth be filled with violence? (Euen the Poets also fabled their Giants to be Neptunes Sonnes.) Hence is Commerce Diuine and humane empayred, Peace blowne vp, Charitie blowne out, Rights of neighbourhood, and Rites of hospitalitie exiled; Merchandise in unlawfull copulation with Mars procreating, I know not how, many Bastards; such are Vsurpations, Oppressions, Insultations, Iealouies, Treacheries, Inualions, Lies, Force, Fraud; and the rest of that restless blacke Gard, hatefull to God and man: Which here I haue historically expressed, not delighting in Tragedies, but (forsan & hæc olim meminisse iuuabit) it will be delightfull to some to haue escaped such disasters as haue swallowed so many others, and profitable to posteritie, to preuent like mischiefs in the like beginnings.

10 The beginning of this quarrell was first a strangeness; whereof Syuerion a Dutch Captaine is charged to be the author, whose vnciuill conditions infected the rest, and made them withdraw their familiarity with our Nation, which before they had kindly used. When this Sunne of Charitie, shining in louing Society, was set in this cloud of strangeness, stormie weather followed, and darknesse, and it was night, wherein all the beasts of the Forrest crept forth, the young Lions roared after their prey; the ghastly ghosts walked abroad in the darke, and the Rulers of the darknesse of this world amongst the children of Night and of darknesse domineered at pleasure. This Strangeness, as the darknesse of Hell, opened a passage to those Hellish fires following, and was the Wombe of those Hell-bred Monsters (as priuation is a preparation to habite, and corruption to generation) which were indeed many, but their  
20 three Captaines were Drunkenness, Couetousness, and Pride (this that threefold Head of Cerberus, and triple Crowne of Furies, before mentioned.) In the first, Bacchus made a new expedition into the Indies, with a band of Racke, Rackapee, and other hot drinckes, displaying the Colours of the Flesh, oppugning the Spirit of GOD, and expugning the Reason of Man: whence so many Frayes, Braules, and sometimes Blowes, and Wounds; this Wild-fire or Ignis Græcus burning most in moisture whiles men played the Greekes. After this Vant-gard of Bacchus and the Flesh, followed the Maine battell lead by the World, arranged under the Colours indeed of Couetousness, which finding some sweets of gayne, with an euill eye grudged at any partners; cohibited them by undermining wiles, lies, pretences; prohibited by open Proclamations; inhibited by confiscations and surprizals, attended with Chains, Fetters, Prisons, Tortures, Famine, and manifold Deaths. GOD helpe the man that comes under the  
30 power of Couetousness: an ouer-drie, euer-thirstie fire of Hell, kindled from thence, and burning thuber, still flaming on the Altar and before the Idol of the golden Calfe, and kindling there (that is in the couetous mans heart) such zeale of that deuotion, that he knowes not, hates, persecutes, whatsoeuer stands in his way; and if he be able, answers all obiections with Ius in armis, like another Alexander, chopping that knot insunder by force, which neither wit, learning, nor Religion could vntye. After these battalions of the Flesh and the World, the Deuill followes in the Rere, (though as Generall of the Field, he generally infuseth himselfe, totamque infusa per artus Mens agitat molem & magno ie corpore miscet) His Standard is aduanced by Pride, which hauing cast Angels out of Heauen, and Man out of Paradise, would dispossesse Mankind of Humanitie, Christians of Societie, the iust Merchant of his Trade, and the World of Iustice. Hence inordinate confusions, and the confused confounding orders of  
40 contentions, (onely by pride doe men make contention) combustions, supplantings, neglects, contempts, scornes, indignations, vexations, persecutions, exultations, insultations, insolencies, cruelties, hells. He that puts off himselfe in drunkenness, and puts on the world in couetousness, shall lose both, and find the Deuill, readily blowing these sparkes of Hell with the Bellowes of Pride (the diuisions of Ruben are great thoughts of heart) till both he and they are encompassed with the unquenchable flames of Hell. Drunkenness began with Bantam frayes, (search the Authors in the former storie,) Couetousness proceeded with prohibition of profitable Trade, wherefoener it could hinder; and with the helpe of Pride, raped Soueraigntie, and reaped an enforced Iurisdiction, violently exercising the same against all gain-sayers.

50 This, as in other places, so principally in Banda. There the Stage of this Tragedie, and out of that burning hill this burning hell of Diabolicall fires first (as is said) seemed to breake forth; the first originall beginning with Apostacie (as you haue heard) in some Dutch Fugitives, which perhaps to escape deserved punishment, denied that which they neuer had, Faith. Secondly, others in vniust Iustice punishing the same with murder (expressing Piety with oppressing Impiety, blind Zeale being a hell fire indeed, a burning fire without any shining light.) Thirdly, the Bandaneles in their supposed sanctitie of Religion profaned, and Sanctuarie of their Priests house violated, see no meane in reuenge, and repent at leisure what was done in hasty furie. Fourthly, this being somewhat composed, and peace made (when Reuenge is a sleepe) Couetousness awakes, and in cold blood, by force (which intreatie could not procure) erects a Fort (that is, a Prison to the Libertie, a Store-house for the Wealth, and a Gibbet for the neckes of the Inhabitants,) that I omit the supposed sacriledge and wrongs to their Meskits and Sepulchres. In the  
60 fift place, they unable to reuenge by force, borrow helpe of treacherous fraud (dolus an virtus quis in hotte requirit?) and kill Verhuf and the Dutch. This being pursued by Warres, is sodored a little while by Peace, but (for ought is extant) neuer kept on either side, and the Dutch continued Masters in their Holds, the Natiues elsewhere. Which yet prouing burthensome to them (as the Dutch know, other Nations haue done) they sought protection of the English, and upon Composition surrendered them.

See Scot sup. pag. 180. & seqq.

Psal. 104. 20.

Eph. 6. 12.

1. Th. 5. 5.

Scott ubi sup. &c.

Plurima mortis imago.

The Gordian knot.

Pro. 13. 10.

Iud. 5. 15.

The parcels summed, and a true account giuen of the Banda case and cause of the warres, ours and theirs.



selues to his Maiestie. The English name before distasted, was now detested and contemned of the Dutch, (who before had growne strange, and with whom bralls and factions had not beene strange, towards ours, with hindrance of Trade and the like) they seize our ships, goods, men, and vse them as you haue heard.

\* They tooke the Swan and the Defence, 1616. the Salomon and Attendance in March 1618. the Speedwell, &c. where as Sir Thomas Dales first fight and taking the Lion of theirs was in Decem. 1618.

\* The Summe Admirall of Sir Thomas Dales Fleet lost, pag. 634. at the Ile Engano.

After which the English pretend by iust force to recover what by uniuert force they had lost, and Sir Thomas Dale long after \*, with Captaine Pring and others sought by offence to defend: wherein their prowesse at first succeeded, but their misfortunes after exceeded, in the casuall burning of the Blacke Lion, and in the death soone after of a more heroike Lion, Sir Thomas Dale (whose valour hauing shined in the Westerne, was set in the Easterne India; so farre as Death can be a solstice to Honour, whose losse the losse of the Sunne, at Engano seemed to presage) after which followed the surprizall of foure ships at Tecoo, two at Patania, another in the Straits. Egregiam vero laudem! may some say, for Men of Warre so prepared to take their opportunities of dispersed, busied, unprouided Merchants. I would I could not adde, spolia ampla refertis, except in another sense. But the Companies of both Nations, and their wiser Gouvernours at home came to a composition, and agreed on Articles of Peace, which was on both sides there (alreadie wearied) receiued with ioy, and published with approbation. All this notwithstanding, in the midst of this calme and faire weather, there arose a new storme at Banda, which as a beautifull and rich Bride was enuied to English Armes, and seemeth by the cryes on both sides, to haue beene lately ransished from her new Husband, unarmed, unarmed, I know not whither by greater force or fraud; or whither might cause greater indignation, the seizing on the English fellows and friends the Bandanefes, with their owne goods and bodies also, casting downe their Colours and Ordnance, and abusing their persons, in one place; or the letting stand in another, their Fort, as a Cage to be showne in derision, when the Bird was fled or stolne away. This now remaynes, that violent things remayne not and are not usually permanent; and (we doubt not) the bright beames of his Maiesties prudence and iustice, with the mature wisdom of Prince Maurice his Excellencie, and the Illustrious Lords Gouvernours of the vniued Prouinces, shining on those troubled Indian waters, will like the Great GOD out of darknesse bring light, and chastise the wrong-doers; nor will permit Personall quarrels to become Nationall, or Indian bralls of Merchants to become European broyles for Souldiers, but cause the remotest Members to communicate in the Heads amitie and soundnesse. This they will doe, this they doe; how soone? and it is done, and Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio. Nulla salus bello, pacem te polcimus omnes. Amen.

THat it may appeare that we doe not impute the former wrongs to the Holland Nation in generall, nor seeke to make a State-quarrell with the States, Lords, Gouvernours, and the estate of that Republike; but attribute the same to priuate spirits and mis-demeanure of some in authoritie and place of command in the Indies, I haue added a piece of a Booke translated out of the Dutch.

\* The former part of the booke which proueth this I haue omitted, as lesse to our purpose.

Ill gouernment of the Dutch Indian Commanders.

Seeking their owne priuate benefit.

SO\* as the Adventurers haue gained nothing neere the simple interest of sixe and a quarter per cent. per ann. and ordinary assurance. By this may be gathered what profits the Adventurers haue in-  
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Now as concerning the gouernment, it is a thing certaine, that be it good or bad, the profits arise accordingly, for we daily see and find that by negligence and ill gouernment, a great estate is soone brought to nought: and on the contrary through a good diligent and prouident gouerning, great gaines arise out of a small stocke or meanes: whereas during all this Patent, so little profit ariseth, though great gaine is ord narily to be made in the East Indies, so as hereby may well be concluded that the same must be so, by reason of the directing or gouerning the same.

Now as concerning the well gouerning: First of all, is required a good vnderstanding and experience, which I perswade my selfe hath beene and is in many of the Maiors without all doubt, but that is not enough, except there be care & diligence withall. But what care and diligence can be expected from them, who are so continually employed in their publike Office and functions, besides their particular affaires, that they can scarce once or twice in a weeke, spend a few houres in this weightie businesse, which indeed hath need of a constant and continuing sale according as the greatnesse and importancie thereof requireth? &c. Further, is required in euery Maior that he by all meanes seeke to procure the common good of that which is committed to his charge, and not his particular: but how or wherein haue they hitherto sought the common good of the Companie, so long as they take a libertie to sell the Companies goods vnto themselues, in which sale they no doubt seeke their owne particular profit, and not the Companies. At sometimes one Maior buying the Companies goods of another Maior; and at another time it happeneth quite contrarie, viz. that he which was at first the buyer, is now become the seller to him that formerly was the seller himselfe: one may well coniecture how these things are thus carried, by such, who it may be are not so honest as they should be; what hindrance hereby befalleth the Adventurers, and what profits to the Maiors, one may well coniecture by the small profits which the Adventurers haue made, and the great wealth which the Maiors haue attained vnto. When as the Maiors haue bought great quantitie of the Companies goods for themselues, is to be imagined what kind of Aduise they will send to the Indies con-  
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cerning such goods as themselves haue bought, & whether their aduise shal not tend to their particular profits, &c. For might one peruse their Bookes, no doubt thereby would be found, that many amongst them haue little or no aduventure at all with the Company, and it would plainly appeare; that their provision or factory concerns them neerer then the profit of the stocke they haue there to respect; and therefore doe readily resolue to the setting forth of great shipping or fleetes, when as fewer and smaller would haue beene sufficient for Conquest, and fewer for trade from Port to Port: whereof that fleet which went through the straight of Magellane was one, which fleet alone did charge the Company with more then a Capitall. It is likewise the practise of these kind of Maiors, (knowing the choice to be in their owne powers) to prefer their friends and kindred to the gouernment, & excluding those that are great Aduenturers, take oftentimes such as are none, but such as when they stand in nomination to be, doe then begin to buy conditionally so they are chosen, then their buying to stand: but if not, then the bargaine to be voyd: what good seruice the Company is to expect by such nimbling may well be coniectured. Besides, they oftentimes preferre their friends, to be sent as Committees and other Officers to the Indies, although very unfit thereto, whereas it highly concerneth the Company, to haue both honest and fit persons there, for hardly can it be imagined the great wrong which the Company haue sustained, thorow the hauing so basely vild, and proudly insolent Committees in the Indies. Further, what losse the Company is put vnto, by the building of so great and costly ships (each Chamber strining which shall make the greatest ship, and all for great stowage, to cause the greater returne to be brought into their chamber, thereby to procure to themselves the greater factory or provision) cannot well be imagined: for as well might it be done with lesser, and ships not so costly, and so the more stocke to be employed in Trade, or otherwise to free themselves of their interest money which great ships, are partly vied to carry wood and stone in the Indies for the building of the Fort Iacatra, some being worn and spent there, so as indeed one might haue done as well betwene this and the Indies, with halfe as many great ships. Also many summes of gold haue beene spent in the making of diuers costly Forts & Castles in the Indies, the wals being all of stone, being King-like works, whereas to haue made them of Earth, as they are here in our Countrey the Netherlands, had beene as usefull for keeping the Trade from other Committees of forraigne Lands: so had this needlesse charge beene employed in Trade, might haue aduanced the Company more then a Capitall. Also the Company hath freely indured some losse, by reason of the complaint of those persons, who hauing done the Companie good seruice, could obtaine little or no Salary for the same. Whereby is befallen that some haue put themselves into the seruice of other Companies of forraigne Lands, &c.

The Maiors haue little or no aduventure with the Company.

Preferring their friends to gouernment.

Committees sent by their procurement: Great ships.

Their employment.

Male contents seeking forraine employment.

CHAP. XVI.

*Extracts of a Iournall of a Voyage to Surat and to Iasques in the Persian Gulfe, set forth by the East India Societie of Merchants: wherein were employed foure new ships; the London, of eight hundred Tunnes, and therein ANDREW SHILLING chiefe Commander of the whole Fleet; WILLIAM BAEFIN Master; the Hart, of five hundred Tunnes, RICHARD BLITHE Master; the Roe Bucke, of three hundred, RICHARD SWAN Master; the Eagle, of two hundred and eightie, CHRISTOPHER BROWNE Master. Written by RICHARD SWAN.*

**T**He sixe and twentieth of Februarie, 1619. all our Fleet set saile from Tilbury Hope. The twentieth of Aprill, 1620. about eight degrees North latitude, we begin to haue a taste of the Turnados. From the Downes hither we might alwayes haue carried a top gallant saile. The ninth of May, we crost the Equator. We would haue crossed it more Easterly, but the Current and Winds would not permit. The tenth of Iune, wee saw great store of Fowle. And on the three and twentieth, wee had sight of Soldania Road, and anchored there the next day. Here wee found the Lion homeward bound, and nine Dutch ships bound for Bantam, their Commander Nicholas van Baecum a Gentleman, which by report liued seuen yeeres in Oxford. After kind Sea-salutes, the next morning the Lion and the Dutch departed, each their way; and the same euening arriued the Schidam of Delph outward bound, which being suspected, by both Admiralls, the Master was sent for, his Commission examined, and good satisfaction giuen. The third of Iuly was made a solemne publication of his Maiesties Title to Soldania: and on the seuenth King Iames his Mount erected. The three and twentieth, I had a Cable of eleuen inches spoiled with other hurt, and the Hart had a great deliuerance, two of her best Anchors breaking at once: and the Eagle broke two Cables. The five and twentieth, we set saile.

Nic. van Baecum an Oxford man, Gen. of the Dutch. King Iames his Title to Soldania published.

Note, that if at any time you haue occasion to ride vnder Penguin Iland, you bring the Northerne end thereof West by South, or within halfe a Point on either side thereof: and anchor about a mile from the neereit part of the Iland, in ten, eleuen or twelue fathoms, white and gray

Note for such as goe into Soldania Road.



Note for trou-  
blesome Sea at  
the Cape.

land. Having a little passed the Cape of *Good Hope*, being much Wind at North-west North North-west and North, the Sea was exceedingly troubled, and went so upon heapes by the meeting of the North-west and South-east Ocean, that it laboured our ships to the triall of all their ioynts.

Iland *Rasif*.

*Batecala*.

*Goa*.

*Dabul*.

*Damon*.

A Portugall  
prize.

From the eight and twentieth of September, to the first of October, we were hindred eleuen or twelue minutes euery day by a Current to the South latitude, from one to five degrees thirtie two minutes North. The seuenth of October, latitude nine degrees and fiftie minutes North. These foure and twentie houres, I haue come ouer the Iland *Rasif* (one of the *Mamales*) as it is placed in my Card. Note, that euery day since we were in sixe degrees North latitude, we haue seene land Fowles, as Castrells, Quailles, Martins, Butter-flyes, but not any Sea Fowle. The nineteenth, we were due West from *Batecala* sixe leagues off, depth two and twentie fathoms ozie sand. The twentieth, at sixe in the morning, wee were thwart of *Goa* foure leagues off, the latitude is fiftene degrees and thirtie minutes, rather lesse then more. The sixe and twentieth, we put into *Dabul* Road in seuentene degrees and thirtie foure minutes, and stayed till the second of Nouember, our men refreshed and recouered, and the two ships for *Persia* well provided. The sixt, the *Hart* and *Eagle*, eight leagues from the high Land of *Saint Iohns*, tooke their leaue of vs. The seuenth, latitude twentieth degrees sixteene minutes. Now are we truly West from *Damon* sixe leagues off, depth eightene fathoms. The ninth in the morning, we anchored in the outter road of *Swally*, where we found the *Wappen van Zeland*, a ship of one thousand Tunnes. At our comming shee tooke in her flage and saluted the *London* with three peeces, and the *Roe Bucke* with two. I was sent on shore and found Master *Thomas Kerridge* President, Master *Iames* and Master *Hopkinson*, whom I brought aboard. The next day, a consultation was holden for our speedie dispatch after the *Hart* and *Eagle*; foure Portugall Gallions attending at *Ormuz* or *Iasques* Road for their surprisall. The nineteenth, after businesse dispatched, we set saile towards *Iasques*. The one and twentieth we descried a ship, which yeelded without resistance; Her name, *Nostra Sennora de Morces*, neere two hundred Tunne, come from *Muscatie*, bound for *Chaul*, in her two and fortie Arabian Horses, being her principall lading (as built for that purpose) the residue Dates and Raisins: the Capitaines name *Francisco Mirando*.

### HONDIVS his Map of Persia.





The fift of December, latitude foure and twentie degrees fiftie five minutes, we met the *Hart* and *Eagle* comming from *Iasques* towards *Surat*, not being sufficient to encounter the *Portugall* forces there attending, to ruine our Masters *Persian* Trade. Thus happily reioyned wee made haite towards *Iasques* to accomplish our designes. The eight, at their owne earnest sollicitation, we set all the *Portugalls* and *Moores* on land, except some Sea-men *Moores* whom we detayned for our seruice, and the Pilot which misdoubting hard measure, intreated to stay. The tenth, the Lords Supper was administred aboard the *London*. The twelfth, the men who voluntarily vnder-tooke to burne the *Prize* aboard the *Portugalls* Admirall, were put aboard her in the night. The thirteenth and fourteenth, the wind against vs. The fifteenth, we had sight of the East Point  
 10 of Land in *Iasques* Road, which hath vpon it a Tombe or an old square flat House, bearing West North-west, by Compasse twelue miles off. So then from *Diu* Head to this Point, I make the longitude by the plaine ordinarie Sea Chart, nine degrees fiftie five minutes and three fifth parts, and by *Mercators* proiection, ten degrees and one and fiftie minutes. From this place wee might discern the *Portugall* men of Warre set out from *Lisbone*; whose Fleet consisted of two *Portugall* Gallions one bigger then the *London*; and two *Flemmish* ships, one as bigge as the *Hart*; the other lesse then the *Eagle*: Their Generall *Ruy Frere de Andrado*, *Iohn Borasio* Vice-admirall, the *Flemmings* were commanded by *Antonio Musquet* and *Baltazar de Chanes*.

The sixteenth in the morning, our Admirall with the Masters of his Fleet went aboard the *Prize*, and carried two Barrells of powder, some Tarre, and other combustible prouisions, intending with her to lay the *Portugall* Admirall thwart the halse to burne together. Thus fitted, we  
 20 bore vp with the men of Warre, but it fell calme, and the Current set vs so neere them that they reached vs with their Ordnance. All night we kept vnder saile. And in the seuenteenth, being by reason of the Land-turne to leeward of them; they weighed and made towards our Fleet, which attended their comming, albeit they had and carefully kept the benefit of the wind. About nine the fight began, which continued nine houres without intermission. In the afternoone (a fine gentle Westerly Sea-wind blowing, and we to windward of them) their Admirall, whether of necessitie to repaire some defect about his Rudder, or of policy for some conceited stratagem, anchored; and to the Eastward of him, his Vice-Admirall and the greater *Flemming*, the lesser to leeward of all stopping his leakes. Now were wee in great hope of our fire designe, which yet being too soone fired and forsaken of those which had it in charge, prooued frustrate, driuing cleere of all their ships to their reioycing, our disgrace and our Employers losse.  
 30 We seeing them abide at anchor, and keeping the wind of them, turning to and againe close ahead of them; raked them, especially their Admirall, thorow and thorow, fore and after, with all our broad sides, receiuing from them only their Prow and Bow Peeces. Out of whom as I passed to the North, two vnfortunate shots cut a-sunder the *Robuckes* weather-leech ropes of her foresaile and fore top-saile in the middle depth of both sailes, which renting we could not make her stay, but were inforced for reparation of our sailes to beare vp to leeward betwixt them & the shoare. In which time their three greatest ships played vpon vs with their whole broad sides, yet, God be prayfed, with lesse hurt then I could haue imagined. Thus hauing compassed the three last mentioned ships, and luffing to re-joyne with our owne Fleet (which all this while holding the benefit of the wind played vpon the *Portugals* with their great Ordnance, as fast  
 40 as with so many Muskets) I had gotten to wind-ward of the smaller *Flemming*: who standing off as I did, vntill he had brought the fired ship directly betweene him and me, then turned taile and steered with all the sailes he could make right afore the wind, alongst the shoare to the Eastward: whom to rescue, the other three set saile, now so gentle, that the *Hart* passing along their broad sides; receiued from some of them few, from others none, either great or small shot. But our Fleet at present reunited, desisted their further chase, the darknesse of the night, and the generall wearinesse, challenging a surcease from so toylsome a worke: and anchored after midnight in their (before) vsuall Road.

The fight.

In this fight the *London* and *Hart* receiued very little hurt in their huls and tackling; lesse or none amongst their men. The *Eagles* mayne Mast was shot in five places, whereof foure quite  
 50 thorow: and one *Iohn Banckes* lost his right arme. I in the *Robucke*, had one *Edward Browne* slaine with a great shot thorow his head; a piece of whose skull together with some splinters of the same shot, wounded Master *Thomas Waller* one of my Mates in the fore-head to the losse of his left eye: also *Iohn Phenix* and *Robert Hopworth* lost the vse of their right hands. Neuer (God be pray fed) did I heare of so little hurt in so long a fight, as we had on our parts. I cannot truly particularise their hurts, by report of our Merchants, *Iohn Borasio* their Vice-Admirall and another Captaine were slaine; with thirtie or forty *Portugals* out of their Admirall (for *Moores* they account not in the number of their men) the rest vnknowne.

The eighteenth in the morning, wee had sight of the *Portugals* at anchor ten miles to the East  
 60 of vs: they had the wind faire to come to vs, but did not. Whereupon we had a generall conference, whether it might be fitter with the first of the Sea-turne (beginning vsuall about noon) to stand with them and try it out for the Mastery (before they could haue supply from *Ormuz* or *Muskat*, or expected ayde from *Goa*) or else to make saile for *Iasques* Road, there to land



Portugall supplies.

The second fight.

The flight and losse of the Portugals.

A Port Prize.

our monies and goods (for surprisall whereof they fought and we defended) and this later was concluded. Thither the *London* attayned that night: the rest rode a league without.

The two and twentieth, descrying the Port *Galliones* open of the Road, to come in as wee supposed with the Sea turne, we halted and stood off with them. They steered directly towards *Ormuz*, till they met with two or three Frigats from thence with supply of men and munition, which hauing shipped, they made toward vs but soone repented, and clapt vpon a tacke, and till the eight and twentieth, were either to windward, or so at anchor that without disadvantage wee could not attempt them. Wee tryed on Christmasse day, but were inforced backe with a present encounter of a gust, which made some *Blackes* aboard vs, say, that the Port had brought a Witch from *Ormuz* to serue them with faire winds. On *Innocents* day perceiuing the drift of our *Fabius Cunctator*, we took the oportunitie of an Easterly gale, weighed and put things in order for fight. The *London* and *Hart* next anchored within a Cables length and halfe from them vpon their broad sides, and so indured the hottest burthen of this second dayes fight. For no sooner were they at anchor, but it fell calme and so continued all day, insomuch that the *Robucke* and *Eagle* (who had steered neerer the shoare with intent to anchor, one vpon the Bow of the Port-Admirall, the other on the Bow of their Vice-Admirall) beeing Easterne, could not with any diligence come to doe any seruice in halfe an houres space. And no sooner were wee within the leuell range of our Ordnance from them, then (there beeing not a breath of wind, and the current against vs) we were driuen to anchor or driue further off. But our broad sides once brought vp, the great Ordnance from our whole Fleet playd so fast vpon them, that had our mens knowledge equalled their resolutions, not one of them had escaped vs. How euer, loth to receiue a Supper as hot as their Dinner, at three a clocke they cut their Cables and droue with the tyde (then setting Westerly) vntill they were out of our reach. Then came their Frigats to them (which the day before had domineered with their Musicke, pendants and flagges alongst the shoare, now with a fitter taske) to tow them away all mangled and torne. For their Admirall in the greatest fury of the fight, was inforced to heeld his ship to stop his leakes, his mayne-top-mast ouer-board, and the head of his mayne Mast. The greater *Flemming* had both his top-masts and part of his bow-sprit shot away: the lesse hauing neuer a shrowd standing, neuer a top-mast.

The Vice-Admirall (which both dayes did vs most hurt) escaped best, hauing commonly this day one or other of their ships twixt him and vs. We kept them company all night in hope the next morning to haue giuen them their pass-ports, but surueying our shot and finding small store left (notwithstanding that by some happy mistake, the *Eagle* had a double proportion) and considering the Voyage which we had to performe, we returned: and left them glad men, the two greater ships towing the two smaller at their sterne. Their slayne I heard not: Ours lost in the *London* slaine, *Henry Crane*, *Iohn Gore*; our Admirall and *Peter Robinson* dyed of their wounds afterwards. In the *Hart*, *Walter Danie*, *William Hall*, *Iohn Muskat*, and *Edmund Okely* were wounded but recovered. The great shot of seuerall sorts spent, in the *London*, one thousand three hundred eightie two. *Hart*, one thousand twentie foure. *Robucke*, eight hundred and fiftene. *Eagle*, eight hundred, in all foure thousand twentie one. Captaine *Richard Blith* according to the order (opening the white Boxe N<sup>o</sup> 1.) succeeded our worthy Admirall: my selfe removed into the *Hart*, *Christopher Browne* to the *Robucke*, and *Thomas Taylor* was made Master of the *Eagle*.

The fourteenth of Ianuary, hauing had for eight and fortie houres precedent continuall extremitie of raine (wind or raine being vsuall here for three or foure dayes at the change and full, otherwhiles faire weather) we set saile from *Iasques*, where we had dispatched our businesse, to *Surat*, where we arriued the first of February following: nothing in our passage occurring worth recitall, sauing that the seuen and twentieth of Ianuary, wee surprized betwixt *Diu* and the *Sand heads*, a small ship of warre called *Nostra Seniors de Remedio*, of burthen one hundred tunnes, *Francisco de Sylua* Captaine, with thirtie fine Portugals, and twentie fine Moores for Sailers set out by the Captaine of *Diu* to gard their small Merchants ships from the *Malabars*. The men were dismissed, and the shippe kept for our vse, and called the *Andrew*. Shee had in her neyther meate, money, nor commodities, and scarce so many poore sutes as backes.

The seuen and twentieth of February, we began to take in goods. The fift of March, the *Eagle* was sent downe to guard the Princes Iuncke, and to hinder her further lading, till free leaue and libertie should be granted for passage of Carts with goods, and other our prouisions, which haue beene restrayned fixe or seuen dayes by the grating Gouvernour of *Ulpore*: by which meanes no Cotton Wooll could come downe till our ship was full laden forward on. The sixteenth, vpon notice that the *Agra Caffila* was robbed by the *Decan* Armie, resolution was taken to seeke restitution vpon the ships of the said *Decan* Prince and his Confederates in the action; and the Red Sea intended for our ships wintering. The nineteenth, the Prince his Iuncke was dismissed, the Gouvernour of *Surat* hauing granted vnder his hand to supply our wants of Powder and shot for our money, with redresse for many other discourtesies.

Since



Since the five and twentieth of March, till the sixt of Aprill, 1621. the windes haue beene outwardly, viz. South and South South-west and West, and from noone till mid-night blowne so hard that the great stiffe by the shoare permitted no businesse to bee done, except on the last quarter ebbe and first after flood. The seuenth, we set sayle. The ninth, the *Eagle* and *Dutch* Pinnasse called the good *Fortune*, departed our Company, consigned for *Achen* and *Bantam*: the *London*, *Hart*, *Robucke* and *Andrew* intended for the Red Sea, if not too late.

The first of May, the *Andrew* and our Boats surprized the *Saint Antonio* a ship of two hundred tunnes, which we called the *May-flower*: her principall lading Rice taken in at *Barcelor*, whence she went to *Goa*, and the eight of Aprill, had set saile for *Muscat* and *Ormuz*. By these  
 10 we vnderstood that *Ruy Frere de Andrado*, was busie in repaying his foure ships at *Ormuz*: C. that *Don Emanuell de Assaredo*, is departed about fiftie dayes past from *Goa* in his succour with two Gallions; one whereof is the same in which the Vice-Roy was personally, when hee fought with Captaine *Domtons* Fleet. The seuenth, in a calme we surprized the *Iacinta* small ship built of a Frigate, from *Mozambique* bound for *Goa*: wee called her the *Prim-rose*. Thence to the thirteenth, winds variable, calmes, raines. The *May-flower* hindred vs much: and the Pilots either were malicious or blind: whereupon we resolved to trust to our owne endeauours to find an anchoring place, whence we might discouer some conuenient Road for our safe riding till the strength of the Monson were past, we resolved for *Macera*.

A Prize.

Eman. Assaredo  
sent in supply  
from Goa.

Macera.

The second of June, we descryed Land and anchored in seenteene fathomes three miles off  
 20 shoare: here we found in foure or five Pits, three quarters of a mile from the waters side, water in abundance. I had fortie tunne out of one Well, which we rolled downe in Hogheads: the people tractable, little other refreshing. The latitude twentie degrees twentie minutes, variation seenteene North-westing. The Date Trees by the watering place bare North-west by West, the other end of the Island North-east halfe East five leagues off.

The twelfth wee set saile for the North-east end of *Macera*, and in the afternoone anchored in seuen fathomes in a faire Bay, cleane ground, a fast blacke ozie sand, the North-east point bearing South halfe a league off: the landing place West South-west two miles off: the Norther part of the Bay North by West foure miles off. The latitude twentie degrees thirtie minutes, variation seenteene North-west. You may ride in this Bay from five to twelue, in what depth you  
 30 will: an excellent, hungry, cold and healthfull place: but a tumbling, rolling Sea for ships: fresh water enough to be had in Pits digged, but except at the vsuall landing place, very ill to boate: yeelding no better refreshing then the first, a few Goats and Lambes in trucke for Cannekeens.

Whiles the *Hart* and *Robucke* were here resolved to stay till the Monsons fury were past; on the nineteenth, we sent *Abdelauie* an inhabitant of *Macera*, with Letters in quest for the Admirall as farre as *Soar*, which returned the sixt of Iuly, with Letters of their being there at *Soar*, seuen leagues within Cape *Rosalgate*; their difficult watering at *Tene*, surprisall of *Simons* the Chirurgeon, and the Preachers Boy on Land by the *Portugals* and *Moors*, &c.

Cape Rosalgate  
or Rosahalt (so  
the Natiues  
call it)

The sixt of August, the *Hart* and *Robucke* set saile from *Macera*: the eight in the euening we anchored by our Admirall: this Road differing from *Macera*, in beeing calme, vsuall cleere,  
 40 and by heat taking away the stomacke. The fifteenth set saile. The first of September a Boate of *Chaul* came aboard the *Robucke*, &c.

The one and twentieth of Nouember, our Fleet set saile from *Swally*, and anchored before the Barre of *Surat*. The seuen and twentieth at noone, in latitude twentie, and by iudgement twentie eight leagues from neereft Land: we tooke leaue of the *Iasques* Fleet, consisting of the *London*, *Jonas*, *Whale*, *Dolphine*, *Lion*, *Rose*, *Shilling*, *Richard* and *Robert*.

The Iasques  
Fleet of nine  
ships.

The first of Ianuary we found our selues betweene *Iohanna* and *Mayotta*. The nine and twentieth we anchored in *Soldania* Road: hauing beene from *Surat* hither nine weekes and three dayes, blessed be God for our safe and speedie passage. Heere wee watered, washed, fished in the Riuer, buried our Letters, bought three Cowes, one Calfe, foure sheepe, all vnsauourie meate.

The third of February, we set saile: the nineteenth, anchored at *Saint Helena*. Heere wee  
 50 found the *Wappen* and the *Holland Dutch* ships: this last fell on fire the two and twentieth, with her Cloues taken in Greene at *Amboyna*. There was another small *Dutch* ship. They arriued eleuen dayes before vs, and cannot in ten dayes more discharge and relade their damnified Cloues. The eight and twentieth, we set saile from *Saint Helena*: and the seuenth of Iune, 1622. anchored in the Downes.

For further satisfaction touching the fight, I haue added this Letter or Relation sent to the Company from the Chiefe of the Fleet.



*Relation of the fight of foure English ships with foure Portugall ships, two Gallies, and ten Frigats in the Gulfe of Persia, in the Monethes of December and January, 1620.*

**T**He *London* and the *Robucke* arriuing at *Surat* the ninth of December, there vnderstood that the *Portugals* had sent into the gulfe of *Persia* an Armado, purposely to attempt the *English* shipping at their comming thither, whereupon it was forth-with resolved by the *English* Factors at *Surat*, & the Commanders of the aboue-named two ships, that they should apply themselves to the gulfe of *Persia*, to re-ioyne themselves with two other *English* ships, namely, the *Hart* and the *Eagle* which parted from the *London* and *Robucke*, before their comming to *Surat*, and were gone directly toward *Iasques* in the said gulfe of *Persia*, and so the said *London* and *Robucke* set saile from *Surat* towards *Iasques*, the nineteenth day of Nouember, and the first day of December following, they met with the *Hart* and the *Eagle*, about eightie leagues short of *Iasques*, where all the foureships ioyning together, they receiued most certaine intelligence by a *Portugall* Frigat which they met, that the *Portugall* Armado consisting as aforesaid of foure Gallions, two Gallies and about tenne Frigats, were attending them at the Easter end of *Iasques* Road, where the *English* ships must come, and so went along towards the same, where the sixteenth day they found the said *Portugall* Armado, consisting in these particulars before named the Generall or chiefe Commander whereof is named *Ruy Frere de Andrado*, whom themselves call the *Pride of Portugall*, the Vice-Admirall *Iohn Boralio*, and Inhabitant of *Ormuz*, and late Admirall of those Seas, of the other two ships the Commanders were *Anthony Musquet* and *Balthazar di Chanes*, this day proued calme, so that it was night ere they came in shot one of another.

The seuenteenth of December, being the Lords day, wee intended to haue sanctified his seruice being vnder saile a league to Sea-board of them, but about eight of the clocke with the Land turne, they weighed anchor and bore vp with vs, for whom (albeit they had the winde) we shortned saile and stayed neere about nine of the clocke, we ioyned fight with them, which continued vntill the darknesse of the night iustly challenged an end to so long and weary a work, they (like a kind Host to Strangers) leauing vs their anchoring place to lodge in, and retired some ten or eleuen miles to the Eastward, there to amend and repaire themselves; wee cannot truly particulate vnto you their hurts and losses in this fight, saue by reports of our Merchants, that *Iohn Boralio* their Vice-admirall, and the Captaine of one of the other ships, were flaine, with some thirtie or fortie men out of their Admirall, the rest yet vnknowne. The losse or hurt of our men in your own ships, the inclosed Note of this seuenteenth present, will make manifest. Thus for a time we were not disturbed by our enemies, though by contrary winds we could not get into the vsuall Road before the twentieth current. The twentie one and twentie two, the most part of your goods was landed, and descrying the *Portugall* Gallions open of the Road, to come in, as we supposed, with the Sea-turne, we therefore set saile and stood off with them, but after some small shew of bearing vp with the Sea-wind, they clapt vpon a Lake, and were so fortunate vntill the eight and twentieth day, that either they being to windward we could not come at them, or else at anchor wee could not, without our great disadvantage, meddle with them.

The eight and twentieth, being *Innocents* day, both Fleets riding at the Easter Points of the Road, not a mile distant one from the other; we omitted no opportunitie to giue battell to our wary protracting enemies, who, as by his working appeared, if hee could haue auoyded fight, and by lingring delayes, and the benefit of his Frigats, haue hindred vs from the prosecution of your *Persian* designments, he attained vnto the full height and scope of his employments.

But about one of the clocke, the Lord sent vs a pretty gale, our Fleet weighed and put all things in order for to fight, the *London* and *Hart* next anchored within a Cables length from them vpon their broad sides, and so indured the hottest brunt of this two dayes fight, for no sooner were they at anchor but it fell calme and so continued all day, insomuch that the *Roe Bucke* and *Eagle*, who being somewhat a sterne and steering neerer the shoare, with intent to anchor one vpon the Bowe of the *Portugall* Admirall, and the other vpon the Bowe of the Vice-admirall, could not notwithstanding all diligence vsed, come to doe any seruice in halfe an houres space, but being come neere anchored, and all our ships so fitted to keepe our broad sides full vpon them. The great Ordnance out of our whole Fleet played so fast vpon them, that about three of the clocke in the afternoone, not willing to indure so hot entertainment, they cut their Cables and with the Tyde droue downe from vs, vntill being without reach of our Ordnance, their Frigats came and towed them away wonderfully mangled and torne, for their Admirall in the hottest of the fight was inforced to heeld their ship to stop his leakes, his mayne top-mast ouer board, and the head of his mayne mast; the third ship both his top-mast, mizon mast, and part of his bow sprit were shot away, the lesser ship had neuer a shroud left standing, nor neuer a top-mast; the Vice-admirall escaped best, for most commonly hee had one or other of their ships



- ships betweene him and vs. All this night we kept them companie; with hope the next morning to haue giuen them all, or some of them, their Passe-port; but surueying our shot and finding no great store left, and withall considering the great weight and import of the voyage we had to performe, we resolued our returne to *Iasques*, for the speedy dispatching of our buinesse in hand, thanking God for putting our enemies to flight before vs, of whom vnto the present writing hereof we haue heard no newes, neither are any of them arriued at *Ormuz* or *Muscat*, as our Merchants report, only it is rumored by some *Cassaires*, who by swimming escaped ashore, that *Ruy Frere de Andrado* was slaine. All your ships, prayes bee God, remayne seruiceable, and not aboue fūe men slaine on our part in these two long and great battailes, and not many wounded, as by the List of their names here inclosed will appeare. Amongst whom our worthy Admirall and kind Commander, receiued a great and grievous wound through his left shoulder with a great shot, which hurt hee with such courage and patience vnder-went, that gaue great hope to vs all of his much wished recouerie; but hauing besides his former wound two of his yppermost ribs on the left side broken; the sixt of Ianuarie, he departed this life, shewing himselfe (as euer before) a resolute Commander, so in his passage through the Gates of death, a most willing, humble, constant, and assured Christian, his body we intended to haue carried to *Surat*, and there according to his deserts to haue performed his last funerall rights, the Chyrurgians confidently promising by embalming and waxe-cloth to preserue him without annoyance thither, but notwithstanding this cost and their promise, his body, in regard of his great wound, prouing noysome, we were enforced to bury him at *Iasques*, which was effected the seuenth Current, with what respect, solemnitie, and decency the time required.

\* This proved not true.

*The thirteenth of Ianuary, 1620. aboard the Ship London in Iasques Road.*

Vnder-written by all the foure Masters  
of the foure Ships,

*Ri. Blyth. Rob. Swan.  
Chr. Browne. Will. Baffin.*

- 30 **W**Hiles we are publishing these things there are late newes of *English Persian* occurrents, as namely, that nine *English* ships haue bene in those *Persian Seas*, and together with the *Persian* haue paid part of their *Portugall* debt: *Chisman* in three dayes being taken, the spoile diuided betwixt them. Also the *Bassa* of *Xeras* helped by the *English* both in setting ouer his men, and in beleagring the Towne, hath in two dayes taken the Towne of *Ormuz*, the Castle holding out; though little hope remayned of it, their water and all hope of helpe being taken from them. The *English* haue won much honour and reputation of valour: and if they take it, (besides sharing the spoile) are to haue the Castle committed to their keeping. They are said also to haue taken a rich ship, called the *Mosambique*.

- 40 *Part of a Letter written from M<sup>r</sup>. Robert Smith to his brother Henrie Smith, relating of a rare attempt and exploit of a small English Pinnaffe, in taking a Portugall ship.*

- 50 **I**N our passage from *Ioanna* to this place, we lost sight of the *Rose* and *Richard*, but within sixe dayes after, the *Richard* came to vs with a *Portugall* prize at her sterne, which shee had taken that night we lost her company. It is a wonder to tell it. The *Richard* being a Pinnaffe of about twentie Tunnes, manned with fourteene Men and Boyes, and hauing but two small *Falconets* in her, and the *Portugall* of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes, with two hundred and fiftie in her, whereof seuentie were *Portugalls*, the rest *Mesticos* and *Slaves*: the *Richard* comming up with them plyed her demi-Dogs so well, that in the shooting off twentie shot, it pleased God they killed their Captayne, which the rest perceiving stroke all their sailes amayne, and like tall men came aboard the *Richard*, sixe at a time, where the Master caused them to be bound: but fearing to haue too many aboard, though bound, he sent a terrible command to the rest aboard, that vpon their liues they should depart their ship into their great Boat, which they very valiantly performed, and left their ship to the utter disgrace of themselves and all their Nation, &c.

Giles Hobbs his trauaile from *Musco* to *Spahan*, written in a Letter by himselfe to the East Indian Companie.

60

*Right Honorable, my dutie remembred, &c.*

**T**He fourth of October last past, a yeere since my arriual at *Spahan*, your then Agent Master *Thomas Barker* was then aduising for *England*, mentioning of my arriual, and also of his appoint-

*Tho. Barker.*



appointment to resend me so soone as he heard of the safe arriual of your shippes, but it pleased the Lord in the meane-time to take him from vs by a sudden death. Whose appointment was the first cause I omitted to write to your Honors; the second, a long & tedious iourney by lets on the *Volga*, and also in this Land. The third cause, my Conuoy taken from me, and not suffered to passe but with the Kings Carauan of Boats, for that the report was, the *Cossackes* did purpose to make fight with the Carauan, which proued the contrary. It would be too long to trouble your patience to relate at large the accidents in this my iourney, wherein little happened worthy your notice or expectation, or my hopes to effect your desires. I will therefore briefly make relation thereof.

The eighth of May, 1619. I set off from *Yeraslaue*, and arriued at *Astracan* the sixteenth of June, from whence I purposed to take my iourney and passage for *Turkie*, and from thence by the Emperours Post to passe the *Cherkasses* Countrey, and so for *Spahan* by Land. This passage I could not proceed of, but with the Emperours Carauan of provisions which would not bee in twelue dayes: in the interim, I enquired when the *Guilan Busses* would goe. The Masters and Merchants promised fourteene dayes at furthest; so I resolved to passe in them.

The tenth of Iuly, I set off from *Astracan*, and by occasion of the Boats stay, to be cleered by the Searchers, it was the fifteenth *dicto*, our comming aboard the *Busse*.

No Compasse  
vied in the Ca-  
spian Sea.

The eighteenth *dicto*, the *Busse* set sayle steering South till we made the *Persian* shoare, they vse no Compasse but direct their course by the Sunne, Moone and Stars.

Tempest.

The fixe and twentieth *dicto*, we made land, hauing great tempest of wind at North-east; the land lying South and West; at euening the wind came of the land still increasing: the next day the *Busse* lost her sayle from the yard, and for to succour her they hung vp figge baskets, couerlets and Cow hides, throwing great store of the lading ouer-board; the first all our prouision, after the goods: this night we had small rest, the next morning the wind was out of the Sea, and it pleased the Lord to bring vs in betweene a small lland and the mayne land, and both vs and the Vessell saued.

Callofshera.

The eight and twentieth, the Master and most of vs went on land, the place called *Callofshera*, no Inhabitants: the wind increased still, that vntill the first of August, the Boate could not row aboard the *Busse*. This day the Merchants vnladed their goods, and the fift *dicto*, wee procured Hories for *Shomakee*, and arriued there the ninth *dicto*.

Shomakee.  
Bocka.  
Guilan.  
Ardeuil.  
Spahan.

The *Busse* bound her selfe for a Port called *Bocka*, to lade Neftere she proceeded for *Guilan*, the nineteenth of August, I departed with the *Cafala* from *Shomakee*, & arriued at *Ardeuil*, the nine & twentieth of the same. The ninth of September, with the *Cafala* I departed *Ardeuil*, & arriued at *Spahan*, the fourth of October, 1619. thus in brieft you may please to vnderstand of my long iourney from *Yeraslaue* to *Spahan* in *Persia*, no lesse then fise monethes, which, no doubt, might be done in eleuen or twelue weekes, if no lets in the way, as in these subsequents I shall declare.

Three passages  
to Persia from  
Musco.

The first passage is at the opening the Riuer *Volga*, from *Yeraslaue* to *Astracan*, and so to *Turkie* by water, which may bee done in fise and twentie dayes, and from *Turkie* by the Emperours Conuoy to *Derbent* or *Shomakee*, Cities vnder this King, and from those Cities to *Ardeuil* and *Casbin* with *Cafala*, and from *Casbin* as they please to *Spahan*, the way cleere, and may bee effected, as abouesaid.

The second passage is to come off from *Yeraslaue* the first of Iune vntill the tenth *dicto*, and if no let may be at *Astracan*, in eightene or twentie dayes, in good time to take the first passage in the *Guilan Busses* for *Leygoints*, a league from *Laigon*, and from *Resht*, from whence this yeares Silke was taken seuen leagues, and from thence to *Spahan*, sixteene dayes iourney. This may proue the speedier passage, if it please God to lend fauourable wind to passe the *Caspian* Sea; from *Astracan* Sea passage is to be had in Iuly, August and September:

The third passage, which no doubt, may bee procured by your Honours Agent there, is to haue your Letters sent from *Musco*, by the Emperours Post to the Gouvernour of *Astracan*, to send the said Letters, if ouer land, to the Chan of *Shomakee*, to be sent to the *English* Nation at *Spahan*, by the Chans Post, if by Sea to *Guilan* to the Gouvernour of *Resht*, accordingly to be sent to the *English* at *Spahan*: the charge to be defrayed by your Honours Agents, and no doubt, so long as you haue here Trade, your Letters by these Gouvernours will bee safely deliuered: and for the better safetie of them, the Agent may at his next going to the King, procure two *Firmans* to those Gouvernours to that effect: and thus much for the needfull transport of your Letters from *Musco* to *Spahan* in *Persia*.

I will now retorne and speake something of the Trade at *Astracan*: the Mart beginneth at the arriual of the Boats which is in Iune; at which time the *Persians* come in, and bring dyed Silke, Dorogoes, Callicoes and other *Persian* stufes, which they sell by retayle and in barter. The Commodities they retorne are cloth, but no (great quantitie) Sables, Martens, redde Hides, Cuiare, Butter, the hinder-part of Horse Skinnes, for Leather, and olde *Russe* Money which they buy at fortie foure and fortie fixe *d per robes* for exchange. These are the Commodities likewise the *Russe* transports whereon he makes small profit the olde money failing, and your Honours Trade here will preiudice him much, if not quite ouerthrow his Trade.

In



In my Passage on the *Volga*, I held nothing worthy notice except the taking the Sturgeon, and the making the Caviare and Isinglas. The Riuer they pale in from banke to banke, that no Sturgeon passe vp or downe the Riuer, but they fall in the weeres. The Roe they lay in salt. Making of Caviare.

fourteene or fifteene dayes, then take and wash the salt of them, and packe them in the Fat. The fat Sturgeon hath a yellow Roe, which they packe vp as it cometh to hand, which Roe spoyleth all that lyeth neere it, and much hindreth the sale of the Caviare at our Markets. The Isinglas is made of the string taken out of the Sturgeons backs. This yeare the But of Caviare sold at five *robles* the hundred, and sixe *robles*. Isinglas.

Gentlemen, I am bound by Commission to aduize how many dayes from *Arahs* to the *Caspian Sea* and to *Astracan*. From *Arahs* to *Derbent* a Port Towne seuen dayes iourney. This Port lyeth opposite to the Riuer *Volga*, and may be sayled in five dayes. All other places where the Kings Silke is made, lye neere the Sea, as *Rasht*, *Peomin*, *Shoft* and *Leyzon*, in the Province of *Guilan*, the farthest eight leagues from the Ports. In *Monzendroan*, is the Plantation for the making of Silke, and this yeare a good quantitie made, of which as yet hath neuer prooffe beene made for his goodnesse. Thus much for nereenesse of the places where the Silke is made to the *Caspian Sea*, by which your Honours may perceiue how necessary the Silke doth lye for its transport by the way of the *Volga*, if passage might be procured from the Emperours of *Masconia*, whereas now they are carryed three moneths iourney by land to the Port, and not without great charges and trouble, as by the generall aduice you will well vnderstand, to which I humbly referre you. Arahs.  
Derbent.  
Rasht.  
Peomin.  
Shoft.  
Leyzon.  
Monzendroan.

Gentlemen, this your *Persian Trade*, as it is in her infancy hath many Enemies, the *Turke*, *Arabian*, *Armenian*, and the proud *Portugall*, whose lying tongue cealeth not to dishonour our Kingdome and Nation, but the Lord, I hope, will turne the dishonour upon his owne pate.

The ouerthrow of the three first Enemies must be by the presence of an Ambassadour heere, who, no doubt, would perswade and pull downe the Kings now loftie price of his Silke as you will well find in this yeares Silke receiued, and no abatement to bee expected, but by treatie of an Ambassadour, who hath beene expected and demanded for by this King: also to accord an agreement with the King for the Silke that is most in esteeme, and profitable for you: and as he is turned Merchant for sale of his Silke, so likewise to be your Merchant for the goods you shall yearely send into his Land, at such prices as may counteruaile the price he sets on his Silke. But I doubt, you will say I passe the bounds of my Commission or order in writing this briefe Relation, of which might be spoken at large. But doubtlesse, not more then your graue willesomes doe foresee, or the better experienced then my selfe doe aduise, to which I humbly referre your Honours, praying the successe may proue to your hearts desires.

Gentlemen, I am sorry, you thinke me not worthy to nominate me your seruant in your Letters, and more sorry you write me seuerall names and not mine owne name, for which cause I haue beene a daily table sport by some, which of these names they may take for your Honours Seruant, others wish me to returne and make my wages with you: and had I good occasion in your Honours employment I should bee very willing thereunto; but howsoeuer I referre mee to God and your Honours, not doubting, but you will deale as well with mee as others, and that I may not returne as promised I willingly remayne your Honours obliedged seruant readie to vndergoe any your Affaires, desiring your Honours will please to nominate mee a certaine yeerely stipend for the time I shall so spend vntill my returne to your Honours, for which I shall bee bound to pray for your Honours helpe and happinesse in this World, and in the World to come eternall rest.

Your Honours may please that yesterday we receiued a Letter from the Agent from Port *Iasques*. A second Letter directed to Master *William Bell* and the rest at *Spahan*, aduizing the truth as neere as they can be informed, the occasion of your Honours ships not arriual as yet; to which I humbly referre you. Being ordered also by the Agent that the Copie thereof should be dispeeded to your Honours, I haue fitted those former lines, long by you expected, of a briefe Relation of my Iourney from *Yeraslane* to *Spahan* in *Persia*, also the fittest time for transport of your Letters to haue speediest passage.

Since my arriual here at *Mina* with the last Casila of Silke, nothing hath happened worthy your Honours notice. We expect houely to heare the happy newes of the safe arriual of the ships at Port *Iasques*, that wee may proceed thither with your goods, which God of his mercie grant, to whose blessed tuition I euer commend your Honourrs, and rest,

*Mina, the thirteenth of December, 1620.*

*Your Honours obliged Seruant,*

GILES HOBBS.

HON.



## HONDIVS his Map of the East Indies.



## CHAP. XVII.

A Discourse of Trade from England vnto the East Indies: Answering to diuers Obiections which are vsually made against the same.

Written by T. Mun.



He trade of Merchandise, is not onely that laudable practise whereby the entercourse of Nations is so worthily performed, but also (as I may terme it) the very Touchstone of a kingdomes prosperitie, when therein some certaine rules shall be diligently obserued. For, as in the estates of priuate persons, we may account that man to prosper and grow rich, who being possessed of reuenues more or lesse, doth accordingly proportion his expences; whereby he may yeerely aduance some maintenance for his posteritie. So doth it come to passe in those kingdomes, which with great care and warinesse do euer vent out more of their home commodities; then they import and vse of forraine wares; for so vndoubtedly the remainder must returne to them in treasure. But where a contrary course is taken, through wantonnesse and riot; to ouer-waste both forraine and domesticke wares; there must the money of necessity be exported, as the meanes to helpe to furnish such excesse; and so by the corruption of mens conditions and manners, many rich countreyes are made exceeding poore, whilst the people thereof, too much affecting their owne inormities, doe lay the fault in something else.

Wherefore, industry to encrease, and frugalitie to maintaine, are the true watchmen of a kingdomes treasury; euen when the force and feare of Princes prohibitions cannot possibly retaine the same.

And therefore, as it is most plaine, that proportion or quantitie, must euer be regarded in the importing of forraine wares; so must there also be a great respect of qualitie and vse; that so, the things most necessary



sary to be first preferred; such as are foode, rayment, and munition for war and trade; which great blessings, when any Countrey doth sufficiently enjoy; the next to be procured are wares, fitting for health, and arts; the last, are those, which serue for our pleasures and ornament.

Now, forasmuch as by the providence of Almighty God, the kingdome of England, is endowed with such abundance of rich commodities, that it hath long enjoyed, not onely great plenty of the things before named, but also, through a superfluitie, hath beene much enriched with treasure brought in from forraine parts; which hath giuen life vnto so many worthy trades, amongst which that vnto the East India by name; the report whereof, although it is already spread so famous through the world: yet notwithstanding, here at home, the clamorous complaints against the same, are growne so loud and generall; that  
 10 (my selfe being one of the Society, it hath much troubled my private meditations, to conceiue the meanes or true grounds of this confusion. But at the last I resolved my selfe, that the greatest number of these exclaimers are led away in ignorance; not hauing as yet discerned the mysteries of such weighty affaires: Some haue beene transported with enuy, as not participating in the said Society, or being thereby hindred (as they conceiue) in some other trade; and others, wholly corrupted in their affections, who whilst they willingly runne into these errors, doe also labour diligently to seduce others; that so, this good and glory of the kingdome, might be subuerted by our selues, which by the policie and strength of Strangers, cannot so easily be abated; wherefore, it is now a fit time to meete with such iniurious courses, by a true Narration of the passages in the said East India Trade; answering to those seuerall obiections, which are so commonly made against the same: That so these misunderstandings and errors, may be made knowne vnto the  
 20 whole body of this Kingdome, which at this present time is most worthily represented to those noble assemblies of the high Courts of Parliament; where I hope the worth of this rich Trade, shall bee effectually inquired, and so in the end obtaine the credite of an honorable approbation.

### The first Obiection.

It were a happie thing for Christendome (say many men) that the Navigation to the East Indies, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, had neuer been found out; For in the fleets of  
 30 shippes, which are sent thither yeerely out of England, Portugall, and the Low-countries; The Gold, Siluer, and Coyne of Christendome, and particularly of this Kingdome, is exhausted, to buy unnecessary wares.

### The Answer.

**T**he matter of this Obiection is very weighty, and therefore it ought to be answered fully; the which that I may the better performe, I will diuide the same into three parts. In the first, I will consider the necessary vse of the wares, which are vsually brought out of East India into Europe; namely, Drugges, Spices, Raw-silke, Indico, and Callicoos. In the second, I will imitate the manner and meanes by which the said wares haue beene heretofore, and now are brought into Europe. In the third and last, I will prooue, that the treasure of England is not consumed, but rather greatly to be increased, by the performance of the said Trade.

Touching the first, Who is so ignorant in any famous commonwealth, which will not consent to the moderate vse of wholesome Drugges and comfortable Spices? Which haue been so much desired in all times, and by so many Nations, not thereby to surfeit, or to please a lickorish taste (as it often happeneth, with many other fruites and wines) but rather as things most necessary to preserve their health, and to cure their diseases; euen as it is most notably set foorth by some  
 50 learned men, who haue vndertaken to write vpon this subject: and therefore it shall be altogether needlesse heere to discourse vpon their seuerall operations and vertues, seeing that he that listeth, may be well instructed therein; if hee will peruse the Volumes which are penned by the learned, for the benefit of all those who shall make vse thereof.

But if peraduenture it be yet further vrged, that diuers Nations liue without the vse of Drugges and Spices: the answer is, That either such people know not their vertue, and therefore suffer much by the want of wares so healthfull, or else they are most miserable, being without meanes to obtaine the things which they so much want: but sithence I intend to be briefe, I will insist no further vpon this point: For the Obiectors might aswell denie vs the vse of Sugers, Wines, Oyles, Raysons, Figges, Prunes, and Currands; and with farre more reason exclaime against  
 60 Tobacco, Cloth of Gold and Siluer, Lawnes, Cambricks, Gold and Siluer-lace, Veluets, Satens, Taffataes, and diuers other manufactures, yeerely brought into this Realme for an infinite value: all which as it is most true, that whilst we consume them, they likewise deuoure our wealth; yet neuertheles, the moderate vse of all these wares hath euer suited well with the riches and Maiestie of this Kingdome.

1.

2.

3.

*The first part concerneth the vse of Indian wares.*

*Sir Thomas Eliot his Cattle of health. Rembert Dodo-neus his history of Plants.*

*The French Academie second part, and others.*

PPPP

But



France and the  
Low Countreys  
of late yeares  
do make great  
quantities of  
wrought silke,  
of which wares  
they were  
heretofore ser-  
ued from Italy.  
France, Italy,  
South Barbary,  
and other  
Countreys.

The second  
part

Sheweth the  
manner & the  
meanes by  
which Indian  
wares haue  
beene & now  
are brought  
into Europe.

Rates vpon all  
sorts of Spices.  
22. per cent.  
raw Silkes e-  
steemed about  
2. per cent.  
Indico about  
8. per cent.

Such people  
as effect not  
the good of  
this Kingdome

The quantity  
of Spice, Indi-  
do, and Persian  
raw Silke,  
yeerely consu-  
med in Eu-  
rope.

But I will come to the raw Silkes and Indico, this being so excellent for the dying of our woollen clothes, thereby so much esteemed in so many places of the world; that ornament, together with the great reliefe and maintenance of so many hundreds of poore people, who are continually employed, in the winding, twisting, and weauing of the same: Insomuch, that by the cherishing of this businesse (as his Maiestie for his part is graciously pleased to performe, in remitting the impost of Silke) it may well be hoped, that in short time, industrie will make the Art to flourish with no lesse happinesse to this Kingdome, then it hath done (through many ages) to diuers states in Italy, and lately also to the Kingdome of France, and to the vnited Prouinces of the Low-countreys.

Now as touching the Trade of Callicoes, of many sorts, into which the English lately made an entrance, although it cannot be truly said, that this commoditie is profitable, for the state of Christendome in generall (in respect they are the manufacture of Infidels, and in great part the weare of Christians) yet neuerthelesse, this commoditie likewise is of singular vse, for this common-wealth in particular; not onely therewith to increase the trade into forraigne parts, but also thereby greatly to abate the excessiue prices of Cambricks, Holland, and other sorts of Linnen cloth, which daily are brought into this Kingdome for a very great summe of money. And this shall suffice concerning the necessary vse of the Indian wares: In the next place, I will set forth the manner and meanes of their importing into Europe

It is an error in those men; who thinke that the trade of the East Indies into Europe had first entrance, by the discouerie of the Nauigation by the Cape of Good Hope. For many yeeres before that time, the trafficke of those parts had his ordinary course by shipping from diuers places in the Indies, yeerely resorting with their wares to Mocha in the Red-Sea, and Balsora in the Persian Gulfe: From both which places, the Merchandise (with great charges) were after transported ouer-land by the Turkes vpon Cammels, fiftie dayes iourney, vnto Aleppo in Soria, and to Alexandria in Egypt, (which are in the Mart Townes, from whence diuers Nations, as well Turkes as Christians doe continually disperse the said Wares by Sea into the parts of Europe:) by which course, the common enemy of Christendome (the Turke) was Master of the Trade, which did greatly impley, and enrich his Subiects, and also fill the Coffers of his owne Customes, which he exacted at very high rates; But by the prouidence of Almighty God, the discouerie of that Nauigation, to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope (now so much frequented by the English, Portugals, and Dutch; and also attempted by other Christian Kingdomes) hath not onely much decayed the great Commerce betweene the Indians and the Turkes in the Red Sea; and in the Persian Gulfe (to their infinite hurt, and to the great increase of Christian Trade,) but it hath also brought a further happinesse vnto Christendome in generall, and to the Realme of England in particular, for the venting of more English Commodities; and for exporting of a lesse quantitie of Siluer out of Europe vnto the Infidels, by many thousand pounds yeerely, then hath beene accustomed in former times; as I shall prooue most plainly by that which followeth.

And first, it will be necessarie to set downe the quantitie of Spices, Indico, and Persian raw Silke (which is yeerely consumed in Europe) and in them all to consider the cost with the charges to lade the same Commodities cleere aboard the ships from Aleppo; and the like of all the selfe same wares, as they haue beene vsually dispatched from the Ports of the East Indies; wherein will appeare that happinesse, which many doe so much oppose; especially our owne Countrey-men, vnder the gilded termes of the Common-wealth; whilst being indeed either ignorant, or ill affected, they doe not onely grossly erre themselves, but also cause others to hinder as much as in them lyeth, the glorie and well-fare of this Kingdome; but leauing them, I will set downe the said wares, in their quantitie and prices as followeth; and first,

#### At ALEPPO,

Sixe thousand thousand pounds of Pepper, cost with charges at two shillings the pound, six hundred thousand pound. Foure hundred fiftie thousand pounds of Cloues, at foure shillings nine pence the pound, cost one hundred sixe thousand eight hundredth seuentie five pound tenne shillings. One hundredth and fiftie thousand pounds of Mace at foure shillings nine pence the pound, cost there thirtie five thousand sixe hundred twentie sixe pound. Foure hundred thousand pounds of Nutmegs at two shillings foure pence the pound, cost fortie sixe thousand sixe hundred sixtie sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence. Three hundred fiftie thousand of Indico, at foure shillings foure pence the pound, cost seuentie five thousand eight hundred thirtie three pound, sixe shillings eight pence. One thousand thousand of Persia raw Silke at twelue shillings the pound, come to sixe hundredth thousand pound. The whole summe of all is 1465001. pounds, ten shillings.

Now follow the same wares both for quantitie and qualitie at their seuerall prices, as they are to be bought and laden cleere of charges,

#### In the East INDIES,

Sixe thousand thousand pounds of Pepper, cost with charges at two pence halfe pennie the pound, sixtie two thousand five hundred pound. Foure hundred fiftie thousand pounds of Cloues



Cloues at nine pence the pound, cost sixteene thousand eight hundred seuentie five pounds. One hundred and fittie thousand pounds of Mace, at eight pence the pound, cost five thousand pounds. Four hundred thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at four pence the pound, cost six thousand six hundred sixtie six pounds thirteene shillings four pence. Three hundred and fittie thousand pounds of Indico, at fourteene pence the pound, cost twentie thousand foure hundred and sixteene pounds twelue shillings four pence. Ten hundred thousand pounds *Persia* raw Silke, at eight shillings the pound, cost foure hundred thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is, 511458. pounds, 5. shillings, 8. pence.

The exporta-  
tion of the va-  
lue of 953543. l  
sterling out of  
*Christendome*  
into *Turkey*  
yeerely saued.

So that by the substance, and summes of these accounts it doth plainly appeare, that the buy-  
10 ing of the said quantitie of raw Silkes, Indico, and Spices, may be performed in the *Indies*, for  
neere one third part of the readie moneys, which were accustomed to be sent into *Turkey* to pro-  
uide the same: So that there will be saued euery yeere the value of nine hundred fittie three  
thousand five hundred fortie three pounds foure shillings four pence sterling, of readie moneys,  
that heretofore hath beene exported out of *Christendome* into *Turkey*: which is a matter of  
such note and consequence, that it may seeme incredible, before the circumstance be duely con-  
sidered; and therefore lest I should leaue the matter in doubt, it is requisite, that I doe make an  
explanation of some particulars.

And principally, it must not be conceiued, that this great aduantage which hath beene spo-  
ken of, is onely the Merchants gayne; for the Common-wealth of *Christendome*, hath a very  
great part thereof in the cheapnesse of the Wares, as shall be (God willing) proued hereafter  
in his due place.

20 Secondly, the time of the Merchants forbearance and interest is very long; his aduenture and  
assurance much dearer; his charges of Shipping, Victuals, Mariners, and Factors their wages,  
farre greater then by the voyage into *Turkey* for the same Wares: so that the former great diffe-  
rence must be vnderstood in these particulars: whereby we may perceiue to our comfort, that  
the materials of the Kingdome, and the employments of the Subiects (in lieu of readie mo-  
neys) becomes a very great part of the price which is payed for the said *Indian* Wares: which  
cannot hurt the State (as some erroneously suppose) but greatly helpe it, as I shall better proue  
in that which followeth.

First therefore, I shew for an vndoubted truth, That the *Persians*, *Moors*, and *Indians*, who  
trade with the *Turkes* at *Aleppo*, *Mocha*, and *Alexandria*, for raw Silkes, Drugs, Spices, Indico,  
30 and Callicoes; haue alwayes made, and still doe make their returnes in readie money: for other  
Wares, there are but few which they desire from forraine parts; some Chamlets, Corral,  
wrought Silke, woollen Cloth, with some trifles, they doe yeerly vent in all, not for aboue fortie  
or fittie thousand pounds sterling; which is no valuable summe in respect of that wealth which  
is carried from *Aleppo* and *Constantinople* into *Persia* for raw Silkes; when least, five hundred  
thousand pounds sterling per annum: and from *Mocha* about sixe hundred thousand pounds  
sterling (likewise yeerely into *India*) for returne of Callicoes, Drugs, Sugar, Rice, Tobacco,  
and diuers other things. So here is stil a very great commerce maintayned betweene those Inhi-  
dels; not onely for the Callicoes of many sorts, and other Wares (which concerne their owne  
vie) but also for the raw Silkes of *Persia*, which are altogether transported into *Christendome*.

40 How worthie an enterprife is it therefore in the *English* East India Companie? by whose en-  
deauours there is now good hope to turne a great part of this wealthie Trade into *England*, by  
shipping directly from the *Persian* Gulfe, whereby the employments, trafficke, and Customes of  
the *Turkes*, may be still more and more impaired, and the generall Treasure of *Christendome* much  
lesse consumed; as is already performed for the businesse of Spices and Indico.

And who shall then doubt our want of Siluer to maintaine the Trade? if by this way we doe  
obtaine the Silke, which with more aduantage and conueniencie will draw the money to this  
Mart, then it hath beene heretofore conueyed vnto those remote Dominions of the *Turke*.

And lest peraduenture it should be thought, that the trafficke in those parts by the *Christians*  
for the *Persian* Silke, is performed by change for other Wares, or by the money which procee-  
50 deth of the sales of many rich Commodities, which yeerely they sell at *Aleppo*, *Alexandria*,  
*Constantinople*, and these parts. The answer is, that neither the *Venetians*, *French*, nor *Dutch*,  
doe vent so much of their owne Countrie Commodities in those parts, as doe provide their ne-  
cessarie wants of the proper Wares of *Turkes*: such as are the fine raw Silke made in *Soria*,  
Chamlets, Grograns, Cotten Wools, Cotten Yarne, Galls, Flax, Hempe, Fleece Wools, Rice,  
Hides, Waxe, and diuers other things; so that still the raw Silkes of *Persia*, must be bought  
with readie money. Onely the *English* haue more aduantage then any other Nation in this  
kind: for they vent so great a quantitie of Broad-clothes, Tinne, and other *English* Commo-  
dities, that the proceed thereof, doth not onely provide a sufficient quantitie of part of the said  
60 *Turkish* Wares (which fit their vse) but also a proportion of about three hundred great Balls of  
*Persia* raw Silke yeerely.

And if in any yeere they chance to buy a greater quantitie of Silke, then must and doe they  
furnish the same in readie moneys from the Ports of *Marcellis*, *Genouay*, *Ligorne*, *Venice*, or the

Instance only,  
that ten shil-  
lings imployed  
in Pepper in  
the East Indies,  
will require  
thirtie and five  
shillings for all  
charges what-  
soeuer to deli-  
uer it in Lon-  
don.

The great  
summes of  
money which  
the *Persians*  
and the *Indians*  
carrie yeerely  
out of *Turkey*.  
The East India  
Companie doe  
endeauour to  
bring the raw  
Silkes from  
*Persia* directly  
by Sea.

*Marcellis* sen-  
deth yeerely  
to *Aleppo* and  
*Alexandria*, at  
least 500000 l.  
sterling, and  
little or no  
wares. *Venice*  
sends about  
the value of  
100000 l. and  
a great value  
in wares.  
The Lowcoun-  
tries sends a-  
bout the value  
of 50000 l.  
sterling mo-  
nies, and litle  
wares. *Messina*  
25000 l. in  
readie money.



*Abassens* a People in *Ethiopia* whose influence hath made them dull, lazy, and without arts; enjoying divers Mines of Gold, and one of Silver, which doe procure their wants of forraigne Wares.

*Turkey* hath little meanes for Linnen but onely from *India*.

The proceedings of some States in *Italie* for the maintenance of Arts.

The readie moneys which are yeerely carried from some States of *Italie* into *Sicilia*.

How *Marcellis* and *Venice* are furnished with ready moneys.

The Italian Merchants doe furnish the King of *Spaine* with money in *Italie* and *Flanders*.

The third part

doth shew how the East India Trade doth enrich this Kingdome.

*Netherlands*. Neither are these the onely meanes, whereby the Empire of the *Turke* is so abundantly stored with Gold and Silver, to the performance of the *Indian Trade*. For, many are the *Christian* ships which yeerely lade with Corne for readie moneys in the *Archipelago*: great is the commerce from *Poland*, *Hungarie*, and *Germanie*; with Gold and Dollers, for Chamlets, Grograns, and other things: But that which is very remarkable, is the great quantitie of Gold, and some Silver coyned in *Grand-Cairo*, which by two severall Caravans (in bullion) is yeerely brought thither from the *Abassens* Countrey in *Ethiopia*, for returne of many rich Commodities, as Veluets, Satins, Cloth of Gold, Taffatas, wollen Cloth, polished Corral, and other things.

Thus by the coherence of the *Turkish Trade* with the *Christians*, *Persians*, and *Indians*, I have shewed both the manner and the meanes, whereby the East *Indian Wares* have beene heretofore, and yet are in part, procured into *Christendome*. But lest it should seeme incredible, that the *Turke* would let so great a masse of Treasure yeerely to passe his Dominions, to the *Indians*, and to the *Persians* his professed enemies; I will make the matter yet more plaine.

And first concerning the raw Silkes, it is already shewed, that he hath the money from the *Christians*, besides the benefit he reapeth in their Customes, with great employments also for his Subiects. And for Callicoes (his whole Empire having little or no other meanes for Linnen) he cannot possibly be without them, although it hath, and doth greatly exhaust his Treasure, neither doth he gayne any manufacture by the same, as the *Christians* have alwayes done by the raw Silke, to the great reliefe of innumerable poore people, so much provided for, by the policie of all well governed and flourishing Common-wealths; As by this occasion, and in a businesse of the like kind, I may instance the States of *Genouay*, *Florence*, and *Luca*; who for the maintenance of Arts and Trade, doe provide raw Silkes out of *Sicilia* for the value of five hundred thousand pounds sterling at least yeerly; and for the payment thereof they doe vent at *Naples*, *Palermo*, *Messina*, and those parts, a certaine quantitie of *Florence* Rashes, and some other Wares, for about one hundred and fiftie thousand pounds sterling *per annum*; so the rest, being three hundred and fiftie thousand pounds sterling, is supplied all in readie moneys: which treasure they doe willingly forsake to procure their Trade: for experience hath taught them that Trade is their employment, and doth returne them Treasure; for by those Silkes (being wrought, transported, and sold at *Frankford* and other Marts,) they have the better meanes to furnish their Contracts with the King of *Spaine* in *Flanders*; and so from *Spaine* the Silver must returne againe to *Italie*. But if I should runne out in this and other particulars (fitting our purpose) it would make me too tedious, and so carrie mee beyond my ayme, which is to be brieft.

Wherefore I will proceed to cleere some doubts in those men, who perhaps not having the knowledge of occurrents in forraigne parts, might thinke that neither *Venice*, nor *Marcellis* have the meanes or yet the minds, to export such great summes of readie moneyes yeerely out of those Dominions, especially *Marcellis* being a part of *France*, where neighbourhood doth daily tell vs, that Gold and Silver may not bee conveyed out of that Kingdome, for any valuable summe, more then is permitted for the necessarie use of Trauellers: yet neuertheless, experience hath likewise taught vs, that for the effecting of those Trades (whereof we now speake, and which they esteeme so much) there is a free extraction out of the said places, of moneyes both gold and silver; whereof with them there is no want; for, the said Wares doe procure it abundantly.

First, to *Marcellis*, it commeth not onely from *Genouay*, *Ligorne*, *Cartagenia*, *Malliga*, and many other Port Townes of *Spaine* and *Italy*, but also from *Paris*, *Roan*, *Saint-Malloe*, *Toulouse*, *Rochell*, *Deepe*, and other Cities of *France*; who want not meanes to have great store of Rials and Dollers from *Spaine* and *Germanie*.

And in the like manner, the *Venetians* dispersing the said raw Silkes, and other Wares into the severall States of *Italie*, *Germanie*, and *Hungarie*, (who have but few Commodities fitting their barter or exchange, but onely moneyes) are therewith abundantly served: for, the Mynes of *Hungarie* and *Germanie* afford good quantitie of Gold and Silver; and likewise the States of *Italie*, especially *Genouay*, *Florence*, and *Millane*, have ever store of Rials out of *Spaine* in satisfaction of many great disbursements, which those Merchants make for that King in his occasions of *Italie* and *Flanders*; of all which I might make a large discourse, but I conceiue I have said sufficient, to shew how the Trade of the East *Indies* hath beene, and now is brought into *Christendome* generally; what money is yeerely sent out, by whom, and the possibilitie or meanes which they have to performe it. I will therefore in the next place, satisfie the Obiectors, that it is not the East *India Trade*, which wasteth the Gold, and Silver, Coyne, or other treasure of this Kingdome in particular.

For first, who knoweth not that Gold in the East *Indies* hath no ratable price with Silver? Neither hath the Silver coyne of *England* any equall value with the *Spanish* Rials according to their severall prices here; besides that, his Maestie hath not authorized the East *India Company*, to send away any part of this Kingdoms Coyne, either Gold or Silver; but only a certain limited sum of forren silver yeerly; which as they dare not exceed, so neuer have they as yet accomplished



plished the same. For it doth plainly appeare in their bookes, that from the originall and first foundation of the Trade in *Anno 1601*. vntill the moneth of Iuly, *Anno 1620*. they haue shipped away onely five hundred fortie eight thousand and ninety pounds sterling in *Spanish* Rials, and some Dollers; whereas by licence, they might haue exported in that time seven hundred and twentie thousand pounds sterling. Also they haue laden away in the same terme of nineteene yeeres, out of this Kingdome two hundred ninetie two thousand two hundred eightie six pounds sterling in Broad-clothes, Kersies, Lead, Tinne, with some other *English* and forraine Commodities; which is a good Addition, and vent of our Wares, into such remote places; where heretofore they haue had no vtterance at all.

How much money and wares the East India Companie haue sent forth euer since the beginning of this Trade.

10 And note, I pray you, how time and industrie hath bettered this Trade, when in the last three yeeres there hath bene sent more Wares to the *Indies*, then in the sixteene yeeres before; and yet our expectation is not at the highest; for those new borne Trades within the Red Sea, and in the *Persian* Gulfe, doe bid vs hope for better things, as lately by Letters from *Spahan*, we vnderstand of great quantitie of raw Silke prepared by the *English* Factors, which (by Gods assistance) wee may expect here about the moneth of August next, with encouragement also to vent our *English* Cloth, and Kersies in good quantities; the like of Iron, Tinne, and other things, whereof experience (of those already sold) hath giuen vs sufficient approbation of their validitie.

The vent of *English* Wares encreased in the *Indies*.

And now (omitting much matter which might be written touching the discoueries of other Trades from one Kingdome or Port to another in the *Indies*, with the Commodities thereof; 20 whereby the employment of our ships, together with the Stocke of money and goods which is sent out of *England* in them, may be much encreased) I will draw to a conclusion of the point in hand, and shew that whatsoever summes of forraine readie moneyes are yeerely sent from hence into the East *Indies*, his Maiestie in the Letters Patents granted to that Companie, hath notwithstanding with singular care provided, that the brethren of the Companie, shall yeerely bring in as much Silver, as they send forth; which hath bene alwayes truly performed, with an ouerplus, to the increase of this Kingdomes treasure: Neither is it likely that the money which is thus contracted for by the Companie at certaine prices, and to be deliuered them at times appointed, would be otherwise brought into *England*, but onely by vertue and for the performance of the said Contracts: for, without this assurance of vent, together with a good price for the said moneyes, the Merchants would vndoubtedly make their returnes in other 30 Wares; the vse and extraordinary consume whereof, would be found lesse profitable to the Common-wealth, when the matter should be duly considered, as I shall yet further endeavour to demonstrate.

Our stocke may be much increased by Trade from Port to Port in the *Indies*. For this see the former relations, of the Trade from *Surat* to *Achen*, and all the Southerne and further Eastern *Indies*: as thence also to the red Sea &c.

And here I will suppose, That the East *India* Companie may ship out yeerely one hundred thousand pounds sterling: yet it is most certaine, that the Trade being thus driuen, with sums of readie moneyes, it will not decay, but rather much increase the treasure of the Kingdome: which to proue, I will briefly set downe the substance of the *English* Trade vnto the East *Indies*, concerning the quantitie of the seuerall sorts of Wares, to be yeerely bought there, and sold here; with the vsuall prices giuen for them in both places. And first, I will beginne with their cost and charges laden cleere aboard the ships in the East *Indies*.

The money sent to the *Indies* is all forraine Coyne. The East *India* Companie are obliged to bring in as much money as they carrie out of the Realme. Tobacco, Raisons, Oyles, and Wines, whereof there is no want, but rather too much Smoke. A proportion of such Trade as is hoped yeerely to be brought into this Realme from East *India*.

#### In the East INDIES.

40 Two thousand five hundred thousand pounds of Pepper, at two pence half-penie the pound, cost twentie six thousand fortie one pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Cloues, at nine pence the pound, cost five thousand six hundred twentie six pounds. One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at foure pence the pound, cost two thousand five hundred pounds. Fiftie thousand pounds of Mace, at eight pence the pound, cost one thousand six hundred sixtie six pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. Two hundred thousand pounds of Indico, at fourteene pence the pound, cost eleuen thousand six hundred sixtie six pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. One hundred and seven thousand one hundred fortie pounds of *China* raw Silkes, at seven shillings the pound, cost thirtie seven thousand foure hundred nintie nine pounds. Fiftie thousand of Callicoes of seuerall sorts, rated at seven shillings the piece one with another, fiftene thousand pounds. The whole summe of all 50 is, one hundred thousand pounds.

All the said Merchandize haue bene often experienced, or bought at or about the prices aboue written; and we doe hope for our parts (besides the Trade of raw Silkes from *Persia*) yeerely, to lade from the *Indies*, such quantitie of the seuerall sorts of Wares as are here set downe (if it shall please his Maiestie, to protect and defend vs concerning the Articles of agreement made with the *Dutch*, that they may not violate any of them to our hindrance or damage) all which 60 wares in *England* will yeeld (as I doe conceiue) the prices hereafter following, viz.

#### In ENGLAND.

Two hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Pepper, at twentie pence the pound, cost two hundred and eight thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds six shillings eight pence. One hundred and fiftie thousand of Cloues, at six shillings the pound, cost fortie five thousand pounds.



How much the Kingdomes Stocke may increase yearly by trading to the East Indies. 2500. tunnes of shipping will lade home all the wares afore written from the East

Indies. And the materials of the said shipping (vnto wrought) is worth about 15000. sterling

India wares will bring readie money into the Realme. We haue no other meanes to procure Treasure but by Trade and Merchandize. The French and the Venetians send the value of 600000. sterling yearly in ready money into Turkey.

Trade maketh some States very rich which haue little other meanes. If the generall Trade of this Kingdome doth export a greater value in wares then it doth import yearly, then doth our treasure increase.

The Trade to the East Indies may be said to export 480000 pounds and to import 120000 l.

yearly. So the ouerballance is 360000 l. sterling.

Euery action ought especially to be considered in this end.

The East Indian wares which were sent beyond the Seas, are sold and haue their fallend in money, which might bee

One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at two shillings six pence the pound, cost eightene thousand seven hundred and fiftie pounds. Fiftie thousand pound of Mace, at six shillings the pound, cost fifteen thousand pounds. Two hundred thousand pounds of Indico, at five shillings the pound, cost fiftie thousand pounds. One hundred and seven thousand one hundred fortie pounds of China raw Silkes, at twentie shillings the pound, cost one hundred and seven thousand one hundred fortie pounds. Fiftie thousand pieces of Calicoes of severall sorts, rated at twentie shillings the piece one with another, cost fiftie thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is, foure hundred ninetie foure thousand two hundred twentie three pounds six shillings eight pence.

So that here would be our owne money againe and more, the summe of three hundred ninety foure thousand two hundred twentie three pounds six shillings eight pence advanced towards the generall Stocke of the Kingdome. For although the East India Companie shall disburse the greatest part of the said summe advanced vnto his Maiestie for Custome and Impost; and also vnto the Factors, Officers, and Mariners, for wages, together with the cost of shipping Victuals, Munitions, Assurance and the like: yet all these (the Materials of shipping onely excepted) are but transmutations and no consumption of the Kingdomes Stocke.

But if any man object and say, that the said Commodities being brought into England (as is before written) they are either consumed in the Land, or being transported into forraigne parts, they are changed into other Wares: So that still we want our hundred thousand pounds in readie money. The answer is, First, that in the occasion of this dispute, wee must conceiue the said Wares to be of no vse for this Kingdome, but onely for so much, as doe concerne the Trade thereof. And Secondly, in the said Trade we must consider, that although the said goods be sent out, and returned home in other Wares from forraigne parts; yet still, they are negotiated to the increase of the said Stocke, and for the imployment of the Subiects. Lastly, if there be a resolution to determine and end the businesse: who doubteth, that the whole value may not bee presently returned hither in readie moneyes? For in *Italie*, *Turkey*, and other places, where they are most vendible to profit, there likewise is the money free to be exported at all times and by whomsoever.

And as it is most certaine, that some other Merchandize, sent out of this Kingdome, were the meanes to bring in the hundred thousand pounds in readie moneyes, which is here supposed to be sent and imployed in the East Indies (as aforesaid) so likewise, there is the same power in these Indian wares, to procure other summes of readie moneyes, to bee brought into this Kingdome: For let not man doubt, but that money doth attend Merchandize, for money is the prize of wares, and wares are the proper vse of money; so that their coherence is vnseparable. And if the French and the Venetians, made any doubt of this, they would not so willingly permit the value of sixe hundred thousand pounds sterling, or more in Spanish Rials and Dollers, yearly to be carryed out of their Dominions into Turkey: whereof three quarter parts at least are imployed, onely for the buying of Persia raw Silkes, which commoditie doth presently enable them with readie money from diuers other States to performe the Trade; whereby their wealth doth much increase, and their people are greatly imployed. So to conclude this point, I will onely adde, that the East India Trade alone (although it be driuen in no amplyer manner then is afore written) is a meanes to bring more treasure into the Realme then all the other trades of this Kingdome (as they are now managed) being put together. For if the rule be true, that when the value of our commodities exported doth ouer-balance the worth of all those forraigne wares, which are imported and consumed in this Kingdome, then the remaynder of our stocke which is sent forth, must of necessitie returne to vs in Treasure. I am confident, that vpon a diligent and true inquirie it will be found, that the ouer-balance of all our other Trades together, will not amount vnto so great a summe of money as the East India Trade alone doth ouer-balance in this kinde.

And to make the matter yet more plaine, whereas it is already said that one hundred thousand pounds in money exported, may import about the value of five hundred thousand pounds sterling, in wares from the East Indies, we must vnderstand that part thereof to be properly called our importation that this Realme doth consume, which is about the value of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling yearly. So the remaynder being three hundred and eighty thousand pounds, is matter exported vnto forraigne parts in the nature of our Cloth, Lead, Tin, or any other native commodities, to the great increase of this Kingdomes stocke, and that also in so much treasure, so farre as the East India Trade can be rightly vnderstood to subsist in this particular. For as all humane actions haue their Termination and Ends, so likewise there must bee an end assigned vnto the affaires of the East Indies; which are then truly said to bee finished, when this Realme is serued, and the remainder of those Wares which are sent from hence beyond the Seas, sold there and conuerted into money; which likewise from thence may bee brought away freely and without the danger of Law, or prohibition. Forasmuch therefore as it is well knowne to many men, that moneyes are thus procured by the Sales of Indian Wares to profit, in the parts of Turkey, and at Ligorne, Genoway, the Netherlands, Marcellis, and other places:



ces : yet notwithstanding if all the said Coyne, or any part thereof should bee diuerted from this Realme by some other new employments or affaires, it must neuerthelesse bee granted, that the said India wares had their finall end in monies. But I will cease to heape vp any more arguments, to proue a matter which is already made so plaine; wherefore leauing this Obiection, I will endeouour to giue Answer to the next.

brought into this Realme in that kind, if our other Trades did not diuert the same.

### The second Obiection.

- 10 The Timber, Planke, and other materials, for making of shipping, is exceedingly wasted, and made dearer,, by the building of so many great Ships, as are yeerely sent to Trade in the East Indies; and yet the State hath no use of any of them upon occasion. For either they are not here; or else they come home very weake and vnseruiceable.

### The Answer.

**T**His East India Trade seemeth to be borne and brought up an Unthrif, for it wasteth and consumeth all; Neither doth it good to any.

- 20 1 But the Obiection, in some part is very weake:  
2 And in the rest it is mistaken.

For first, concerning the weaknesse thereof; would men haue vs to keepe our woods and goodly trees to looke upon? they might as well forbid the working of our wools, and sending forth our cloth to forraigne parts; for both are meanes alike to procure the necessary wares, which this Kingdome wanteth. Do they not know that trees doe liue and grow: and being great, they haue a time to dye and rot, if oportunitie make no better use of them? and what more noble or profitable use then goodly ships for Trade and Warre? Are they not our Barnes for wealth, and plentie, seruing as wals and bulwarkes for our peace and happinesse? Doe not their yeerely buildings maintayne many hundred poore people, and greatly increase the number of those Artesmen which are so needfull for this Common-wealth? And is not all

The first Part concerneth the folly of the Obiection.

- 30 this good performed also (with great prouidence) by bringing in yeerely store of Timber, and other provisions from Ireland? Why then, where is the great waste and dearenesse? I am sure, the East India Companie finds it not; for whereas they doe onely buy their provisions in Hampshire, Essex, Kent, and Barkshire, in all which places they now may haue both Timber, Plankes, Sheathing boards, Trenails and the like, both for goodnesse and price, as cheape (yea better cheape) then they haue bene this fiftene yeeres; and likewise in all that course of time their Bookes doe plainly shew that those wares haue neuer varied much; for if they haue risen any small matter in one yeare, they haue fallen as much the next. And yet I pray you obserue (besides the East India Companies buildings) the many goodly ships which are daily made for other priuate Merchants (such as England neuer had before) and that which is most remarkable, is the continuall late buildings of his Maiestie, thereby yearely adding more strength and glory of great ships, to his Royall and matchlesse Nauy; so that here we see this supposed waste and want is not considerable.

The prouidence of the East India Company for Timber and Plancke. The East India Trade hath not indeared the materials which serue to make ships.

Yea but, say they, the East India ships are neuer here to serue the Kingdome upon occasion: Or if they be at home, they are weake and unfit for seruice.

The second Part sheweth the mistaking in the Obiection. The Warlike prouision which the East India Company keepe in store. His Maiesties strength in the East India Company alone.

- 50 In Trade of Merchandize our ships must goe and come, they are not made to stay at home; Yet neuerthelesse, the East India Company are well prepared at all times, to serue his Maiestie and his Kingdomes, with many warlike provisions, which they alwayes keepe in store; such as Timber, Plankes, Iron-workes, Maists, Cordage, Anchors, Caske, Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Victuals readie packed, Wine, Sider, and a World of other things, fitting the present building, repairing and dispatch of ships to Sea; as may be plentifully seene in their yards and store-houses at Deptford, and more especially in those at Blacke-wall; which are growne so famous, that they are daily visited and viewed by strangers, as well Embassadors as others; to their great admiration of his Maiesties strength and glorie, in one only Company of his Merchants, able at short warning to set forth a Fleet of ships of great force and power.

For it is well knowne to all men who please truly to bee informed, That the East India Companie (besides their Fleets of ships going and coming, and also abiding in the Indies) are continually building, repaying, rigging, victualling, and furnishing to Sea, with all provision needfull for such a long Voyage, some seuen or eight great ships yearely; which are to bee seene at an Anchor in the Riuer of Thames in a great forwardnesse some five or sixe moneths together, before they commonly depart for the Indies, which is about the moneth of March: and they are no sooner got off from the Coast of England, but shortly after, is the season of our shippes to returne from the Indies; who come not home so

The shippes which returne from the East Indies home, may be repayed in a very short time.

- 60 weake as some would haue them; for how often hath experience bene made of our ships which haue performed two or three seuerall Voyages to the East Indies? Yet at their returne, they haue bene indocked, new trimmed and launched out againe, fitted for the like Voyages, in lesse then two monethes. But it will be needlesse to spend any more time in shewing the errors of this second Obiection: therefore I will rather come to the handling of that which followeth.

The



## The third Obiection.

*The Voyages to the East Indies doe greatly consume our victuals, and our Mariners: leaving many poore Widdowes and Children unrelieved; Besides, that many Shippes are yeerely sent forth to the East Indies, and few we see as yet returned; Also, this Trade hath greatly decayed the Traffique and shipping, which were wont to be employed into the Streights: And yet the said Trade to the East Indies, is found very unprofitable to the Adventurers: Neither doth the Common-wealth find any benefit by the cheapnesse of Spice and Indico, more then in times past.*

## The Answer.

**W**Hy, what a World of Mischiefs haue we here? First, *Dearth*. Secondly, *Mortalitie*. Thirdly, *Destruction*. Fourthly, *Beggerie*. Fifthly, *And neuer a whit the neere*. A very Teame of Calamities, drawing on to miserie; is it not then high time to seeke a remedie? yes verily, and it will be easily done, because these euils neuer were (as yet at least) procured by the East India Trade, as I shall shew, by answering all the parts in order as they stand: and first of *Dearth*.

The first Part  
concerneth  
Dearth.

It is both naturall and iust, that euery Kingdome, State, or Common-wealth, should feede and cherish vp the Natiue people of all degrees and conditions whatsoever, to their preservation of life and health, with such meanes and moderation, as their plentie shall afford; and this is not onely due to them in the time of their aboad at home, but also vpon all occasions of Voyages into other Countries beyond the Seas, wherein they shall bee employed for their owne maintenance, and for the good of the Common-wealth.

The manner  
how the East  
India Company  
do victuall  
their ships.

Now therefore concerning the pouision of victuals (which in this Kingdome is yeerely prepared for the setting forth of those shippes which saile to the East Indies) it is well knowne to many men, that it is alwayes proportioned, for about eighteene monethes; whereas commonly the Voyages proue a yeare longer, so that this ouer-plus of time, is furnished with the victuals of forreine parts.

And likewise for the Bread and Bisket which is shipped from hence, hath it not alwayes bin made of French Corne, purposely brought ouer hither (and that at a deare rate) onely to preserve the plentie of our owne graine? vntill now of late dayes that the Farmers heere beginne to cry out and say, That the cheapnesse of Corne doth disable them to pay their deare Rents: Thus doe the East India Company euery way accomodate their proceedings for the good of the Kingdome.

And further concerning their Drinke, is it not a very great part water? Some Wine and Sider and but little Beere.

Also the Fleish they eate, is Beefe and Porke, and that onely for three dayes in a weeke; the rest of their victuals is Fish, some Butter, Cheefe, Pease, Oat-meale, and other things; all which is proportioned into a very sparing Dyet to euery man by allowance: so that heere is no Excesse nor Riot, or any other meanes to make our victuals scant and deare, as is by some erroneously supposed; but rather by this course of life, our plentie is much aduanced. And so I will giue answer to the next part which is mortalitie and great decay of Mariners.

The second  
Part concerneth  
Mortality

The life of man is so precious, that it ought not lightly to be exposed to danger; And yet we know, that the whole course of our life, is nothing but a passage vnto Death; wherein one can neither stay nor slacke his pace, but all men runne in one manner, and in one celeritie; The shorter liuer runnes his course no faster then the long, both haue a like passage of time; howbeit, the first hath not so farre to runne as the later.

Now, it is this length of life which Nature seekes, and States likewise endeouour to preserve in worthy men; but none are accounted so worthy in this nature, saue onely they, who labour in their vocations and functions, both for the publike good, and for their priuate benefit.

Good Mariners  
are accounted  
worthy men in a  
Common-wealth.

Thus may we esteeme our good Mariners, to be of no small vse vnto this Common-wealth: but take them from their laudable and accustomed employments, for want of Voyages to Sea; we see what desperate courses they doe then attempt, by ioyning, euen with Turkes and Infidels, to rob and spoyle all Christian Nations; so that we may conclude, we must not onely breed vp Mariners, but also seeke by Trade, to giue them maintenance.

Well, all this is true, but (say they) the East India Company doth neither breed nor maintayne, but destroy the wonted number of our Mariners. How can this be, when it is most certaine, that England (besides the East India Fleets) had neuer yet more shipping then at this present? neither doe any of them stay at home for want of Mariners, no, not at this time, when many hundred Sailers are employed in extraordinarie seruice, for his Maiestie in a Royall Fleet



of ships, now at Sea: besides those great numbers of our best Mariners, which haue beene and daily are wasted and taken Prisoners by the *Turkes*; so where is this want; or what is our miserie more then the want of true information in them that are so ill perswaded of our Company?

Is it not certaine that as the *East India* Voyages are long, so likewise in Natures course many should dye by length of time although they stayed at home? And to recompence the losse of those that dye, doe not the *East India* Company with great prouidence, yeerely ship out at least foure hundred Land-men in their Fleets, which in one Voyage proue good Mariners to serue the Kingdome and Common-wealth, vnto which many of them were a burthen before they obtained this employment? And thus is the Kingdome purged of desperate and vntuly people, who kept in awe by the good discipline at Sea, doe often change their former course of life, and so aduanceth their fortunes.

Neither indeed are these Voyages so dangerous and mortall, as is reported; for how many of our ships haue gone and come from the *East Indies*, without the losse of five men in a hundreth? Others againe haue had worse successe in the first beginning, when the seasons, the places and their contagions were not so well knowne vnto vs; yet time hath taught vs many things, both for the preleruation of health, and speedier performance of our Voyage then heretofore. But the Method of my Discourse bids me write more of this in the next part, which is destruction; and this I must diuide into two parts.

20 In the first, I will consider the want of diuers ships sent to the *East Indies*, which are wasted there.

And in the second, I will answer the supposed ouerthrow of the *Turkie Trade*, together with much of our shipping which were wont to be employed thither.

First therefore, concerning the decay of our shippes in the *Indies*, it cannot bee denyed, but there hath beene great spoyle of them in these three last yeeres; not by the dangers of the Seas, or by the strength of Enemies; but by vnkind and vnexpected quarrels with our Neighbours the *Hollanders*, who haue taken and surprized twelue of our ships at seuerall times; and in sundry places, to our vnspeakeable losse and hinderance; together with the death of many of our worthyest Mariners, who haue beene slaine and dyed Prisoners vnder their hands: and this hath 30 so much the more encreased the rumour of their Mortalitie: Neither list I here to aggrauate the fact, more then thus briefly to giue answer to the Obiection: for our late vnion with the *Dutch*, doth promise a double recompence of gaine in time to come.

And they who make this Trade so poore and vnprofitable, are much mistaken in the reckoning; for the present losses which causeth many Aduenturers so much to despaire, is not in the substance of the Trade, but by the euill accidents which haue befallen the same: and to make this point more plaine, I must yet declare some other particulars: in which I will endeavour very briefly to set downe the summe of the whole businesse, which the *English* hath hitherto performed in the *East Indies*.

First, therefore I doe obserue that since the beginning of this Trade, vntill the moneth of Iuly last, Anno 1620. there haue beene sent thither seuentie nine ships in seuerall Voyages, whereof thirtie foure are already come home in safetie richly laden, foure haue beene worne out by long seruice, from Port to Port in the *Indies*: two were ouerwhelmed in the trimming there: fixe haue beene cast away by the perils of the Seas; twelue haue beene taken and surprized by the *Dutch*, whereof diuers will be wasted, and little worth before they bee restored: and one and twentie good shippes doe still remayne in the *Indies*. So this is a true account of our shippes.

And next concerning our stocke, it is a certaine truth, that in all the said ships there hath bin sent out in readie money as well out of this Realme, as from all other places wheresoeuer beyond the Sea (which hath not beene landed in this Kingdome) the value of five hundred fortie 50 eight thousand and ninetie pounds sterling in forraigne Coyne; and together with the said money, there hath been shipped the value of two hundred ninety two thousand two hundred eighty six pounds sterling, in sundry sorts of *English* and forraigne Commodities; all which monies and wares amounting vnto eight hundred fortie thousand three hundred seuentie fixe pounds, haue beene disposed as hereafter followeth,

First, there hath beene lost thirtie one thousand seuentie nine pounds sterling in the fixe ships which are cast away: and in the thirtie foure ships, which are returned in safetie, there hath beene brought home three hundred fiftie six thousand two hundred eighty eight pounds sterling in diuers sorts of wares, which haue produced here in *England* towards the generall stocke thereof, one million nine hundred, fourteene thousand fixe hundred pounds sterling; for the charges arising here, is but a change of effects from one to another, as hath beene said before in this Discourse: So there ought to remayne in the *Indies*, to bee speedily returned hither, foure hundred eighty foure thousand eighty eight pounds: neither can wee conceiue that our charges and troubles with the *Dutch*, will haue wasted more then the odde eighty foure thousand eight 60

sterling, hath beene returned from the *East Indies* which did produce here towards charges, 1914600. pounds

The breeding of 400. Mariners yeerely. Besides that the feare of a few mens death ought not to ouerthrow or hinder the performance of Honourable actions for the seruice of the K. and Common-wealth.

Our Mariners owne disordered life is that which killeth many of them. The third part concerns the decay of shipping which haue beene sent to the *Indies*.

Of the *Dutch* wrongs & the ships taken by them, see the former Relations of *Spurway*, *Hore*, *Knowles*, &c. with the Depositions of diuers men, & in manner all these *Indian* Voyages. The twelue shippes are the *Swan*, *Defence*, *Salomon*, *Attendance* (all taken at *Banda* before Sir *Tho. Dale* began the war) the *Speedwell*, the *Starre*, the *Dragon*, the *Beare*, *Expedition*, *Rose*; and the *Samson*, with the *Hound*. Our troubles with the *Dutch*. The summe of the affaires to the *East Indies* euer since the Trade began. Account of all the money and goods which hath been sent to the *East Indies* euer since the beginning of the Trade. 256288.1.

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There remains yet in the East Indies to bee returned home from thence about 400000 pounds sterling.

Concerning the decay of shipping and Trade into Turkey.

The Turkey Merchants can and will iustifie this truth.

The strength of the East India ships.

The fourth part concernes the pouertie of widdowes, &c. The East India Trade doth employ many poore men, & debaist people which other Trades refuse. Wages before hand is not giuen in other Merchants Voyages, neyther yet so great wages as the East India Company pay.

tie eight pounds sterling : so that I am confident, that there yet remayneth foure hundred thousand pounds sterling of good estate, for both the ioynt Stockes. And what a great value of *Indian* goods this summe of money may (by Gods blessing) shortly returne in our shippes, which are there readie to bring them, the example here doth teach vs to make vp the reckoning. So that notwithstanding our great charges of Discoueries, our losses by the danger of the Seas, our quarrels and infinite hinderance by the *Dutch* : yet here the kingdome hath and shall haue her stocke againe with a very great increase, although the Merchants gaines concerning the two ioynt stockes will proue but poore, in respect of the former Voyages, which haue not had the like hinderance.

And thus in a few lines may be seene, much matter truly collected with some paines, out of 10 the diuers Volumes of the *East Indian Bookes*.

Now concerning the decay of Trade and shipping which were wont to bee employed into *Turkey*, I doubt, that in time it will likewise be affirmed, that the *East India Company*, haue hindered the vent of our white Cloth in the *Netherlands*, which to report were a very strange thing. But (praysed be God) to our comfort, we see the great increase of goodly shippes, daily built and employed by the *Turkey Merchants*, with vent of more of our *English Cloth* (by one third part at least) then in times before the *East India Trade* began.

Yea, but (say they) wee haue lost the Trade of Spices, and Indico from *Aleppo* into *England*.

Wel, I grant they haue; yet the Kingdome hath found it with more profit by another way, and they likewise are recompenced with a greater Trade, by the exporting from hence of the selfe-<sup>20</sup> same Commodities into *Italy*, *Turkey*, and other places : neither can it be lesse profitable for this Kingdome, to turne the Trade of raw Silkes from *Aleppo*, and to bring them from the *Persian Gulfe*, with one third part lesse money, then it doth now cost in *Turkey*; Besides, that by this meanes, the money proceeding of our *English Cloth*, Tinne, and other wares in *Turkey* (not finding Commodities fitting to returne for *England*) would vndoubtedly bee brought home in Gold, as it hath beene performed heretofore, when by superfluitie of stocke sent from hence in Spice, together with our *English wares*; the Merchants (beeing thereby furnished with a sufficient quantitie of *Turkish Commodities*) brought home the remaynder of their stocke of those yeares in gold for a great value.

Thus doth it plainly appeare, that these reuolutions of Trades, haue and doe turne to the good of the Common-wealth; neither hath the affaires of the *East Indies* impayred or decayed any other Trade, Shipping or Mariners of this Realme; but hath mightily increased them all in it selfe. Wherefore let vs now take a view of this Noble addition of the Kingdomes strength and glorie.

But this I must not doe, by setting downe the number of our *English shipping* now in the *Indies*, or lately gone that way; for they haue beene heaped thither, these three last yeares together without returne, saue onely five shippes in all that time; the rest haue beene kept there to oppose the furie of the *Dutch*; but now wee are at vnion, wee shall (by Gods assistance) daily expect diuers great ships with rich returns.

And for the future time, this Trade I doe conceiue, will royally maintayne tenne thousand<sup>40</sup> tunnes of shipping continually : (That is to say) going, and returning, and abiding there in the *Indies*; which said shipping will employ two thousand and five hundred Mariners at least; and the building with the repaying of the said ships, heere at home will set to worke five hundred men, Carpenters, Cawkers, Caruers, Ioyners, Smiths, and other Labourers, besides many Officers; and about one hundred and twentie Factors, in seuerall places of the *Indies*. And so from these matters of great consequence, I must begin to write of Beggerie.

The pouertie of Widdowes and Fatherlesse is matter of great compassion, and doth alwaies moue Christian hearts to commiseration and charitie; whereby many receiue reliefe and helpe of those whom God hath blessed with better meanes : but how this pouertie should totally bee<sup>50</sup> preuented, it seemeth not onely difficult, but altogether impossible : For besides the euill accidents and miseries, which euer attend on our humanitie, we see how many daily (euen through their owne folly and wilfulnesse) doe as it were desperately plunge themselves into aduersitie. And thus the number of those is great, who hauing the charge of wife and children, are notwithstanding altogether without meanes and Artes to procure their maintenance; whereby some of them wanting grace, doe run a desperate course, and haue vntimely ends. Others againe beeing better inspired, seeke for employment, but find it not, or with great difficultie : for, who doth willingly entertaine a man poore and miserable, charged with a family, and peradventure debauched in conditions? Neither doe any of our other Merchants voyages to forraine parts accept of those nouices, who neuer haue been vsed to the Sea : So that when all the other doores of charitie<sup>60</sup> are shut, the *East India* gates stand wide open to receiue the needy and the poore, giuing them good entertainment with two Moneths wages before hand, to make their needfull prouisions for the Voyage. And in the time of their absence, there is likewise payd vnto their wiues for main-



maintenance, two other moneths wages vpon account of euery yeares seruice: and also if any chance to dye in the Voyage, the wife receiueth all that is found due vnto her husband (if he doe not otherwise dispose it by will:) and this often happeneth to be more money, then euer they had of their owne together in any one time. And likewise, are not many poore Widdowes, Wiues and Children of *Black-wall, Lime-house, Ratcliffe, Shadwell, and Wapping*, often relieved by the East India Company with whole Hogheads of good Biefe and Porke, Bisket and Doales of ready money? Are not diuers of their children set on worke to picke Okam, and other labours fitting their age and capacitie? What might I not say of repaying of Churches, maintenance of some young Schollers, relieuing of many poore Preachers of the Gospell yearely with good summes of money; and diuers other acts of charitie, which are by them religiously performed, euen in the times now of their worst fortunes? for all which I hope there shall be a reward vnto them and theirs. And so I come to the fift part of this third Obiection.

When did any of these Widdowes beg for reliefe in our Churches, as others often doe?

The East India company their charitie.

The fifth Part concerneth the cheapenes of Spice and Indico at this present, in respect of former times.

Prices of spice and Indico in former times.

Prices of spice and Indico in these latter times.

Lesse then eightene thousand pounds sterling in the Indies, will buy Spice and Indico to serue this Realme for a yeare, which is not halfe so much money as it spendeth beyond the seas to buy Currants only, or to buy Tobacco.

The wares on- plus of all man-

And here I must intimate how much they are deceiued, who thinke, that Spices and Indico are no better cheape in *England* now, then in times past, before the East India trade began. For, it is an vndoubted truth, that in those dayes we often paid sixe shillings, or more for a pound of Pepper, and seldome or neuer lesse then three shillings and sixe pence the pound; whereas since the Trade hath come directly from the *Indies*, it hath been bought commonly at seuerall prices betweene sixteene pence and two shillings the pound: but I will make the difference of price appeare more plainly by setting downe the quantities of Spices and Indico, which are yearely spent in the Realme of *England*, together with the lowest prices, which they were wont to sell at, when we brought them from *Turkey* and *Lisborne*; and the like concerning their vsuall prices now that we bring them from the East Indies directly: And first as from *Turkey*, foure hundred thousand pounds of Pepper at three shillings six pence the pound, is threescore & ten thousand pounds: Fortie thousand pounds of Cloues at eight shillings the pound, is sixteene thousand pounds: twenty thousand pounds of Maces at nine shillings the pound, is nine thousand pounds: One hundred and sixty thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at foure shillings sixe pence the pound, is six and thirtie thousand pounds: One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Indico at seuen shillings the pound, is fifty two thousand five hundred pounds. All these summes being put together, comes to one hundred eightie three thousand five hundred pounds Sterling.

And the selfesame quantity and sorts of wares are commonly sold at the prices here vnder written now in these later times: Foure hundred thousand pounds of Pepper at twenty pence the pound, is thirtie three thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds, sixe shillings, eight pence: forty thousand pounds of Cloues at six pence the pound, is twelue thousand pound: twenty thousand pounds of Mace at six shillings the pound, is six thousand pounds: one hundred sixty thousand pounds of Nutmegs at two shillings six pence the pound, is twentie thousand pounds: one hundred fiftie thousand pounds of Indico at five shillings the pound, is seven and thirtie thousand pounds. All these summes beeing put together, is one hundred eight thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds sixe shillings eight pence sterling.

So that this Trade in Spice and Indico only, doth saue the kingdom yerely seuentie foure thousand nine hundred sixtie sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence, which is a matter worthy to be obserued; and so much the rather, because it is a certaine truth, that lesse then a quarter part of this summe of mony which is thus saued yearely, shall buy in the *Indies* the full quantitie of all the seuerall sorts of wares before written, which doe serue for a yeares prouision for this Realme of *England*; but still it must be remembred, that the custom, impost, wages, victuals, shipping, and other charges (which are to be added) will be a greater summe, then the mony which is paid for these wares in the *Indies*: but as I haue noted before, the said charges doe not consume the Kingdomes stocke, although it doth greatly abate the Merchants gaine.

And to conclude this point, I will adde vnto that which hath been said; that the commodities onely which we now send yearely into the East Indies and *Persia*, are of sufficient value there to returne vs Indico, Spices, Drugs, and all other sorts of *Indian* wares (Raw-silkes of *Persia* only excepted) for one yeares consume, or more in this Kingdome: so that now all the money which is sent forth in our Ships doth procure an ouer-plus of the said wares, to the furtherance of Trade from *India* hither, and after from hence to forreine parts againe, to the great imployment of the Subiects, and enriching of this Realme, both in Stocke and Treasure; all which is matter verie worthy to be diligently obserued. And so I come to giue answere vnto the fourth and last Obiection.

ly which are sent out of this Kingdome into the East Indies, are of sufficient value to furnish this Realme with an ouerplus of all manner of *Indian* wares (*Persian* Raw Silkes only excepted.)



## The fourth Obiection.

*It is generally obserued, that his Maiesties Mint hath had but little employment euer since the East India Trade began; wherefore it is manifest, that the onely remedy for this, and so many euils besides, is to put downe this Trade: For what other remedie can there be for the good of the Common-wealth?*

## The Answer.

10

The first Part concerneth his Maiesties Mint.

Twentie five thousand pound waight at least of Siluer yearly melted downe into Plate, besides old Plate new fashioned, as by credible report.

There hath been coyned great store of Gold and Siluer in his Maiesties Mint, since the East India Trade began.

There hath been little or no Siluer coyned in some yeares, when the East India Company sent out very small summes of money.

Some causes and meanes which were wont to bring Siluer into the Realme are ceased at this present time.

The second Part concerneth the putting downe of the East India Trade.

The East India Trade is greatly decayed by other Christian Nations.

The Dutch might grow strong and rich by our destruction.

The third Part concerneth the counsell which the Obiectors demand.

**T**His fourth obiection may be deuided into three parts: First, An euill declared: Secondly, A remedie propounded: Thirdly, And counsell demanded.

And first concerning the Euill or want of Siluer, I thinke it hath been, and is a generall disease of all Nations, and so will continue untill the end of the world; for poore and rich complaine, they neuer haue enough: but it seemeth the maladie is growne mortall here with vs, and therefore it cries out for remedy. Well, I hope it is but imagination maketh vs sicke, when all our parts be sound and strong: For who knoweth not the inestimable treasure of this Kingdome, in Plate possessed by the people thereof almost of all degrees; in such measure, as neuer hath been seene in former ages? And for his Maiesties Mint, it is well knowne, that there hath been coyned in five yeares together since the East India Company began, six thousand two hundred fourteene pound waight of Gold, and three hundred eleuen thousand three hundred fourescore and foure pound weight of sterling Money; all which Gold and Siluer doe amount vnto the summe of twelue hundred thirteene thousand eight hundred fiftie pounds of sterling Money: How then doth this Trade turne the currant and employment of the Mint?

But upon the sight of this truth, perhaps it will be said, That we must resort vnto the present times (the Mint being idle now.) To which I answer, That likewise the Mint had little or no employment for coynage of Siluer in former times, when the said Company did not export aboue fiftene or twentie thousand pounds sterling at the most per annum; no, nor yet in the yeares 1608, and 1612; when in the former they shipped out but sixe thousand pound, and in the latter but one thousand two hundred and fiftie pounds sterling. So that both wayes we see, that the Mint hath had very great employment five yeares together, since the East India Trade began; and also it hath been without employment diuers yeares, when the East India Company haue sent away but verie small summes of money; wherefore of necessitie there must bee some other causes and meanes whereby our Siluer is not exported onely, but also it is not imported into the Realme as in former times. For wee haue not had the meanes by our owne plenty, nor by the scarcitie of our Neighbours (for the space of the last foureteene yeares together) to send out hundreds of Ships laden with Corne, as in times past, which was returned home in Siluer; but rather of late yeares (as is much to be feared) a great quantitie of our money hath been carried out of the Kingdome for that Corne, which hath been brought vs from the East Countreies, and other places, to supply our wants. Thus times doth change, and our fortunes change with them: neither list I to make this matter plainer, by setting downe those meanes, which heretofore brought vs store of money, euen out of France, and other places, which now are ceased. But without any further meddling in the Mint, I will come to the remedie which some propound, by putting downe the East India Company.

But here our comfort is, that the Obiectors are not our Iudges, whose wisdom and integritie labouring for the honour of his Maiestie, and the good of his Kingdome, will soone perceiue the mischiefs of this supposed remedie. And that the pretended euill which many with malice chase, is that great good, which other Nations seeke by policie and strength to keepe, and likewise to obtaine; in which proceedings, it concerneth vs especially to obserue the diligences and practises of the Dutch, who with more gladnesse would undertake the whole Trade to the East Indies, then with any reason wee can abandon that part thereof which we now enioy; neither can our restraint from the Indies keepe our Siluer from thence, as long as the Dutch goe thither: for we know, that deuices want not to furnish such designes; and when their Ships returne from India, shall not our Siluer out againe to helpe to pay a double price, or what they please, for all those wares which we shall want for our necessities?

Thus should the Dutch increase their honour, wealth and strength, whilst we abate, grow poore and weake at Sea for want of Trade: And call you this a Remedie? no, rather tearme it Ruine, Destruction, or what you list. And so I come vnto the conclusion or last part.

And here I must confesse my self aground, for this matter is much too high for my handling: besides, my excuse is faire, hauing already done my taske to cleare the East India Trade from imputation; the which for want of learning, although I haue performed, without varietie of words or eloquence: yet it is done with all integritie of truth, in euery particular, as I shall be ready to make prooffe vpon all occasions, which may be offered. And yet before I make an end, although I cannot satisfie euery mans desire, in such measure as is necessarie: yet I thinke it not amisse to performe the same so farre, as I am able by common practice, and my obseruations in the Trade of Merchandize, which is my profession.

And first therefore, all men doe know, that the riches or sufficiencie of euery Kingdome, State, or Common-wealth, consisteth in the possession of those things, which are needfull for a ciuill life. This sufficiencie



is of two sorts; the one is naturall, and proceedeth of the Territorie it selfe; the other is artificiall, and dependeth on the industrie of the Inhabitants.

The riches of a Kingdom is of two sorts.

The Realme of England (praised be God) is happily possessed of them both: as first, having great plenty of naturall riches, both in the Sea for Fish, and on the Land for Wooll, Cattell, Corne, Lead, Tinne, Iron, and many other things for Food; Rayment, and Munition; insomuch that upon strict termes of need, this Land may live without the helpe of any other Nation. But to live well, to flourish, and grow rich, we must find means by Trade to vent our superfluities; therewith to furnish and adorne us with the treasure and those necessarie Wares which forraine Nations doe afford: and here Industrie must begin to play his part, not onely to increase and guide the Trades abroad, but also to maintaine and multiply the Arts at home: for when either of these faile, or are not effected with such skill as their misteries shall require, then doth the Common-wealth abate and grow poore: neither is it easily perceived at first, untill some evil accidents doe stirre up our diligence to search out the true causes; that so they being removed, the effects may cease. And this is the subject of our Discourse which wee now pursue.

This Kind of industrie maketh some Countries which are poor of themselves, to grow rich and strong by other Nations, who have greater means, and are lesse industrious. Foure principall Causes which carry away our Gold and Silver.

That which I have hitherto delivered hath beene altogether negative, still defending and prouing by arguments, that the East India Trade hath not hurt this Common-wealth: And now changing my stile, I must affirme as fast the true causes of those evils which we seeke to chase away.

The First Cause concerneth the Standard. Proceedings against entercourse.

These causes then (as I conceive) are principally foure. The first, is the breach of Entercourse by forraine Nations. The second, is the abuse of the exchanges betwixt us and other Countries. The third, is neglect of dutie in some Subjects. The fourth, is our damage in commerce with Strangers. Now concerning all these, I might make a very large discourse; but my purpose is onely to explaine the meaning of every point in order, as briefly as I can.

And first for the breach of Entercourse; by this I understand those Nations, who have either debased their Standard, or else over valued the price of their Coynes from that equiualence which formerly they had with the Standard and Moneys of this Realme: and also doe tolerate, not onely their owne Moneys, but also the Coyne of other Countries (and especially of this Kingdom) to bee current with them at higher rates, then the prices of the exchange; by which courses (being directly against the Entercourse) there is a greater cause given of exportation of the Moneys of this Realme, then otherwise there would be. For although this is done with great danger to the Exporters of the same, (it being an act against the Law of the Land) yet notwithstanding covetousnesse being ever conuersant in wicked actions, thinketh nothing unlawfull which promiseth a certaine gaine; and how to remedie this euill practice I find it not easie. For the debasing of the Coyne, or raising the price thereof in this Realme, would much impoverish the estates of particular men, and yet in the conclusion, would prone a businesse without end: for who doth not conceive that which would follow beyond the Seas upon any such alteration here with us? so that still the euill will remaine, untill we find some other remedie.

And for the exchanges of money used betwixt Nations, although the true vse thereof is a very laudable and necessarie practice for the accommodating of Merchants affaires, and furnishing of Travellers in their occasions, without the transporting of Coyne from one State to another, with danger and losse both to the publike and priuate wealth: yet is the abuse thereof very preiudiciall unto this Kingdom in particular; whilst in the interim the benefit doth arise unto other Countries, who diligently observing the prices whereby the moneys be exchanged, may take advantage to carrie away the Gold and Silver of this Realme at those times, when the rate of our sterling money (in exchange) is under the value of that Standard, unto which place they are conuayed: For in respect the prices of the exchanges, doe rise or fall according to the plenty or scarcitie of money, which is to bee taken up, or delivered out, the exchange is hereby become rather a Trade for some great moneyed men, then a furtherance and accommodation of reall Trade to Merchants, as it ought to bee in the true vse thereof. And thus many times money may be made over hither by strangers to a good gaine, and presently carried beyond the Seas to a second profit; and yet the mischief ends not here: for by this means the takers up of money in forraine Countreys must necessarily drive a Trade to those places, from whence they draw their moneys; and so doe fill us up with forraine Commodities, without the vent of our owne Wares: but for this great euill, there is an easie remedie, and so I come to handle the next cause which is neglect of dutie.

The Second Cause concerneth the exchanges of moneys with forraine Countries.

The practice of those Strangers here in this Realme, who make a Trade by exchange of moneys.

Forraine Wares brought in with our ready moneys carried out of this Realme.

The Third Cause concerneth neglect of duties.

Our heauie money is conuayed beyond the Seas, and melted downe into Plate here in the Realme.

Neither is it my intent to write of duties in their severall kinds; but onely of that kind of dutie which is here thought to be neglected by some men in their severall vocations. As it might peradventure come to passe, in those who have the working of his Maiesties Coyne, either gold or silver; if diligent care be not had in the size of every severall piece, to answer iustly to his weight: for howsoever upon triall of many pieces altogether, the weight may be found according to the Covenants, and within the remedies ordained in the Indentures: yet notwithstanding many of those pieces may be sized too light, and others as much too heauie; which giueth the greater advantage to some people, to carrie away that which is over weight, and so to leaue us them which are too light, if they leaue us any. And this mischief is not single; for thereby also some Goldsmiths, regarding profit more then dutie, may bee the more readily drawne to melt downe the heauie Coyne into Plate and other ornaments both of gold and silver. But what might wee thinke of those men who are placed in authoritie and office for his Maiestie, if they should not with all dutifull care discharge their trust concerning that excellent Statute, wherein it is ordered,



Anno 17. Edward. 4.

The Fourth Cause concerneth our commerce with Strangers. Vnskilfull Merchants overthrow our Trades.

Merchants by education are onely fit to trade in forraigne parts.

How rich Common-wealths may become poore. Forraigne Wares brought in for Trade cannot hurt, but greatly helpe the Common-wealth. Hopes to increase Trade by exportation of Indian Wares to forraigne parts.

The particular Trade to the East Indies will bring great store of treasure into this Realme, if the generall Trade of this Kingdome doe not hinder and consume it. The Dutch in particular, are said to reape such infinite wealth yeerely by this fishing Trade, that without more certaine knowledge thereof I dare not set downe the summe, it seemeth so incredible. See hereof D. Dees booke: as also Cap. Smith.

red, that all the moneys received by strangers for their Merchandize, shall be employed upon the Commodities of this Realme? the due performance whereof would not onely prevent the carrying away of much Gold and Silver, but also bee a meanes of greater vent of our owne Wares: whereof I purpose to write some thing more in the next part which concerneth our commerce with strangers.

And now I come to the last point, which I feare is not the least amongst the causes of our want of money (so farre as any such may be,) and let it not seeme strange to any man, that Trades should hurt and impouerish a Common-wealth, since it hath beene alwayes accounted an excellent meanes to helpe and enrich the same: for, as this truth cannot be denied with reason, so it is likewise most certaine, that the vnskilfull managing thereof hath ever proued a great decay vnto those Nations who haue beene entangled with such errors. And are not the examples too frequent in many of our owne Merchants, who not onely by the perils of the Seas and such like misfortunes lose their goods, but also enen through want of knowledge, wisely to direct their affaires, doe overthrow their whole estates? Neither may we properly call this their losse, but rather the Kingdomes losse in them. Wherefore it were to be wished, that this mystorie of Merchandize might be left onely to them who haue had an education therunto; and not to be undertaken by such, who leauing their proper vocations, doe for want of skill in this, both overthrow themselves, and others who are better practised.

But there is yet a farre greater mischiefe by our Trades beyond the Seas, when peraduenture, there might be imported yeerely a greater value in forraigne Wares, then by any way or meanes wee doe export of our owne Commodities; which cannot oiberwise come to passe, then with a manifest impouerishing of the Common-wealth: for as it is a certaine course to make vs rich, both in Stocke and Treasure, when wee shall carrie out a greater value of our owne goods then wee bring in of forraigne Wares; so by consequence, a course contrarie to this, must of necessity worke a contrarie effect. Neither is this importation meant otherwise: then concerning those Wares, which are consumed in this Realme: for the Commodities which are brought in, and after carried out vnto forraigne parts againe, cannot hurt, but doe greatly helpe the Common-wealth, by encrease of his Maiesties Customes and Trades, with other employments of the Subiects: by which particulars I might yet set forth the glorie of the East India Trade, which hath brought into this Realme in fifteene moneths space, not onely so much Spice, as hath serued the same for the said time; but also by the superfluitie thereof, there hath beene exported into forraigne parts for about two hundred and fiftene thousand pounds sterling. So then let all men iudge, for what a great value we may hope hereafter to export yeerely; when vnto these Spices wee may (by Gods assistance) adde the infinite worth of raw Silkes, Indicoes, Callicoes, and some other things: all which are to be issued in the nature of Cloth, Lead, Tinne, or any of our owne Merchandize to the enriching of this Kingdome by encrease of the common Stocke. So then to conclude this point, wee ought not to auoid the importation of forraigne Wares, but rather willingly to briaie our owne affections to the moderate consuming of the same: for otherwise, howsoener the East India Trade in particular is an excellent meanes greatly to encrease the Stocke of money which wee send thither yeerely, by returning home five times the value thereof in rich Commodities; all which (in short time) may be conuerted into Treasure, as is plainly shewed already. Yet notwithstanding, if these Indian Wares thus brought home cannot be spared, to serue for that purpose of Treasure; but must bee sent forth together with our owne native Commodities; and yet all litle enough, to provide our excesse and extraordinary consume of forraigne Wares: then is it likewise as certaine, that the generall Trade of this Kingdome doth hinder and diuert the coming in of the said Treasure, by over-ballancing the value of our Wares exported with the importation and immoderate consume of forraigne Commodities.

Therefore, forasmuch as the number of the people in this Realme are thought to be greatly encreased of late time (both in themselves and strangers,) whereby necessarily the Commodities of this Kingdome, and also forraigne Wares, are the more consumed and wasted, (a double meanes to abate the Common-wealth) it therefore concerneth vs all in generall, and euey man in his particular, to stirre up our minds and diligence, to helpe the naturall Commodities of this Realme by industrie, and increase of Arts; seeing that the materials cannot be wanting to make such Stuffles, and other things as are daily brought vnto vs from forraigne parts, to the great advantage of Strangers, and to our no lesse damage. Neither should wee neglect the riches which our Seas affoord, whilst other Nations by their labour doe procure themselves great Treasure from the same. And as the diligent performance of these things would plentifully maintaine the Poore, and much increase the common Stocke of this Kingdome: so likewise for the better furtherance thereof, wee ought religiously to auoyd our common excesse of food and rayment, which is growne to such a height in most degrees of people (aboue their abilitie) that it is now beyond all example of former Ages. Neither is it needfull for mee to set downe the particulars of these abuses; for they are too well knowne: and I am confident, that the wisdom of our Government doth endeavour to see them as well amended, to the glorie of God, the honour of the King, and the good of the Common-wealth. Amen.



Courteous Reader, I could have added others in this defensive Argument for the East Indian Trade; and especially that of that learned Gentleman Sir Dud. Diggs: But because himselfe is now absent in weightier Employments, and I knew not whether he would be willing to see it mustered and marshalled in my Files, I was loth to doe it: For his ill-will I have cause to bee unwilling to purchase, whose good-will hath purchased mine and mee (a worthlesse Purchas) in effecting my present good, in affecting greater, that I might have bene enabled to have bestowed on the world my promised perfected World. Wherein not to have succeeded, is yet (as that vast and incompetible designe of mine) to have exceeded, as others otherwise, so herein himselfe. Besides, later occurrences have ministred other Strings for busie  
 10 Fingers to harpe on, (though not with best Harmonie) since the edition of that Booke. I had thought also to have added somewhat out of Master Misseldens FREE TRADE, fitting the present businesse: but seeming to have made not an *Indian Voyage*, but a *Plantation*, in so long stay there, I will bring you homewards: and because the wonted way of returne is by encompassing *Africa*, that course also wee will here take: and to prevent Sea-sickness, and the lazie Scorbute, we will not onely touch on the Shoare, but adventure into the maine Land, and follow the best Guides, both *English* and others, thorow the *African* both Desarts and Habitations: of whom *John Leo* is the best that hath written in that Argument, and as a *Lion* may conduct the most fearefull thorow the most perillous passages. For  
 20 what may not Cowards doe, having a *Lion* to their Guide and Captaine?

The end of the Fifth Booke

Qqqq 2









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